M'CRIE'S LIVES.

LIVES OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMERS:

BY THE LATE

THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF KNOX AND MELVILLE,

TOGETHER WITH A

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM VEITCH,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

AND

NARRATIVES OF THE RISINGS

AT

BOTHWEL AND PENTLAND:

WITH AN

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AMERICAN EDITION.

Much obscurity rests upon the early history of Scotland. Nor will this uncertainty, respecting the introduction and progress of christianity among a people so remote from the centre of civilization and literature, in the early ages, appear surprising, when it is considered that, from the close of the inspired history, to the time of Constantine the Great,—a space of more than two hundred and fifty years,—we have no cotemporary historian of the church. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, seems to have been the first who attempted to give a regular history of ecclesiastical affairs, from the birth of our Saviour down to his own times. His history appears to have been published a very short time before the Nicene Council, which met, A. D. 325. He has been pronounced the father of church history; and as he entered a path which none had trod before him, we are more inclined to admire the industry and research, by which he succeeded so well, than to complain of his defects. In the brief outline which he gives of the history of the christian church, during the first three centuries, it would be unreasonable to expect any thing particular, concerning a country so remote from Palestine, and so little known to him, as Scotland. The earliest authorities to which the ecclesiastical writers of that country have been under obligation for the few hints which can be gathered on the subject, are Prosper of Aquitania, of the fifth century; Bede, of the eighth; John of Fordoun, of the fourteenth, called the "Father of Scottish History;" and Bœce, of the fifteenth. From these, and some other sources, later writers, such as Buchanan, John Major, McKenzie, &c., have collected a little information, and formed some tolerable conjectures. Although the more recent historians do not agree either respecting the time, or the circumstances, of the introduction of christianity into the northern parts of Great Britain; yet they generally admit, that it must have been at an early period. In attempting to place before the reader a brief sketch of the condition of the church in Scotland, previous to the Reformation, the writer regrets that he has not access to the original sources of information; but in the absence of these, he has endeavoured to make the best use he could of a number of respectable authors, within his reach, who have more or less successfully investigated the history of christianity, in the earlier and the middle ages.

It is not improbable that christianity, to a small extent, was introduced into Great Britain, about the end of the first, or the beginning of the second century; by some of the Asiatic christians who had fled from the persecution, raised by Domitian. From England, it likely found its way into Scotland, in the course of the second century. As its introduction was not connected with any political event of sufficient magnitude to attract the attention of the secular writers of that age; so we need not feel disappointed at finding no notice of its existence, as long as it remained in humble obscurity, a stranger to the homage of kings and courts. That christians from Asia Minor, however, were the first who brought the gospel into Britain, and laid, in that island, the foundation of the church, seems highly probable from the fact, that Easter seems to have been observed in the British churches according to Asiatic usage. This feast, which began at an early period to be observed in commemoration of the resurrection of Christ, was annually celebrated by the churches of Africa, and the continent of Europe, on the Lord's day after the passover, which occurred on the 14th day of the March moon. On the other hand, the Asiatic churches observed this feast, on the third day after the passover, upon whatever day of the week it might occur; and this, also, is said

to have been the custom of the British churches. Now, it would be absurd to suppose, that any of the western churches in Europe or Africa, would transfer a custom to England and Scotland, which they had never adopted, or obtrude upon the observance of their converts, a practice, of which they themselves disapproved.*

The tradition, which refers to the beginning of the second century as the time when the first rays of gospel light glimmered among the mountains of Scotland, agrees very well with the account transmitted to us, of king Donald I., who is said to have embraced the christian faith, together with his queen and some of the nobility, about A. D. 203. It appears that christianity had made some progress in the country, before Donald publicly avowed himself a convert; as it is not very probable that he would have ventured to incur the displeasure of the Druids, and encounter their opposition, unless a considerable number of the people had been previously rescued from the influence of these formidable priests. After his conversion, the king earnestly exerted himself to provide for the spiritual instruction of his people: but all his plans were overthrown by the destructive invasion of the Romans, led by their emperor, Severus. For more than half a century after this invasion, we hear nothing of the state of christianity in Scotland. Towards the latter part of the century, it received a new impulse, through the instrumentality of a number of pious Britons, who sought, in the north, a shelter from the persecution, which took place under the emperor Aurelian. The still more violent persecution, under Diocleslan, greatly increased the number of christian refugees; and receiving encouragement from the court, and several of the nobles, the pious strangers laboured for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, and through the divine blessing, their labors appear to have been attended with considerable success.

Concerning this period, Buchanan,† who had access to all the information upon the subject of these early times, writes as follows, in his History of Scotland, under the reign of Fincormachus:—"Freed from external cares, the Scots now chiefly exerted themselves for the promotion of the christian religion, to which they were incited by the following occurrence. Multitudes of Britons, fearing the cruelties of Diocleslan towards the Christians, sought refuge among them; of whom many, illustrious for the piety of their doctrines, and the uprightness of their lives, remained in Scotland, and led a solitary life, with such a reputation for sanctity among all ranks, that, upon their decease, the cells they had inhabited were changed into churches; and from that custom it still continues that the ancient Scots call churches *cells*, [Kils.] This species of religious [persons] they called Culdees; and the name and the institution remained, until a more recent kind of monks, divided into a number of orders, expelled them: which latter were as much their inferiors in doctrine and piety, as their superiors in riches, ceremonies, and other external rites, by which the eye is captivated and the mind deceived."

The "solitary," or rather, the retired habits of the Culdees were probably adopted from the Druids, who lived in caves and forests, and were resorted to there, for counsel or instruction, by the people, except when called to the more public discharge of their appropriate functions. As the people had been accustomed to see this retired mode of life observed by their pagan priesthood; and as a departure from a practice deemed essential to the character of teachers of sacred things, would probably have created obstacles in the way of disseminating the hallowed truths of christianity, the southern exiles followed that course, which might innocently aid them in gaining the attention of those, to whom God had providentially sent them, as his ministers. Accustomed to the language of their conquerors, the British teachers of the gospel assumed the modest title of *cultores Dei*, which soon became corrupted into *Culdei*, or as we have it, Culdees.

* From certain passages in Bede, Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. 4; II. 2. 19, it is alleged that the British were not *quatuordecimani*, although in the course of their controversy with the Romanists, they appealed to the apostle John and the Asiatics, and thus were thought to adhere to the Asiatic practice. According to Bede, they celebrated Easter on the Lord's day, that fell between the 14th and 20th of the March moon, inclusive, while the Romanists held it on the Lord's day, which occurred between the 15th and 21st. If this be so, then it would appear that they regulated that feast according to a cycle of 84 years, which had been in use in the church, before the latter part of the 5th century, when the Victorian cycle was introduced; and consequently before the pretensions of the Roman bishop were acknowledged. This would place the introduction of Christianity into Britain, probably at some time between the 2d and 4th centuries.

† The character of Buchanan, like other worthies of his age, has suffered, both as a man and a historian, from the misrepresentations of his political and religious adversaries; and these have been retailed by succeeding authors, who ought to have known better; but whose prejudices rendered them partial judges of one, who was the unbending advocate of civil liberty, the foe of courtly corruption and sceptical tyranny, and a firm friend of the doctrines and church order of the Reformation. That he was faultless as a man, or without his prejudices as a writer, is not pretended. But he was probably less so, in both respects, than the greater part of those who have undertaken to censure him.

The reign of Fincormachus, who appears to have been devoutly attentive to the extension and establishment of the new religion, was, for those warlike and barbarous times, uncommonly long and happy. Under his patronage, the ministers of the gospel were encouraged in their efforts to instruct the people; druidism, although not eradicated, was nevertheless enfeebled in its influence, and the number of its subjects was diminished; and the faith of Christ, through the operations of grace, animated many a heart. About the middle of the fourth century, Fincormachus died; an event which was succeeded by great calamities to his nation. Three competitors appeared for the crown, and the question, which of them should wear it, was unhappily referred to the decision of arms. While the Scots were thus divided among themselves, their neighbours, the Picts took advantage of their situation to make war upon them. The war was bloody, the resistance fierce, and the issue doubtful. But the Picts called to their assistance the Britons and the Romans; and overwhelmed by superior numbers, the Scots were every where defeated, and almost exterminated. "The survivors," says Buchanan, (Book iv. c. 52,) dispersed themselves wherever chance led them, through the Hebrides, Ireland, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, and were every where humanely received by the inhabitants. Their priests and monks, who were held in the highest honour, were severely treated by the Picts, (though they themselves professed to be Christians,) being driven into all the surrounding countries. In the course of their dispersions, several of them happened to land upon the island of Iona, one of the Hebrides, and being collected there in a monastery, they transmitted the great fame of their sanctity and erudition to posterity."

However gratified the Picts may have been with the immediate results of their alliance with the Romans, they had reason, before long, to lament the impolicy of their conduct. They were commanded to adopt the Roman laws, do homage to the emperor, and receive their kings from Rome. In this state of degradation and dependence, so detestable to a fierce and hitherto free people, they had leisure to regret the expulsion of their Scottish neighbours; and at last resolved secretly to invite them back to their country, which had been divided among the Picts and their allies. The exiles obeyed the invitation, and bringing with them adventurers from the several countries in which they had found refuge, they united their forces under the direction of Fergus, who was chosen their king. Joined by the Picts, they expelled the Britons; for being but feebly assisted by the Romans, whose legions had found abundance of employment nearer home, in repelling the incursions of the northern barbarians, they were unable to cope with their fierce and warlike adversaries. Fergus perished in battle, in the sixteenth year of his reign; and his father-in-law, a noble Briton, who was hostile to the Romans, and to that portion of his countrymen, who favoured the Romans, was appointed tutor to the young princes, and viceroy of the kingdom. Græme, as he is called by ancient chroniclers, or Graham, as he is named in an inscription, dated 1057, was by profession a christian, and a man of such energy, wisdom, and justice, that scarcely any thing disturbed the public tranquillity under his government. After he had extended the kingdom to the wall of Adrian, its ancient boundary, he granted a truce to the Britons, and directed his attention to the internal prosperity of the country. "In order," says Buchanan, (B. v. c. 8, Aikman's transl.) "to check, by proper institutions, that licentiousness which had spread so widely by the long continuance of the war, he ordained that the monks [Culdees] and teachers of christianity should be recalled, and, lest they should be burdensome to the poorer classes, he appointed them annual stipends from the fruits of the earth, which, although small even then, yet to the moderation and temperance of these men, appeared sufficiently ample."

After the death of Graham, Eugene, the eldest son of Fergus, ascended the throne; and although much engaged in war with the Britons, he retained the instructions of his grandfather, and maintained a creditable character for religion and virtue. Dungard, his brother, who succeeded him, was of similar disposition and habits; and the Britons being divided and at war among themselves, he was permitted to pass his reign in peace.

During this period, the church in Scotland received a more regular organization than it had previously possessed. The Culdees had been scattered, as already stated, into various countries with their countrymen; and those, who returned, upon the invitation of Graham, were not adequate to supply the wants of the people. In this scarcity of competent men, an expedient similar to that which was afterwards adopted by the Scottish Reformers, in circumstances nearly similar, was employed to remedy, as far as practicable, the defect. A select number of the ablest of the Culdees was appointed to traverse the kingdom, labour in the ministry, ordain as teachers the fittest they could

find, and superintend the general concerns of the church. These superintendants were denominated *Scoticorum Episcopi*, the Scottish bishops, by the Catholic writers, who, accustomed to prelacy, imagined them to be officially the same as their own diocesan bishops. That the institution, by the civil government, of a class of ministers with higher powers than their brethren, prepared the way for diocesan bishops, is obvious enough; but that the superintendants were considered a distinct and superior order, in the church, and received a different ordination from that of their less eminent brethren, is without any solid evidence. Fordun, the Father of Scottish History, himself a Roman Catholic, and sufficiently credulous, but, at the same time, most diligent in consulting every work and monument, extant at that period, which could throw any light upon the early history of his country, unhesitatingly admits the fact of their ministerial parity. "Before the arrival of Palladius," says he, "the Scots had for teachers of the faith, and ministers of the sacraments, presbyters only, or monks, following the rites and customs of the primitive church." (*Scot. Chron.* lib. iii. c. 8. apud Willison's Testimony.) Bale, also, a learned writer in the early part of the sixteenth century, (*Britt. Script. Cat.* Cent. xiv. c. 5.) agrees in his statement with Fordun;—"Before Palladius came, the Scots," says he, "had their bishops and ministers, according to the ministry of the word of God, chosen by the suffrage of the people, after the custom of those of Asia; but these things did not please the Romans, who hated the Asiatics."

Palladius was sent into Scotland, A. D. 452, by Pope Celestine, in order to oppose the tenets of Pelagius, and bring the Scots into close connection with the See of Rome. Pelagius began to broach his heresy, at Rome, A. D. 405, when Fergus had already commenced the recovery of his uncle's kingdom from the Britons. This heresiarch was a monk of Banchor, in England; and when he came to Rome in A. D. 400, he found Cælestius already there, a Scottish youth of noble descent, and of respectable talents and acquirements, who had gone thither to perfect his studies, and who afterwards became the disciple, and the chief co-adjutor of Pelagius, in spreading his opinions. It is not improbable, that the influence of Cælestius procured the early introduction of the Pelagian tenets to the attention of his countrymen, and promoted, to some extent, their adoption. However this may have been, as the creed of the Roman church, and of the other churches which had begun to regard the Roman bishop as possessing some degree of pre-eminence, was still orthodox; considerable zeal was manifested against the Pelagian errors, united with a desire of increasing the number of adherents to Rome.

The efforts of Palladius were attended with success; and he also succeeded in ingratiating himself so far with the court, and with the superintendants and other ministers, as to persuade them to remodel the church after the pattern of those which were in connexion with the church of Rome. Accordingly he received ordination from the Roman Bishop, and was the first person who exercised the prelatical office in Scotland. On this subject, Hector Boece says:—"Palladius was the first of all that bore the holy magistrature among the Scots, being made bishop by the great pontiff: for till then, by the suffrages of the people, the bishops were made of the monks, or Culdees." (*M'Gavin's Introd. to Knox's History.*)

It was in this manner that Scotland became allied to Rome, and for many centuries afterwards, he participated in the ignorance, superstition and corruption, which flowed from that fountain of impurity, and for ages covered Europe with darkness. It appears, that although the generality of the people acquiesced in the change introduced by Palladius, yet a number of the Culdees maintained their former independence, until time, and the increase of corruption, and the arts and efforts of avarice and ambition, left scarcely a trace of their existence. We find some scattered notices of them down to the seventh or eighth centuries; but after that period, no vestiges of them, except the names of their cells, conferred on towns, villages, and other localities, where some of the most eminent of them had lived and laboured, appear on the page of history. The light which they shed amidst the growing gloom, lingered longest in the little island of Iona, or I-Columkill, one of the Hebrides, where a number of them had retired when their country was laid waste by the Picts and Britons. That island derives its name from Columba, who came, accompanied by twelve others, from the North of Ireland in A. D. 563, and fixed his residence there. His arrival and settlement in that Island was welcomed with the consent and good will, both of the king, and the remnant of the Culdees, who still remained. He organized the whole brotherhood into a regular community, procured the erection of appropriate buildings, and opened a school for instruction in divine things.

which for several centuries sent forth an educated and pious ministry to the churches of Scotland, Ireland, and the north of England, and to many parts of Gaul, and other countries on the continent of Europe.

Dr. Jamieson, of Edinburgh, a writer of learning, and deep research into the antiquities of his country, tells us, in his History of the Culdees, that the doctrine taught by Columba was comparatively pure. "As he was himself much given to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he taught his disciples to confirm their doctrines by testimonies brought from this unpolluted fountain; and declared *that* only to be the divine counsel, which he found there. His followers, as we learn from Bede, would receive those only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles; diligently observing the works of piety and purity. Hence, it has been said, that for several generations, with the errors which at that time prevailed in the church of Rome, they seem not to have been in the least tainted.

"They observed a certain rule in their monasteries, composed, as it is said, by Columba himself, and sometimes denominated *the Rule of Iona.* For a considerable time before this era, many truly pious men, knowing their obligation to separate from the world, had, from human weakness, interpreted the divine precept in a sense which it was never meant to bear; and if they did not retire singly to solitudes and caves, yet viewed it as most subservient to the interests of religion to form regular monastic societies. But their mode of life was very different from that of the generality of those who have been called monks in later ages. According to Bede, after the example of the venerable fathers, they lived by the labours of their hands." "So far were they from reckoning the connubial relation inconsistent with their character, it seems to have been held in honour." After referring to several proofs and instances of this fact, Dr. Jamieson proceeds:—"Although it appears that they observed a certain institute, yet, in the accounts given of them, we cannot overlook this remarkable distinction between them and those societies which are properly called monastic, that they were not associated expressly for the purpose of observing this rule. They might deem certain regulations necessary for the preservation of order; but their great design was, by communicating instruction, to train up others for the work of the ministry. Hence it has been justly observed, that they may be more properly viewed as colleges, in which the various branches of useful learning were taught, than monasteries. These societies, therefore, were in fact the seminaries of the church, both in North Britain and Ireland. As the presbyters ministered in holy things to those in their vicinity, they were still training up others, and sending forth missionaries, whenever they had a call, or any prospects of success."

Hospinian, in his History of the Origin, Progress and Orders of Monkery, gives substantially the same account of what he calls the "Apostolic Order," as that given above relative to the mode of life and labours of the monks of Iona. "They lived," he says, "not according to the mode prescribed by Basil or Benedict, but according to the doctrine of Christ, and the rule of the divine word." He traces the origin of this Order to Congell of Bannacor, or Banchor, in the north east of Ireland, where, for a considerable period, there had been a college, or community of learned and pious men, worthy of the name of Christian philosophers, who, after the adoption of the rule prescribed by him, became remarkably useful and active in propagating Christianity in several countries, especially among several of the German nations.

Columba died, A. D. 597, the year after Augustine, or Austin, the monk, had been sent over to Britain by Pope Gregory the Great, to convert the Saxons, and bring the whole island under the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome. This monk, who was afterwards created the first Archbishop of Canterbury, brought forty monks with him, to assist him in his pious attempt, the number of whom, as soon as success dawned on his efforts, were increased. He endeavored to extend his spiritual authority over the ancient British churches, and a council was held for the purpose of deciding whether they would conform to the Roman customs and ritual or not. But, owing to the degree of haughtiness and bigotry incautiously displayed by Austin, the project failed. Little appears to have been attempted to conciliate the Scottish churches, which still were under the care of the Culdees, until after Austin's death, in A. D. 607. He was succeeded by Laurentius, who sent for one of their superintendents, or bishops, as they were called by the adherents of Rome, and although at first unsuccessful, yet by perseverance, and getting access to some who were more tractable than this refractory bishop, he at length gained his point so far as, after a warm controversy, to get the clergy

generally to adopt the Roman tonsure, and observe the same day with the Romish church in celebrating Easter.

Meanwhile, the Culdee seminaries still continued to send out ministers to preach the gospel to the destitute. Thus, about the middle of the seventh century, we learn from Bede, that Donald, at that time king, at the request of Oswald, king of Northumberland, sent teachers from Scotland, distinguished for their piety and learning. About the year 670, Buchanan records that "it happened, that after the Scottish monks had disseminated the knowledge of the christian religion widely through England, and so instructed the English youth in letters, that they appeared sufficiently capable of preaching the gospel to their countrymen, a spirit of envy towards their instructors arose, in proportion as they imagined themselves their equals in learning; and their disinclination towards the Scots proceeded so far, that they forced them to return to their own country; which affront, although it disturbed the concord of the kingdoms, yet, such was the moderation of those who had sustained the wrong, that they restrained both nations from decided hostilities." *(Aikm. Buch. B. V. c. 42.)*

In the desolating wars in which the country was long involved, corruption of manners, and neglect of education, paved the way for ignorance and superstition. The clergy, favoured by some monarchs, and neglected or curbed by others, became gradually in either case, more independent of the people, and more closely allied with Rome; until, instead of being a spiritual benefit to the nation, and leaders in the path of piety and virtue, they became notoriously vicious, and deepened the darkness of that awful night, which, for several centuries, hung upon the land. It is true, the reputation of the country for piety and learning was still supported, to some extent, by the school of Iona, founded by Columba, which, being remote from the influences that tended to the moral deterioration of the population generally, continued for some time, (like a star glimmering through an opening of the clouds in a wintry night,) to shed a lustre on Scotland. But in general, when donations to the church and bodily penances were substituted for unfeigned repentance and vital piety, the wealth, ease, and honour, which accrued to the body of the clergy, was such as to render them shamefully defective in every qualification befitting their sacred office. As early as the latter part of the ninth century, the general depravity was so great as to become a subject of legislation; and in the provisions made by the court for the reformation of manners, the clergy were not neglected. "The king," says Buchanan, (B. vi. c. 7.) "first turned his attention to the correction of the public discipline, and by severe laws brought back to their ancient frugality the order of the priests, who, corrupted by their fat livings, had left off preaching the gospel, and devoted themselves to hunting, hawking, and courtly pomp." This will be the case in every church, in which the honour and inventions of men are more regarded than the glory and the truth of God. Although the Scottish church had not as yet acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and in all respects conformed to her ritual; yet, by frequent intercourse with the papal court, and the degree of conformity already attained, not to mention the influence which the example of the more wealthy and powerful dignitaries on the continent must have had on the comparatively simple and frugal priests of that country, it is easy to conceive how the infection, thus caught, would spread, until the little strength that remained was utterly exhausted, and spiritual death stamped his image on the nation.

In the eleventh century, Malcom Canmore and his queen, who had received her education on the continent, exerted themselves to produce greater conformity in all the concerns of the church, to the Roman ritual, and established in a more regular form than it had hitherto attained, diocesan Episcopacy. Their bishops had thus far, whatever might be their ordination, exercised a superintending power, which extended to the churches throughout the nation generally, without limitation to a particular province, or participation in secular or civil authority. Malcom created six bishopricks, and his youngest son, David, who succeeded to the throne in the early part of the twelfth century, added four others. David was so devoted to the temporal aggrandizement of the church, that he surpassed all his predecessors in his liberality, and almost bequeathed indigence to his royal successors, by consecrating the royal lands to the support of monks. Malcom IV., his grandson, animated by a similar spirit, took on him a vow of perpetual celibacy, and applied himself strenuously, as far as his means permitted, to the usage of his family—the building of churches and the endowment of monasteries. The consequence of these worse than useless expenditures, was to increase the pride and power of a class of men, who possessed the name, but not the spirit, or the acquirements and habits, of religious teachers, and to encourage them to insolence and injury.

The natural effects of this system are briefly mentioned by Buchanan, whom we so frequently quote, both on account of his fidelity in following his authorities, as far as facts are concerned, and because he had not only access to the original authorities, which were extant in his day, but he had been at pains to obtain, and carefully to study them. His reflections are such as might be expected in a christian philosopher, who had been an eye witness of the abuses of popery, and had suffered in the cause of scriptural religion. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Alexander III. "had his internal tranquillity disturbed by the arrogance of the priests and monks, who, enriched by the former kings, began to grow licentious by long repose, and to equal or exceed in magnificence the nobility, whom they already surpassed in wealth. At which the young nobles feeling indignant, behaved to them harshly and with contempt, and they, in consequence, complained to the king of the affront. He, however, either not believing the injuries so serious as the priests wished them to appear, or probably not thinking them unmerited, treated them lightly. On which they, in great wrath, excommunicated the whole land, except the royal family, and threatened to retire to Rome; but the king, recollecting what disturbances Thomas a Becket, the ringleader of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately occasioned in England, recalled them when about to set out on their journey, and ordered the nobility to satisfy, not their ambition only, but even their arrogance." The haughty priests were the more readily reconciled, at the instance of the king, from the recollection of the protection which he had not long before afforded them from the avarice of the agents of Rome. But the facts evidently show to what a height the influence of the priesthood had risen, when by a movement of this kind, they could bring a fierce and turbulent people to submit to such humiliation.

It was about the end of the preceding century, that the Scottish church became dependent on Rome. Hitherto the king held and exercised the sole power of nomination to vacant bishopricks and abbeys. But, at that period, in a convention, in which a Roman Legate presided, when they were urged to become subordinate to the Archbishop of York, either from the dilemma occasioned by their unwillingness to comply, and the danger of refusing, or from a preconcerted plan between the Legate and some of the clergy, they appealed to the pope, and, as probably well foreseen and provided for, he graciously took them under his protection. From the tact which they displayed in their quarrel with the young nobility, already related, and which occurred so soon after the consummation of their subjection to the Roman bishop, they appear to have been apt learners in the school of papal artifice.

Another measure, which not only tended to bring the Scots more effectually under the ecclesiastical yoke of Rome, but also to perpetuate and increase the already prevalent corruption of religion and morals, was the introduction of the Dominican and Franciscan monks into the country, from France. These, by a great profession and show of sanctity, and pious austerity, drew the attention and affections of the people from the secular clergy, and eradicated the feeble remains of that order to which the Scots had been accustomed from the age of Columba. The pope also required that all who were nominated bishops should repair to Rome for consecration, before they could enter upon the duties and emoluments of their office. From this time, therefore, we may regard the Scottish church as merged in that of Rome, and its history as possessing no interest separate from that of the Latin church, throughout Europe. The same superstitious regard to relics, images and saints; the same ignorance of the word of God, and of the nature of true piety; the same submission to the decrees, and credulous reception of the impostures of Rome; the same usages in worship, and seasons of fasting or festivity; the confidence in the doctrines of the mass, purgatory, absolution, and indulgences; the same corruptions, vices, and proclivity of manners, every where prevailed, except, here and there, when a few remnants of the persecuted Waldenses served God, concealed from human eye, or some solitary individual, led by a ray of Divine truth, sought his Saviour's will, as he best might, under the rubbish with which an apostate church had covered it. In relation to this period, a modern writer truly observes, "From the invasion of Edward, [A. D. 1296,] to the dawn of the Reformation, Scotland was little better than a great human slaughter-house. Christianity seemed to have no more influence upon the character of the nobles and the people generally, than it has upon savages who never heard of it. . . . Indeed we find nothing in Scotland, from this time, that deserves the name of religion, till we come to the period, when Knox commences his history, *anno* 1422."*

* McGavin's Introduction to Knox's History: containing an outline of the History of the Scottish Church, previous to the Reformation, which has been consulted frequently, and used freely, by the writer of the present sketch.

For a more particular survey of the state of religion and manners in Scotland during this melancholy period, the reader is referred to Dr. McCrie's remarks on the subject, p. 23—26, of the present volume.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, some of the followers of Wickliffe of England, and of Huss of Bohemia, sought refuge in Scotland, and were, to a small extent, successful in imparting the light of that truth which they had received. But persecution limited their efforts, and prevented them from gaining more than a very few acknowledged disciples. In 1422, or according to Spotswood, 1407, James Risby, a Wickliffite, and an Englishman by birth, suffered at Glasgow; and in 1431, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, was burned at St. Andrews. The crime alleged against them, was, that they held the heresy of Wickliffe and Huss, involving a denial that the pope is the vicar of Christ, that the substance of the bread and wine is changed in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper that confessions should be made to priests, and that prayers should be made to departed saints. While these examples of ecclesiastical cruelty, the first that had occurred in Scotland, suppressed an open avowal of the truth, it is highly probable that a few, in various parts of the country, cherished in secret the treasure of the gospel, and in the retirement of their native glens, and solitary *mosses*, sometimes enjoyed the sweet communion of saints with one another, and with God. In 1494, Blackater, archbishop of Glasgow, accused thirty persons, inhabitants of Ayrshire, before the king and council, of holding the heresies of Wickliffe. Among these persons, known by the name of "The Lollards of Kyle," were gentlemen and ladies of the first rank in that part of the country. This fact, taken in connexion with what afterwards occurred, namely, that the inhabitants of that district were among the earliest to embrace the doctrines of the Reformation, and held them with the most persevering tenacity, through many a tedious and bitter storm of persecution, renders it highly probable, that the seed sown by Risby, and nourished by his ashes, took deep and effectual root in the west of Scotland, although it grew up silently and without observation, until discovered by the prelate of Glasgow. The articles of which the Lollards were accused, were preserved in the register of his diocese; some of which we shall cite here, in order to show the similarity of their creed to that which protestants afterwards embraced, and which they hold at the present day. They objected to the worship of images and relics; they asserted that Christ gave power to Peter and the other apostles, —not to the pope; they denied transubstantiation; they maintained that the pope is not the successor of Peter, except wherein Christ said, "Get behind me, Satan;" they held that the pope deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences, that the mass profits not the souls which are said to be in purgatory, that the pope exalts himself against and above God, that the pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory, that priests may lawfully have wives, that the pope forgives not sins, but God only, that faith should not be given to Romish miracles, and that we should not pray to the glorious virgin Mary, but to God only, since he alone hears and helps us."* King James IV., who saw among the accused some whom he personally esteemed, was inclined to clemency, and the matter was so managed, that they were dismissed with an admonition to beware of new doctrines, and an injunction to believe what the church believed.

In about thirty years after this event, the light of truth, drawn from its long obscurity by the instrumentality of Zuingle and Luther, and their associates, began to dawn on Scotland, and to awake the people from the slumber of ignorance, superstition, and spiritual death. For the general course of the events, and the fierce contests that ensued, and the sublime examples of christian faith, and fortitude, and patriotism, which the long struggle for civil and religious liberty produced, the reader is now referred to the following pages, in which the kindred spirit of Dr. McCrie, glowing with that love of the gospel which characterised and animated the Reformers, with equal felicity and truth, blends the history of the church, and a portrait of the age, with the personal history of Knox and Melville.

We consider the selection of the able works of Dr. McCrie for publication in the *Calvinistic Family Library*, as peculiarly well timed, and appropriate. Entirely mistaken and unjust views of the character and principles of the Scottish Reformers have been widely circulated, and with too great facility embraced in this country by means of the writings of various authors, who have won their way to popular celebrity, among us. The stale slanders of the religious, political, and personal adversaries, of those excellent men, have been received, and repeated by some modern writers, who

* See the Articles of accusation, cited at full length. Knox's Hist. of the Reform., book I.

were incapable of appreciating their motives, or the nature of the circumstances, in which they were placed, and the misconceptions, and misrepresentations of these writers, have gained prevalent, but unjust possession of the public mind. No better antidote could be furnished for the expulsion of the prejudices which have been thus excited, than the laborious and elegant productions of McCrie, a man who was equally an honour to religion, virtue and literature,—to his country and mankind. In his unfeigned piety and modesty, his unbending integrity and conscientiousness, his eminent abilities, and minute and unwearied research, we have every pledge that a historian can give, that we have the facts stated as conformably to truth as documentary evidence of past events can afford the appropriate means of doing it. And not only the facts themselves, but the judicious and conclusive reasonings of the author upon them, shed a light on the time and events, in which the Reformers were active, that must wither many a weed which prejudice has planted in the minds of candid men, and rescue the memory of some, to whom the world is more indebted, than it is aware of, from unmerited censure and obloquy.

The excellent author died, amidst the grief of his friends, and the lamentations of his country, at Edinburgh, on the 5th August, 1835, in the 63d year of his age, and the 40th of his ministry. Instead of attempting the delineation of a character, which christians of all denominations, in his native land, held in admiration, the writer begs leave to lay a few extracts before the reader, taken from a notice of the Doctor's death, which appeared in the Edinburgh Presbyterian Magazine, the organ of the Secession Church, of which he had been so long the ornament :—

"Dr. McCrie departed from us, in the full career of his usefulness, in the full possession of his mental powers, in the height of his fame, and at a period of life when we might have calculated on enjoying the fruits of his labours for some time to come,—a man whose loss the Church and the world, as well as his flock and his friends, will long have cause to deplore. We are no friends to fulsome panegyrics over the dead, and were we disposed to indulge in them on this occasion, we would be checked by remembering the extreme modesty of the deceased,—his sensitive aversion to personal adulation when alive, and his well-known repugnance to the practice of lauding departed worthies, in language which they would have shrunk from hearing applied to them in their life time. But though, in the present case, to pourtray must be to praise, and the more faithful the picture, the more must our language assume the appearance of flattery, regard for the living, as well as justice, gratitude, and respect to the memory of the dead,—and above all, the honour of the grace of God, by which *he was what he was*, (alas! that we must now speak of him in the *past tense*,) urges us to attempt, in our feeble way, to give some idea of him as a man, a minister, and a public character, leaving it to another to do justice to his life in the form of a memoir.

"We express only what every one that knew Dr. M'Crie must have observed, when we say, that the most striking part of his character consisted in the singular combination it presented of a variety of excellencies seldom to be met with in the same individual. In his natural disposition, there was a high-toned energy, and what in the best sense may be called *deep passion*, united with an amazing power of self-controul. Intense feeling was doubtless the leading feature of his mind; but so completely was this held in check, so steadily was it regulated, that to many who knew him superficially, caution might seem to be the predominating trait. Nor was this moderation superinduced as an extraneous coating over the rest of his character; it formed an essential element of it, and was the fruit of that very energy of mind which required its exercise. Connected with this prominent feature, was his enlightened, and at the same time ardent and enthusiastic patriotism, his high regard for the true rights and liberties of man, civil and religious, which appeared in every part of his life, as it does in every page of his writings, and which he held with a firmness and consistency which no change of parties, no practical misapplications of his favourite principles, exemplified in the varied events which had passed before him, and in the shifting scenes of worldly politics, could shake or subdue. While on this part of his character, we cannot fail to recal the ardour and promptitude with which he appeared in behalf of the persecuted protestants in France, and more lately in the cause of the injured Greeks. His public appearances on these occasions not more delighted than astonished those who had only heard of him as the quiet pastor, or the plodding student. All this was engrafted on sound and deep-rooted religious principle. There was a nobility of spirit about him—a high sense of integrity and independence, that may be traced in those bursts of honest and virtuous indignation

with which he visited every thing like tergiversation or want of principle, and the readiness with which he appeared in vindication of injured worth, in the persons both of the living and the dead. In the case of the latter, particularly, it assumed all the attributes of a chivalrous passion ; inducing him to devote his time, talents, ease, health, and life itself, to the arduous pursuit of truth through the intricate and untrodden paths of history, and to rescue from oblivion and from obloquy the names and deeds of our Scottish reformers. He could be grave without being morose,—severe, but without the least tincture of rancour or asperity. None who ever witnessed the occasional corruscations of his spirit, as exhibited in his public appearances, will forget the impression produced by the indignant rebuke, the withering sarcasm, or the stirring appeal, as they flashed from his expressive eye, and shook every fibre of his animated frame,—a natural eloquence, peculiar to himself, which seemed to rise above the ordinary efforts of elocution by spurning all its ordinary rules.

"These were the obvious traits of his character which might be seen by all ; the more unobtrusive and amiable qualities, for which he was not less distinguished, appeared on closer inspection, and could only be appreciated by long acquaintance. Of his piety, it is unnecessary to say more, than that it was not less decidedly realized in his private walk, than it breathed in his public ministrations. Of his disinterestedness it is equally needless to speak ; numerous instances of it, which we cannot now specify, are engraven on the memories of many ; indeed, if there was any part of his nature which he permitted to border on excess, it was this ; his contempt of wealth, and of all unseemly methods of acquiring it, leading him to decline as dishonourable every thing that bore even the aspect of literary jobbing. In his private character, none who were admitted to his society need to be reminded of the perfect ease, the benignity, the unceremonious cheerfulness of his manners, amounting occasionally to playfulness and pleasantry, which made him accessible to all, and inspired confidence in young and old ; and many can tell of the steadiness of his friendships, the affectionate interest with which he entered into the cases of distress submitted to him, and the readiness with which he communicated his valued counsel and advice. With such qualities, it may be conceived what he proved as a husband and a father. It would be unpardonable, however, to omit noticing two features of his private character, which secured him the respect and affection gained by his other qualities :—a singular *prudence*, which enabled him, without the aid of chicanery, or sacrificing principle or peace, to steer his way, both in public and private life, and through the most trying circumstances, with a blamelessness and inoffensiveness of deportment, seldom exemplified, and which, we truly believe, has not left him, if any thing could ever have found him, a single enemy upon earth. To the other trait we have already alluded,—his unaffected *modesty*. Of no man could it be said with more truth,—he "blushed to find it fame." In truth, he seemed as anxious to avoid human applause as other men are to gain it. In his efforts to do so, however, there was no semblance of affectation ; it was his native temper, for which he himself took no credit, and to avoid the praise of which, he would even do violence to himself ; exemplifying the beautiful picture which Leighton has drawn of humility—"He would not care to do some things on purpose to seem arrogant, to carry humility unseen, that doth so naturally delight in covering all graces, and is sorry that it cannot do so without being seen itself."

"As a literary character, it is not our province to enter on his merits ; but our sketch would be deficient in faithfulness, were we to admit noticing the services he has done to the Church by his writings. It was as a historian he was distinguished while he lived, and his labours, in vindicating the religious reformation of his country, will endear his name to posterity, and perpetuate his fame and his usefulness. As the biographer of Knox and Melville, his name will go down with them to future ages. His attention was first turned to the history of the Church in his native land, by his being involved, in early life, in the controversy regarding the duties of the civil magistrate, in reference to religion ; and thus, to his ardent desire to satisfy his mind on a question, which now threatens to shake the foundation of civil and religious society, the world owes one of the most interesting and popular biographies that have ever appeared—The Life of John Knox:" which was followed by the no less interesting Life of Andrew Melville. Fame was not his object ; but fame, unsought for, followed him. "The cotemporaries of Dr. M'Crie appear to have been unanimous in voting him the honour of Ecclesiastical Historiographer to his country ;" and, although he accomplished the labour which Providence had assigned him, we can scarcely suppress our regret, that he was not permitted to shed that light on the second Reformation in Scotland, (from 1638 to 1650,) which he has so clearly cast around the first.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE reformation from Popery marks an epoch unquestionably the most important in the history of modern Europe. The effects of the change which it produced, in religion, in manners, in politics, and in literature, continue to be felt at the present day. Nothing, surely, can be more interesting than an investigation of the history of that period, and of those men who were the instruments, under Providence, of accomplishing a revolution which has proved so beneficial to mankind.

Though many able writers have employed their talents in tracing the causes and consequences of the Reformation, and though the leading facts respecting its progress in Scotland have been repeatedly stated, it occurred to me that the subject was by no means exhausted. I was confirmed in this opinion by a more minute examination of the ecclesiastical history of this country, which I began for my own satisfaction several years ago. While I was pleased at finding that there existed such ample materials for illustrating the history of the Scottish Reformation, I could not but regret that no one had undertaken to digest and exhibit the information on this subject which lay hid in manuscripts, and in books which are now little known or consulted. Not presuming, however, that I had the ability or the leisure requisite for executing a task of such difficulty and extent, I formed the design of drawing up memorials of our national Reformer, in which his personal history might be combined with illustrations of the progress of that great undertaking, in the advancement of which he acted so conspicuous a part.

A work of this kind seemed to be wanting. The name of KNOX, indeed, often occurs in the general histories of the period, and some of our historians have drawn, with their usual ability, the leading traits of a character with which they could not fail to be struck; but it was foreign to their object to detail the events of his life, and it was not to be expected that they would bestow that minute and critical attention on his history which is necessary to form a complete and accurate idea of his character. Memoirs of his life have been prefixed to editions of some of his works, and inserted in biographical collections and periodical publications; but in many instances their authors were destitute of proper information, and in others they were precluded, by the limits to which they were confined, from entering into those minute statements, which are so useful for illustrating individual character, and which render biography both pleasing and instructive. Nor can it escape observation, that a number of writers have been guilty of great injustice to the memory of our Reformer; and from prejudice, from ignorance, or from inattention, have exhibited a distorted caricature, instead of a genuine portrait.

I was encouraged to prosecute my design, in consequence of my possessing a manuscript volume of Knox's Letters, which throw considerable light upon his character and history. The advantages which I have derived from this volume will appear in the course of the work, where it is quoted under the general title of *MS. Letters*.[1]

The other MSS. which I have chiefly made use of, are Calderwood's large History of the Church of Scotland, Row's History, and Wodrow's Collections. Calderwood's History, besides much valuable information respecting the early period of the Reformation, contains a collection of letters written by Knox between 1559 and 1572, which, together with those in my possession, extend over twenty years of the most active period of his life. I have carefully consulted this history as far as it relates to the period of which I write. The copy which I most frequently quote belongs to the Church of Scotland. In the Advocates Library, besides a complete copy of that work, there is a folio volume of it, reaching to the end of the year 1752. It was written in 1634, and has a number of interlineations and marginal alterations, differing from the other copies, which, if not made by the

[1] See an account of this MS. in Appendix, p. 145.

author's own hand, were most probably done under his eye. I have sometimes quoted this copy. The reader will easily discern when this is the case, as the references to it are made merely by the year under which the transaction is recorded, the volume not being paged.

Row, in composing the early part of his *Historie of the Kirk*, had the assistance of Memoirs written by David Ferguson, his father-in-law, who was admitted minister of Dumfermline at the establishment of the Reformation. Copies of this history seem to have been taken before the author had put the finishing hand to it, which may account for the additional matter to be found in some of them. I have occasionally quoted the copy which belongs to the Divinity Library in Edinburgh, but more frequently one transcribed in 1726, which is more full than any other copy that I have had access to see.

The industrious Wodrow had amassed a valuable collection of MSS. relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, the greater part of which is now deposited in our public libraries. In the library of the University of Glasgow there is a number of volumes in folio, containing collections which he had made for illustrating the lives of the Scottish Reformers and Divines of the sixteenth century. These have supplied me with some interesting facts. They are quoted under the name of *Wodrow MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glass.*

For the transactions of the General Assembly, I have consulted the Register, commonly called the *Book of the Universal Kirk*. There are several copies of this MS. in the country. That which is followed in this work, and which is the oldest I have examined, belongs to the Advocates Library.

I have endeavoured to avail myself of the printed histories of the period, and of books published in the age of the Reformation, which often incidentally mention facts that are not recorded by historians. In the Advocates Library, which contains an invaluable treasure of information respecting Scottish affairs, I had an opportunity of examining the original editions of most of the Reformer's works. The rarest of all his tracts is the narrative of his Disputation with the Abbot of Crossraguel, which scarcely any writer since Knox's time seems to have seen. After I had given up all hopes of procuring a sight of this curious tract, I was accidentally informed that a copy of it was in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, who very politely communicated it to me.

In pointing out the sources which I have consulted, I wish not to be understood as intimating that the reader may expect, in the following work, much information which is absolutely new. He who engages in researches of this kind, must lay his account with finding the result of his discoveries reduced within a small compass, and should be prepared to expect that many of his readers will pass over with a cursory eye what he has procured with great, perhaps with unnecessary labour. The principal facts respecting the Reformation and the Reformer are already known. I flatter myself, however, that I have been able to place some of them in a new and more just light, and to bring forward others which have not hitherto been generally known.

The reader will find the authorities, upon which I have proceeded in the statement of facts, carefully marked; but my object was rather to be select than numerous in my references. When I had occasion to introduce facts which have been often repeated in histories, and are already established and unquestionable, I did not reckon it necessary to be so particular in producing the authorities.

After so many writers of biography have incurred the charge either of uninteresting generality, or of tedious prolixity, it would betray great arrogance were I to presume that I had approached the due medium. I have particularly felt the difficulty, in writing the life of a public character, of observing the line which divides biography from general history. Desirous of giving unity to the narrative, and at the same time anxious to convey information respecting the ecclesiastical and literary history of the period, I have separated a number of facts and illustrations of this description, and placed them in notes at the end of the Life. I am not without apprehensions that I may have exceeded in the number or length of these notes, and that some readers may think that in attempting to relieve one part of the work I have overloaded another.

No apology will, I trust, be deemed necessary for the freedom with which I have expressed my sentiments on the public questions which naturally occurred in the course of the narrative. Some of these are at variance with opinions which are popular in the present age; but it does not follow from this that they are false, or that they should have been suppressed. I have not become the indiscriminate panegyrist of the Reformer, nor have I concealed or thrown into shade his faults; but, on the other hand, the apprehension of incurring these charges has not deterred me from vindicating him wherever I considered his conduct to be justifiable, or from apologizing for him against uncandid and exaggerated censures. The attacks which have been made on his character from so many quarters,

and the attempts to wound the Reformation through him, must be my excuse for having so often adopted the language of apology.

In the Appendix I have inserted a number of Knox's letters, and other papers relative to that period, none of which, as far as I know, have formerly been published. Several others, intended for insertion in the same place, have been kept back, as the work has swelled to a greater size than was expected. A very scarce Poem, written in commendation of the Reformer, and published in the year after his death, is reprinted in the Supplement. It confirms several facts contained in the Life.

When the printing of the following Life was finished, and I was employed in correcting the Notes at the end, a *History of the Reformation in Scotland* by *Dr. Cook of Laurencekirk*, was published. After what I have already said, I need scarcely add, that the appearance of such a work gave me great satisfaction. The author is a friend to civil and religious liberty; he has done justice to the talents and character of the Reformers, and evinced much industry and impartiality in examining the authorities from which he has taken his materials. Had he had more full access to the sources of information, he would no doubt have done greater justice to the subject, and rendered his work still more worthy of public favour; but I trust that it will be useful in correcting mistakes and prejudices which are extremely common, and in exciting attention to a branch of our national history which has been long neglected. Where our subject coincides, I have in general observed an agreement in the narrative, and sometimes in the reflections: in several instances, however, we differ materially in the statement of facts, in the judgment which we have expressed about them, and in the delineation of character. The judicious reader will determine on which side the truth lies, by comparing the reasons which we have advanced, and the authorities to which we have appealed.

Edinburgh,
November 14*th*, 1811.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this work for a second impression, I have endeavoured carefully to correct mistakes which had escaped me in the first, both as to matter and language. I have introduced accounts of the principal public transactions of the period, which a desire of being concise induced me formerly to exclude, but which serve to throw light on the exertions of the Reformer, and ought to be known by those who read his Life. And I have entered into a more full detail of several parts of his conduct than was practicable within the limits of a single volume. Such additional authorities, printed or manuscript, as I have had access to, since the publication of the former edition, have been diligently consulted; and I flatter myself that the alterations and additions which these have enabled me to make, will be considered as improvements.

I have added to the Supplement a number of original Latin Poems on the principal characters mentioned in the course of the work, which may not be unacceptable to the learned reader. No translation is given; as it would have been extremely difficult to convey a proper idea of their contents to those who are unacquainted with the language in which they are written.

Edinburgh,
March 1*st*, 1813.

THE

LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

PERIOD I.

From the year 1505, in which he was born, to the year 1542, when he embraced the Reformed Religion.

John Knox was born in the year one thousand, five hundred, and five. The place of his nativity has been disputed. That he was born at Gifford, a village in East Lothian, has been the most prevailing opinion; but some late writers, relying upon popular tradition, have fixed his birth place at Haddington, the principal town of the county. The house in which he is said to have been born is still shown by the inhabitants, in one of the suburbs of the town, called the *Gifford-gate*. This house, with some adjoining acres of land, continued to be possessed, until about fifty years ago, by a family of the name of Knox, who claimed affinity with the reformer. I am inclined, however, to prefer the opinion of the oldest and most credible writers, that he was born in the village of Gifford.*

His father was descended from an ancient and respectable family, who possessed the lands of Knox, Ranferly, and Craigends, in the shire of Renfrew. The descendants of this family have been accustomed to claim him as a cadet, and to enumerate among the honours of their house, that it gave birth to the Scottish Reformer, a bishop of Raphoe, and a bishop of the Isles.† At what particular period his paternal ancestors removed from their original seat, and settled in Lothian, I have not been able exactly to ascertain. His mother's name was *Sinclair*.‡

Obscurity of parentage can reflect no dishonour upon him who has raised himself to distinction, by his virtues and talents. But though our reformer's parents were neither great nor opulent, the assertion of some writers, that they were in poor circumstances, is contradicted by facts.‖ They were able to give their son a liberal education, which, in that age, was far from being common. In his youth he was put to the grammar-school of Haddington; and, after he had acquired the principles of the Latin language there, his father sent him, about the year 1524,§ to the university of St. Andrews, at that time the most distinguished seminary in the kingdom.¶

The state of learning in Scotland at that period, and the progress which it made in the subsequent part of the century, have not been examined with the attention which they deserve, and which has been bestowed on contemporaneous subjects of inferior importance. There were unquestionably learned Scotsmen in the early part of the sixteenth century; but most of them owed their chief acquirements to the advantage of a foreign education. Those improvements which the revival of literature had introduced into the schools of Italy and France, were long in reaching the universities of Scotland, originally formed upon their model, and, when they did arrive, were regarded with a suspicious eye. The principal branches cultivated in our universities were the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, with canon and civil law.*

Even in the darkest ages, Scotland was never altogether destitute of schools for teaching the *Latin* language.† It is probable that these were at first attached to monasteries; and it was long a common practice among the barons to board their children with the monks for their education.‡ When the regular clergy had degenerated, and learning was no longer confined to them, grammar schools were erected in the principal towns, and taught by persons who had qualified themselves for this task in the best manner that the circumstances of the country admitted. The schools of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, Killearn, and Haddington, are particularly mentioned in writings about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The two first of these acquired the greatest celebrity, owing to the skill of the masters who presided over them. In the year 1520, *John Vaus* was rector of the school of Aberdeen, and is commended by Hector Boece, the learned principal of the university, for his knowledge

* See Note I.

† Nisbet's Heraldry, p. 180. Crawfurd's Renfrew, by Semple, Part. II. p. 30, 139. Account of Knox, prefixed to his History, Anno 1732, page ii. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 177.

‡ In letters written by the Reformer, in times of persecution or war, when there was a risk of their being intercepted, he was accustomed to subscribe, "John Sinclair." Under this signature at one of them, in the collection of letters in my possession, is the following note: "yis was his mother's surname, wlk he wrait in time of trubill." MS. Letters, p. 346.

‖ See Note II.

§ I have not been able to ascertain the precise year in which Knox entered the University.

¶ Bezæ Icones Virorum Illustrium, Ee. iij. Anno 1580. Verheidenii Effigies et Elogia Præstant. Theolog. p. 92. Hagæcomit. 1602.

* Boetii Vitæ Episcopor. Murthlac. et Aberdon. fol. xxix. coll. cum fol. xxvi.—xxviii. Impress. Anno 1522. This little work is of great value, and contains almost the only authentic notices which we possess, as to the state of learning in Scotland, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mackenzie, the copier of the fabulous Dempster, (who gives an account of learned men that never existed, and of books that no man ever saw or could see,) talks of almost every writer whom he mentions, as finishing "the course of his studies in the Belles Lettres and Philosophy" in one of the Scots Universities. These are merely words of course. Some of the Aristotelian rules concerning rhetoric might be delivered by the professors of scholastic philosophy; but until the Reformation, there does not appear to have been any course of this kind. At that period, a course of rhetoric was appointed to be taught in the colleges. First Book of Discipline, p. 40, 42. Edit. Anno 1621.

† In the 12th century, there was a school at Abernethy, and at Roxburgh. Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p. 226, 255. Other schools in that and the subsequent century are mentioned in charters, apud Chalmers's Caledonia, I. 76.

‡ Caledonia, I. 768.

of the Latin tongue, and his success in the education of youth.* At a period somewhat later, *Andrew Simson* acted as master of the school of Perth, where he taught Latin with applause. From this school proceeded many of those who afterwards distinguished themselves both in church and state. He had sometimes three hundred boys under his charge at one time, among whom were sons of the principal nobility and gentry.†

These schools afforded the means of instruction in the Latin tongue, the knowledge of which, in some degree, was requisite for enabling the clergy to perform the religious service. But the *Greek* language, long after it had been enthusiastically studied on the continent, and after it had become a fixed branch of education in the neighbouring kingdom, continued to be almost unknown in Scotland. Individuals acquired the knowledge of it abroad; but the first attempts to teach it in this country were of a private nature, and exposed their patrons to the suspicion of heresy. The town of Montrose is distinguished by being the first place, as far as I have been able to discover, in which Greek was taught in Scotland; and John Erskine of Dun is entitled to the honour of being regarded as the first of his countrymen who patronised the study of that elegant and useful language. As early as the year 1534, this enlightened and public-spirited baron, on returning from his travels, brought with him a Frenchman skilled in the Greek tongue, whom he settled in Montrose; and, upon his removal, he liberally encouraged others to come from France and succeed to his place. From this private seminary, many Greek scholars proceeded, and the knowledge of the language was gradually diffused over the kingdom.‡ After this statement, I need scarcely add, that the Oriental tongues were at that time utterly unknown in Scotland. I shall afterwards have occasion to notice the introduction of the study of *Hebrew*.

Knox acquired the Greek language before he arrived at middle age; but we find him acknowledging, as late as the year 1550, that he was ignorant of Hebrew,‖ a defect in his education which he exceedingly lamented, and which he afterwards got supplied during his exile on the continent.

John Mair, better known by his Latin name, Major, was professor of philosophy and theology at St. Andrews, when Knox attended the university. The minds of young men, and their future train of thinking, often receive an important direction from the master under whom they are educated, especially if his reputation be high. Major was at that time deemed an oracle in the sciences which he taught; and as he was the preceptor of Knox, and of the celebrated scholar Buchanan, it may be proper to advert to some of his opinions. He had received the greater part of his education in France, and acted for some time as a professor in the university of Paris. In that situation, he acquired a more liberal habit of thinking and expressing himself on certain subjects, than was yet to be met with in his native country, and in other parts of Europe. He had imbibed the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity, maintained by John Gerson and Peter D'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance, and the liberties of the Gallican church, against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications, had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds; he held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome, and of the episcopal order; was no warm friend of the regular clergy; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays.*

His opinions respecting civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter collectively considered; that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishment.†

The affinity between these, and the political principles afterwards avowed by Knox, and defended by the classic pen of Buchanan, is too striking to require illustration. Some of these, indeed, had been taught by at least one Scottish author, who flourished before the time of Major; but it is most probable that the oral instructions and writings of their master first suggested to them the sentiments which they so readily adopted, and which were afterwards confirmed by mature reflection, and more extensive reading; and that consequently the important changes which these contributed to accomplish, should be traced in a certain measure to this distinguished professor. Nor, in such circumstances, could his ecclesiastical opinions fail to have a proportionate share of influence, on their habits of thinking with respect to religion and the church.

But though, in these respects, the opinions of Major were more free and rational than those generally entertained at that time, it must be confessed, that the portion of instruction which his scholars could derive from him was extremely small, if we allow his publications to be a fair specimen of his academical prelections. Many of the questions which he discusses are utterly useless and trifling; the rest are rendered disgusting by the most servile adherence to all the minutiæ of the scholastic mode of reasoning. The reader of his works must be contented with painfully picking a grain of truth from the rubbish of many pages; nor will the drudgery be compensated by those discoveries of inventive genius and acute discrimination, for which the writings of Aquinas, and some others of that subtle school, may still deserve to be consulted. Major is entitled to praise, for exposing to his countrymen several of the more glaring errors and abuses of his time; but his mind was deeply tinctured with superstition, and he defended some of the absurdest tenets of popery by the most ridiculous and puerile arguments.‡ His talents were moderate; with the

* Boetii Vitæ, fol. xxx. Vaus was the author of a Latin Grammar, printed at Edinburgh by R. Lepreuik, which is now exceedingly rare.

† Row's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, MS. p. 3, 4. Simson taught at Perth between 1550 and 1560. At the establishment of the Reformation, he became minister of Dunning and Cargitt, from which he was translated, in 1566, to Dunbar, where he sustained the double office of minister of the parish, and master of the grammar school. He was the author of Latin Rudiments, which continued to be taught in the schools of Scotland until the time of Ruddiman, and were much esteemed by that accomplished scholar. Row, ut sup. Keith's History, p. 534. Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, 21, 22, 63.

‡ Life of John Erskine of Dun, p. 2. apud Wodrow MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. The industrious collector had access to some of Erskine's papers, when employed in compiling his life. Some additional facts respecting the progress of Greek literature in Scotland will be found in Note III.

‖ "In the Hebrew toung, (says he, in his defence before the Bishop of Durham,) I confess myself ignorant, but have, as God knaweth, fervent thrist to have sum entrance thairin. MS. Letters, p. 16.

* These sentiments are collected from his Commentary on the Third Book of the Master of Sentences, and from his Exposition of Matthew's Gospel; printed in Latin at Paris, the former Anno 1517, and the latter Anno 1518.

† See Note IV.

‡ Lord Hailes, having given an example of this, adds, "After this, can Buchanan be censured for saying that he was "solo

writings of the ancients, he appears to have been acquainted only through the medium of the collectors of the middle ages; nor does he ever hazard an opinion, or pursue a speculation, beyond the limits which had been marked out by some approved doctor of the church. Add to this, that his style is, to an uncommon degree, harsh and forbidding; "exile, aridum, conscissum, ac minutum."

Knox and Buchanan soon became disgusted with such studies, and began to seek entertainment more gratifying to their ardent and inquisitive minds. Having set out in search of knowledge, they released themselves from the trammels, and overleaped the boundaries, prescribed to them by their timid conductor. Each following the native bent of his genius and inclination, they separated in the prosecution of their studies; Buchanan, indulging in a more excursive range, explored the extensive fields of literature, and wandered in the flowery mead of poesy; while Knox, passing through the avenues of secular learning, devoted himself to the study of divine truth, and the labours of the sacred ministry. Both, however, kept uniformly in view the advancement of true religion and liberty, with the love of which they were equally smitten; and as, during their lives, they suffered a long and painful exile, and were exposed to many dangers, for adherence to this kindred cause, so their memories have not been divided, in the profuse but honourable obloquy with which they have been aspersed by its enemies, and in the deserved and grateful recollections of its genuine friends.*

But we must not suppose, that Knox was able at once to divest himself of the prejudices of his education and of the times. Barren and repulsive as the scholastic studies appear to our minds, there was something in the intricate and subtle sophistry then in vogue, calculated to fascinate the youthful and ingenious mind. It had a show of wisdom; it exercised, although it did not feed the understanding; it even gave play to the imagination, while it exceedingly flattered the pride of the learned adept. Once involved in the mazy labyrinth, it was no easy task to break through it, and to escape into the open field of rational and free inquiry. Accordingly, Knox continued for some time captivated with these studies, and prosecuted them with great success. After he was created Master of Arts, he taught philosophy, most probably as an assistant, or private lecturer in the university.† His class became celebrated; and he was considered as equalling, if not excelling his master, in the subtleties of the dialectic art.‡ About the same time, although he had no interest but what was procured by his own merit, he was advanced to clerical orders, and was ordained a priest, before he reached the age fixed by the canons of the church.* This must have taken place previous to the year 1530, at which time he had arrived at his twenty-fifth year, the canonical age for receiving ordination.

It was not long, however, till his studies received a new direction, which led to a complete revolution in his religious sentiments, and had an important influence on the whole of his future life. Not satisfied with the excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind, in spite of the prejudices of education, and the pride of superior attainments in his own favourite art. Among the fathers of the Christian church, Jerom and Augustine attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish church, who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. From this time, he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and, although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared, for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. It was about the year 1535, when this favourable change commenced;† but, it does not appear that he professed himself a protestant before the year 1542.

As I am now to enter upon that period of Knox's life, at which he renounced the Roman Catholic communion, and commenced Reformer, it may not be improper to take a survey of the state of religion in Scotland at that time. Without an adequate knowledge of this, it is impossible to form a just estimate of the necessity and importance of that Reformation, in the advancement of which he laboured with so great zeal; and nothing has contributed so much to give currency, among Protestants, to prejudice against his character as ignorance, or a superficial consideration of the enormous and almost incredible abuses which then prevailed in the church. This must be my apology, for a digression which might otherwise be deemed superfluous or disproportionate.

The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally depraved, before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland, than in any other nation within the pale of the Western church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and Abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours: they were Privy-Councellors and Lords of Session, as well as of Parliament,

cognomine *Major?*" Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 11. By the way, it was Major who first said this of himself. It was the sight of these words, "Joannes, solo cognomine Major," in the dedicatory epistle to his writings, that drew from Buchanan the satirical lines, which have been so often appealed to by his enemies, as an infallible proof of the badness of his heart. If fault there was in this, we may certainly make an apology which his learned editor produces for him in another case, "non tam hominis vitium, quam poetæ." Poets and wits cannot always spare their best friends.

* Buchanan always mentions Knox in terms of high respect, Oper. ed. Ruddiman. p. 313, 321, 366. And the Reformer, in his History, has borne testimony to the virtues as well as splendid talents of the Poet: "That notable man, Mr. George Bucquhanane—remanis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God 1566 years, to the glory of God, to the gret honour of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singulare wark of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesie, besyd mony uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man," Historie, p. 24.

† It was not unusual in the universities at that period, to select some of the students who had been laureated, and made the greatest proficiency; and to employ them as assistants to the professors. Boetii Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. fol. xxix, xxx.

‡ "In hac igitur Anthropotheologia egregie versatus Cnoxus, eandam et magna autoritate docuit: visusque fuit magistro suo (si qua in subtilitate felicitas), in quibusdam felicior." Verheiden, Effigies et Elogia Præstant. Theolog. p. 92. Hagæcomit. 1602, and p. 69, of edit. 1725. Melch. Adami Vitæ Theolog. Exter. p. 137, Francofurti, 1618.

* See Note V.

† Bezæ Icones; Verheidenii Effigies; Melchior Adam; Ubi Supra. Spottiswood's History, p. 265. Lond. 1677.

and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons.* Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops.† Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices given *in commendam* were kept vacant, during the life of the commendatary, nay, sometimes during several lives;‡ so that extensive parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all religious service,—if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for this purpose. The Bishops never on any occasion condescended to preach; indeed, I scarcely recollect an instance of it, mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish episcopacy, down to the æra of the Reformation.‖ The practice had even gone into desuetude among all the secular clergy, and was wholly devolved on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.§

The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set the example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices; and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry, many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought.¶

Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds.* The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection; friars, white, black, and grey; canons regular, and of St. Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals and Observantines, Jacobines, Premonstratensians, monks of Tyrone, and of Vallis Caulium, Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; nuns of St. Austin, St. Clare, St. Scholastica, and St. Catharine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans.†

The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred scriptures, except what they met with in their missals.‡ Under such pastors the people perished for lack of knowledge. That book which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible to "Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free," was locked up from them, and the use of it, in their own tongue, prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.‖

Scotland, from her local situation, had been less exposed to disturbance from the encroaching ambition, vexatious exactions, and fulminating anathemas of the Vatican court, than the countries in the immediate vicinity of Rome. But from the same cause, it was more easy for the domestic clergy to keep up on the

* During the minority of James V. the celebrated Gawin Douglas was recommended by the Queen to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; but John Hepburn, prior of the regular canons, opposed the nomination, and took the Archiepiscopal palace by storm. Douglas afterwards laid siege to the cathedral of Dunkeld, and carried it, more by the thunder of his cannon, than the dread of the excommunication which he threatened to fulminate against his antagonist. Buch. Hist. xiii. 44. Spottis. 61. Life of Gawin Douglas, prefixed to the Translation of the Æneid. Ruddiman's edition.

† Sir David Lindsay's Works, by Chalmers, I. 344. II. 237, 238. Winzet and Kennedy, apud Keith, App. 488, 504.

‡ The Popes were accustomed to grant liberty to the commendataries to dispose of benefices which they held by this tenure, to others who should succeed to them after their death. Introduction to Scots Biography, apud Wodrow MSS. vol. 9. p. 171; in Bibl. Coll. Glas. As late as Anno 1534, Clement VII. granted, in commendam, to his nephew Hypolitus, Cardinal de Medici, ALL the benefices in the world, secular and regular, dignities and parsonages, simple and with cure, being vacant, for six months; with power to dispose of all their fruits, and convert them to his own use. Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, lib. i. p. 251. Lond. 1620.

‖ One exception occurs, and must not be omitted. When George Wishart was preaching in Ayr, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, took possession of the pulpit, in order to exclude the Reformer. Some of Wishart's more zealous hearers would have dispossessed the bishop, but the Reformer would not suffer them. "The bishope preichit to his jackmen, and to sum auld boisses of the toun. The soum of all his sermone was, They sey, we sould preiche: Quhy not? Better lait thyrve nor nevir thryve. Had us still for your bischope, and we sall provyde better the nixt tyme." Knox, Historie, p. 44.

§ War not the preiching of the begging freiris,
Tint war the faith amang the seculeiris.
Lindsay, ut supra, i. 343. comp. ii. 101.

¶ Lord Hailes' Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 249, 250, 297, 309. We need not appeal to the testimony of the reformers, or to satirical poems published at that time, in proof of the extreme profligacy of the popish clergy. The truth is registered in the acts of Parliament, and in the decrees of their own councils, (Wilkin. Concil. tom. iv. p. 46—60. Keith's Hist. pref. xiv. and p. 14.) in the records of legitimation, (Lord Hailes, ut supra, p. 249, 250.) and in the confessions of their own writers. (Kennedy and Winget, apud Keith, Append. 202, 205—7. Lesley, Hist. 232. Father Alexander Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, &c. of our Scottish Calvinian Gospel, p. 15, 16. Wirtzburgh, Anno 1628.)

* In consequence of a very powerful confederacy against the religious knights, called Templars, and upon charges of the most flagitious crimes, that order was suppressed by a General Council, Anno 1312; but their possessions were conferred upon another order of sacred knights. The plentitude of papal power was stretched to the very utmost, in this dread attempt. "Quanquam (says his Holiness in the Bull) de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus." Walsingham, Histor. Angl. p. 99. When the Gilbertine monks retired from Scotland, because the air of the country did not agree with them, their revenues were, upon their resignation, transferred to the monastery of Paisley. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 266.

† See Note VI.

‡ Fox, p. 1153. printed Anno 1596. Chalmers's Lindsay, ii. 62, 63, 64. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 30. Sir Ralph Sadler's testimony to the clergy as the only men of learning about the court of James V. may seem to contradict what I have asserted. But Sadler speaks merely of their talents for political management, and in the same letters gives a proof of their ignorance in other respects. The clergy at that time made law their principal study, and endeavoured to qualify themselves for offices of state. This, however, engaged their whole attention, and they were grossly ignorant in their own profession. Sadler's State Papers, i. 47, 48. Edin. 1809. Knox, Historie, p. 18.

Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland, being obliged to *say grace*, at an entertainment which he gave to the Pope and Cardinals in Rome, blundered so in his latinity, that his Holiness and their Eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the bishop, that he concluded the blessing by giving *all the false carles to the devil, in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus;* to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said *Amen.* "The holy bishop (says Pitscottie) was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin." History p. 106.

‖ Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. 72. Lord Hailes' Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 36.

minds of the people that excessive veneration for the Holy See, which could not be long felt by those who had the opportunity of witnessing its vices and worldly politics.* The burdens which attended a state of dependence upon a remote foreign jurisdiction were severely felt. Though the popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the purchasing of palls, the confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and for many other purposes; in exchange for which, were received leaden bulls, woollen palls, wooden images, plenty of old bones, with similar articles of precious consecrated mummery.†

Of the doctrine of Christianity nothing almost remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour, with the "One Mediator between God and man;" and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary and other saints, than to "Him whom the Father heareth always." The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Saviour, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance, by forsaking their sins, and to testify their love to God and to man, by practising the duties of morality, and observing the ordinances of worship authorised by scripture; they were taught, that, if they regularly said their *Aves* and *Credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, purchased a mass, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, or performed some prescribed act of bodily mortification,—if they refrained from flesh on Fridays, and punctually paid their tithes and other perquisites, their salvation was infallibly secured in due time: while those who were so rich and pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and diriges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory for themselves or their relations, in proportion to the extent of their liberality. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were, which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.*

The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed, by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the church. Not satisfied with exacting tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead: no sooner had a poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his corps-present, which he repeated as often as death visited the family.† Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against those who were reluctant in making these payments, or who showed themselves disobedient to the clergy; and, for a little money, they were prosecuted on the most trifling occasions.‡ Divine service was neglected; the churches were deserted (especially after the light of the Reformation had discovered abuses, and pointed out "a more excellent way"); so that, except on a few festival days, the places of worship, in many parts of the country, served only as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.‖

Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons by which its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy. The most frightful pictures were drawn of those who had separated from the Romish church, and held up before the eyes of the people, to deter them from imitating their example. If any person, who had attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, and to propose the correction of abuses, he was immediately stigmatised as a heretic, and, if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. When at last, in spite of all their precautions, the light which was shining around did break in and spread through the nation, they prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its extinction.

From this imperfect sketch of the state of religion in this country, we may see how false the representation is which some persons would impose on us; as if popery were a system, erroneous indeed, but purely speculative; superstitious, but harmless; provided it had not been accidentally accompanied with intolerance and cruelty. The very reverse is the truth. It may be safely said, that there is not one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or afterwards accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse; to aggrandize the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanctify their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations upon the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.

It was a system not more repugnant to the religion of the Bible, than incompatible with the legitimate rights of princes, and the independence, liberty, and prosperity of kingdoms; a system not more destructive to the souls of men, than to social and domestic happiness, and the principles of sound morality. Considerations from every quarter combined in calling aloud for a radical and complete reform. The exertions of

* Luther often mentioned to his familiar acquaintances the advantage which he derived from a visit to Rome in 1510, and used to say that he would not exchange that journey for 1000 florins; so much did it contribute to open his eyes to the corruptions of the Romish court, and to weaken his prejudices. Melchior. Adami Vitæ Germ. Theol. p. 104. Erasmus had a sensation of the same kind, although weaker. John Rough, one of the Scottish Reformers, felt in a similar way, after visiting Rome. Fox, 1841.

† Notwithstanding laws repeatedly made to restrain persons from going to Rome, to obtain benefices, the practice was greatly on the increase about the time of the Reformation.

It is schort tyme sen ony benefice
Was sped in Rome, except great bishoprics;
But now, for ane unworthy vickarage,
A priest will rin to Rome in pilgrimage.
Ane cavill quhilk was never at the scule
Will rin to Rome, and keep ane bischopis mule:
And syne cum hame with mony a colorit crack,
With ane burdin of beneficis on his back.
Chalmer's Lindsay, ii. 60.

* Knox, 14,—16. Spottiswood, 64, 69. Keith, Append. 205. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems of the 16th century, i. 16,—18. Chalmers's Lindsay, i. 211.

† See Note VII. ‡ Knox, Historie, p. 14.

‖ Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, ut supra, i. 28.

all descriptions of persons, of the man of letters, the patriot, the prince, as well as the Christian, each acting in his own sphere for his own interests, with the joint concurrence of all as in a common cause, were urgently required for extirpating abuses, of which all had reason to complain, and for effectuating a revolution, in the advantages of which all would participate. There was, however, no reasonable prospect of accomplishing this, without exposing, in the first place, the falsehood of those notions which have been called speculative. It was principally by means of these that superstition had established its empire over the minds of men; behind them the Romish ecclesiastics had entrenched themselves, and defended their usurped prerogatives and possessions; and had any prince or legislature endeavoured to deprive them of these, while the great body of the people remained unenlightened, it would soon have been found that the attempt was premature in itself, and replete with danger to those by whom it was made. To the revival of the primitive doctrines and institutions of Christianity, by the preaching and writings of the reformers, and to those controversies by which the popish errors were confuted from scripture, (for which many modern philosophers seem to have a thorough contempt), we are chiefly indebted for the overthrow of superstition, ignorance, and despotism; and in fact all the blessings, political and religious, which we enjoy may be traced to the Reformation from popery.

How grateful should we be to divine Providence for this happy revolution! For, those persons do but "sport with their own imaginations," who flatter themselves that it must have taken place in the ordinary course of human affairs, and overlook the many convincing proofs of the superintending direction of superior wisdom, in the whole combination of circumstances which contributed to bring about the Reformation in this country, as well as throughout Europe. How much are we indebted to those men, who, under God, were the instruments in effecting it; men who cheerfully hazarded their lives to achieve a design which involved the felicity of millions unborn; who boldly attacked the system of error and corruption, though fortified by popular credulity, by custom, and by laws, fenced with the most dreadful penalties; and who, having forced the strong hold of superstition, and penetrated the recesses of its temple, tore aside the veil that concealed the monstrous idol which the whole world ignorantly worshipped, dissolved the magic spell by which the human mind was bound, and restored it to liberty! How criminal must those be, who, sitting at ease under the vines and fig-trees, planted by the unwearied labours, and watered by the blood of these patriots, discover their disesteem of the invaluable privileges which they inherit, or their ignorance of the expense at which they were purchased, by the most unworthy treatment of those to whom they owe them; misrepresent their actions, calumniate their motives, and cruelly load their memories with every species of abuse!

> Patriots have toil'd, and in their country's cause
> Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,
> Receive proud recompense.————————
> But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
> To those who, posted at the shrine of truth,
> Have fallen in her defence.————————
> Yet few remember them.————————
> ————————With their names
> No bard embalms and sanctifies his song:
> And history, so warm on meaner themes,
> Is cold on this. She execrates indeed
> The tyranny that doom'd them to the fire,
> But gives the glorious sufferers little praise.
> Cowper, Task, Book V.*

* In the margin, Cowper names Hume as chargeable with the injustice which he so feelingly upbraids. While it is painful to think that other historians, since Hume, have exposed themselves to the same censure, it is pleasing to reflect, that Cowper is not the only poet, who has "sanctified," and, I trust, "embalmed his song" with the praises of these patriots. The reader will easily perceive that I refer to the author of *The Sabbath.*

THE reformed doctrine had made considerable progress in Scotland, before it was embraced by KNOX. PATRICK HAMILTON, a youth of royal lineage,* obtained the honour, not conferred upon many of his rank, of first announcing its glad tidings to his countrymen, and of sealing them with his blood. He was born in the year 1504; and being designed for the church by his relations, the abbacy of Ferne was conferred upon him in his childhood, according to a ridiculous custom which prevailed at that period. But as early as the year 1526, previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish See, a gleam of light was, by some unknown means,† imparted to his mind, amidst the darkness which brooded around him. His recommendations of ancient literature, at the expence of the philosophy which was then taught in the schools, and the free language which he used in speaking of the corruptions of the church, had already drawn upon him the suspicions of the clergy, when he resolved to leave Scotland, and to improve his mind by travelling on the Continent. He set out with three attendants, and attracted by the fame of Luther, repaired to Wittemberg. Luther and Melanchthon were highly pleased with his zeal, and after retaining him a short time with them, they recommended him to the university of Marpurg. This university was newly erected by that enlightened prince, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, who had placed at its head the learned, and pious *Francis Lambert of Avignon.* Lambert, who had left his native country, and sacrificed a lucrative situation, from love to the reformed religion, conceived a strong attachment to the young Scotsman, who imbibed his instructions with extraordinary avidity. While he was daily advancing in acquaintance with the scriptures, Hamilton was seized with an unconquerable desire of imparting to his countrymen the knowledge which he had acquired. In vain did Lambert represent to him the dangers to which he would be exposed; his determination was fixed; and taking along with him a single attendant, he left Marpurg, and returned to Scotland.‡

The clergy did not allow him long time to disseminate his opinions. Pretending to wish a free conference with him, they decoyed him to St. Andrews, where he was thrown into prison by Archbishop Beatoun, and committed to the flames, on the last day of February 1528, and in the twenty-fourth year of his age. On his trial he defended his opinions with firmness, yet with great modesty; and the mildness, patience, and fortitude, which he displayed at the stake, equalled those of the first martyrs of Christianity. He expired with these words in his mouth, *How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.*‖ "The murder of Hamilton (says a historian of that period) was afterwards avenged in the blood of the nephew and successor of his persecutor;" and the flames in which he expired were, "in the course

* His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavil, was a son of Lord Hamilton, who married a sister of King James III. His mother was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch. Pinkerton's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 45—6, 289.

† There was an act of Parliament, as early as 17th July, 1525, prohibiting ships from bringing any books of Luther into Scotland, which had always "bene clene of all sic filth and vice." Acta Parliamentorum Scotiæ, p. 295. This renders it highly probable, that such books had already been introduced into this country.

‡ F. Lamberti Avenionensis Comment. in Apocalypsin, Præfat. Anno 1528.

‖ Lambert, ut supra. Bezæ Icones. Fli Fox, 888. Knox, 4—6. Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland, p. 133—5. Eden. 1728. This last author gives a very interesting account of Hamilton's trial, but he is wrong as to the year of his martyrdom.

of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume, with avenging fury, the catholic superstition, the papal power, and the prelacy itself."*

The good effects which resulted from the martyrdom of Hamilton very soon began to appear. Many of the learned, as well as of the common people, in St. Andrews, beheld with deep interest the cruel death of a person of rank, and they could not refrain from admiring the heroism with which he endured it. This excited inquiry into the opinions for which he suffered, and the result of inquiry in many cases was a conviction of their truth. *Gawin Logie*, Rector of St. Leonard's College, was so successful in instilling them into the minds of the students, that it became proverbial to say of any one suspected of Lutheranism, that "he had drunk of St. Leonard's well."† Under the connivance of *John Winram*,‡ the Subprior, they also secretly spread among the noviciates of the Abbey.

These sentiments were not long confined to St. Andrews, and every where persons were to be found who held that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr. Alarmed at the progress of the new opinions, the clergy adopted the most rigorous measures for their extirpation. Strict inquisition was made after heretics; the flames of persecution were kindled in all quarters of the country; and, from 1530 to 1540, many innocent and excellent men suffered the most inhuman death.‖ Henry Forrest, David Straiton, Norman Gourlay, Jerom Russel, Kennedy, Kyllor, Beveridge, Duncan Sympson, Robert Forrester, and Thomas Forest, were the names of those early martyrs, whose sufferings deserve a more conspicuous place than can be given to them in these pages. A few, whose constancy was overcome by the horrors of the stake, purchased their lives by abjuring their opinions. Numbers made their escape to England and the continent; among whom were the following learned men, Gawin Logie, Alexander Seatoun, Alexander Aless, John Macbee, John Fife, John Macdowal, John Macbray, George Buchanan, James Harrison, and Robert Richardson.§ Few of these exiles afterwards returned to their native country. England, Denmark, Germany, France, and even Portugal, offered refuge to them; and foreign universities enjoyed the benefit of those talents which their bigoted countrymen were incapable of appreciating. To maintain their authority, and to preserve those corruptions from which they derived their wealth, the clergy would willingly have driven into banishment all the learned men in the kingdom, and quenched for ever the light of science in Scotland.

Various causes contributed to prevent these violent measures from arresting the progress of the truth. Among these the first place is unquestionably due to the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar language. Against this the patrons of ignorance had endeavoured to guard with the utmost jealousy. But when the desire of knowledge has once been excited among a people, they easily contrive methods of eluding the vigilance of those who would prevent them from gratifying it. By means of merchants who traded, from England and the continent, to the ports of Leith, Dundee, and Montrose, Tindall's Translations of the Scriptures, with many Protestant books, were imported. These were consigned to persons of tried principles and prudence, who circulated them in private with great industry. One copy of the Bible, or of the New Testament, supplied several families. At the dead hour of night, when others were asleep, they assembled in one house; the sacred volume was brought from its concealment; and, while one read, the rest listened with mute attention. In this way the knowledge of the scriptures was diffused, at a period when it does not appear that there were any public teachers of the truth in Scotland.*

Nor must we overlook another means which operated very extensively in alienating the public mind from the established religion. Those who have investigated the causes which led to the Reformation on the Continent have ascribed a considerable share of influence to the writings of the poets and satirists of the age. Poetry has charms for persons of every description; and in return for the pleasure which it affords them, mankind have in all ages been disposed to allow a greater liberty to poets than to any other class of writers. Strange as it may appear, the poets who flourished before the Reformation used very great freedom with the church, and there were not wanting many persons of exalted rank who encouraged them in this species of composition. The same individuals who were ready, at the call of the pope and clergy, to undertake a crusade for extirpating heresy, entertained poets who inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, and lampooned the religious orders. One day they assisted at an *Auto-da-fe*, in which heretics were committed to the flames for the preservation of the Catholic church; next day they were present at the acting of a pantomime or a play, in which the ministers of that church were held up to ridicule. Intoxicated with power and lulled asleep by indolence, the clergy had either overlooked these attacks, or treated them with contempt; it was only from experience that they learned their injurious tendency; and before they made the discovery, the practice had become so common that it could no longer be restrained. This weapon was wielded with great success by the friends of the reformed doctrine in Scotland. Some of their number had acquired great celebrity among their countrymen as poets; and others, who could not lay claim to high poetical merit, possessed a peculiar talent for wit and humour. They employed themselves in writing satires, in which the ignorance, the negligence, and the immorality of the clergy were stigmatised, and the absurdities and superstitions of the Popish religion exposed to ridicule. These poetical effusions were easily committed to memory, and were circulated without the intervention of the press, which was at that time entirely under the control of the bishops. An attack still more bold was made upon the church. Dramatic compositions, partly written in the same strain, were repeatedly acted in the presence of the Royal family, the nobility, and vast assemblies of people, to the great mortification, and still greater disadvantage of the clergy. The bishops repeatedly procured the enactment of laws against the circulation of seditious rhymes, and blasphemous ballads; but metrical epistles, moralities, and psalms, in the Scottish language, continued to be read with avidity, notwithstanding prohibitory statutes and prosecutions.†

In the year 1540, the reformed doctrine could number among its converts, besides a multitude of the common people, many persons of rank and external respectability; as William, Earl of Glencairn, his son Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, William, Earl of Errol, William, Lord Ruthven, his daughter Lillias, married to the Master of Drummond, John Stewart, son of Lord Methven, Sir James Sandilands, with his whole family, Sir David Lindsay, Erskine of Dun, Melville of Raith, Balnaves of Halhill, Straiton of Lauriston, with William Johnston, and Robert Alexander, Advocates.‡ The early period at which they were enrolled as friends to the Reformation renders

* Pinkerton. † Cald. MS. i. 69.

‡ In 1546, Winram having spoken to the bishops in favour of George Wishart, Cardinal Beatoun upbraided him, saying, "Well, sir, and you, we know what a man you are, seven years ago." Pitscottie, 189.

‖ See Note VIII. § See Note IX.

* Wodrow's MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. i. p. 2. Calderwood's MS. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 35. Knox, Historie, p. 22. † See note X.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 103, 119. Sadler, i. 47. Knox, 21, 24.

these names more worthy of consideration. It has often been alledged, that the desire of sharing in the rich spoils of the Popish church, together with the intrigues of the court of England, engaged the Scottish nobles on the side of the Reformed religion. At a later period, there is reason to think that this allegation was not altogether groundless. But at the time of which we now speak, the prospect of overturning the established church was too distant and uncertain, to induce persons, who had no higher motive than to gratify avarice, to take a step by which they exposed their lives and fortunes to the most imminent hazard; nor had the English monarch yet extended his influence in Scotland, by those arts of political intrigue which he afterwards employed.

During the two last years of the reign of James V. the numbers of the reformed rapidly increased. Twice did the clergy attempt to cut them off by a desperate blow. They presented to the king a list, containing the names of some hundreds, possessed of property and wealth, whom they denounced as heretics; and endeavoured to procure his consent to their condemnation, by flattering him with the immense riches which would accrue to him from the forfeiture of their estates. When this proposal was first made to him, James rejected it with strong marks of displeasure; but so violent was the antipathy which he at last conceived against his nobility, and so much had he fallen under the influence of the clergy, that it is highly probable he would have yielded to their solicitations, if the disgraceful issue of an expedition which they had instigated him to undertake against the English, had not impaired his reason, and put an end to his unhappy life on the 13th of December, 1542.*

PERIOD II.

From the year 1542, when he embraced the Reformed Religion, to the year 1549, when he was released from the French galleys.

While this fermentation of opinion was spreading through the nation, Knox, from the state in which his mind was, could not remain long unaffected. The reformed doctrines had been imbibed by several persons of his acquaintance, and they were the topic of common conversation and dispute among the learned and inquisitive at the university.† His change of views first discovered itself in his philosophical lectures, in which he began to forsake the scholastic path, and to recommend to his pupils a more rational and useful method of study. Even this innovation excited against him violent suspicions of heresy, which were confirmed, when he proceeded to reprehend the corruptions that prevailed in the church. It was impossible for him, after this to remain in safety at St. Andrews, which was wholly under the power of Cardinal Beatoun, the most determined supporter of the Romish church, and enemy of all reform. He left that place, and retired to the south of Scotland, where, within a short time, he avowed his full belief of the protestant doctrine. Provoked by his defection, and alarmed lest he should draw others after him, the clergy were anxious to rid themselves of such an adversary. Having passed sentence against him as a heretic, and degraded him from the priesthood, (says Beza) the Cardinal employed assassins to way-lay him, by whose hands he must have fallen, had not Providence placed him under the protection of the laird of Langniddrie.*

The change produced in the political state of the kingdom by the death of James V. had great influence upon the Reformation. After a bold but unsuccessful attempt by Cardinal Beatoun to secure to himself the government during the minority of the infant Queen, the Earl of Arran was peaceably established in the regency. Arran had formerly shewed himself attached to the reformed doctrines, and he was now surrounded with counsellors who were of the same principles. Henry VIII. laid hold of this opportunity for accomplishing his favourite measure of uniting the two crowns, and eagerly pressed a marriage between his son Edward and the young Queen of Scots. Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the whole body of the clergy, the Scottish parliament agreed to the match; commissioners were sent into England to settle the terms; and the contract of marriage was drawn out, subscribed, and ratified by all the parties. But through the intrigues of the Cardinal and Queen-mother, the fickleness and timidity of the Regent, and the violence of the English monarch, the treaty, after proceeding so far, was broken off; and Arran not only renounced connection with England, but publicly abjured the Reformed religion in the church of Stirling. The Scottish Queen was soon after betrothed to the Dauphin of France, and sent into that kingdom; a measure which at a subsequent period had nearly accomplished the ruin of the independence of Scotland, and the extirpation of the Protestant religion.

The Reformation had, however, made very considerable progress during the short time that it was patronised by the Regent. The parliament passed an act declaring it lawful for all the subjects to read the Scriptures in the vulgar language. This act, which was proclaimed in spite of the protestations of the bishops, was a signal triumph of truth over error.† Formerly it was reckoned a crime to look on the sacred books; now to read them was safe, and even the way to honour. The Bible was to be seen on every gentleman's table; the New Testament was almost in every one's hands.‡ Hitherto the Reformation had been advanced by books imported from England, but now the errors of Popery were attacked in publications

* Sadler, i. 94. Knox, 27, 28. Pitscottie, 164. Keith, 22. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, 2—4. Lond. 1683. Knox says that the roll contained "mo than ane hundreth laudit men, besides utheris of meener degre, amongis quhome was the Lord Hamiltoun, then second persoun of the realme." Sadler says, "eighteen score noblemen and gentlemen, all well minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow;" among whom were the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Cassils, and the Earl Marishal. Pitscottie says, "seventeen score;" but he includes in his account, not only "Earls, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen," but also "honest burgesses and craftsmen."

† The progress of opinion in Scotland, and the jealous measures adopted for checking it, may be traced in the variations introduced into the Act of Parliament 17th July, 1525, *for eschewing of Heresy*, as these are marked in the original record. The act as originally drawn, in prohibiting the rehearsing of or disputing about the heresies of Luther or his disciples, has this exception, "gif it be to the confusioun thairof;" but this being thought too loose, the following clause is added on the margin, "and that be clerkis in the scuiis alanerlie." According to the tenor of the Act when passed in 1525, "na maner of persoun, *Strangear*, that happinis to arrive with thare schip within ony part of this realme, bring with thame ony bukis or workis of the said Luther his discipulis or servandis, disputis or rehersis his hereseis, &c. under the pane of escheting thare schipis and guidis, and putting of thaire personis in presoun." But in 1527, the Chancellor and Lords of Council added this clause, "and all uther the kingis liegis assistaris to sic opunyeons be punist in semeible wise, and the effect of the said Act to straik upon thaim." From this Act it appears, that in 1525 protestant books and opinions were circulated by strangers only, who came into Scotland for the purpose of trade; but that in 1527, it was found necessary to extend the penalties of the act to natives of the kingdom. Both these additions were embodied in the Act as renewed 12th June, 1535. Acta Parliamentorum Scotiæ, p. 295, 331—2, now in progress towards publication under the authority of his Majesty's Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom. Having been indulged with the perusal of this valuable work, as far as printed, I shall afterwards have occasion to quote it under the title of Act. Parl. Scot.

* Bezæ Icones, Ee. iij.

† Act. Parl. Scot. p. 415, 425. Sadler's Letters, i. 83. Crawfurd's Officers of State, 77, 438. Keith, 36—7.

‡ Knox, 34.

which issued from the Scottish press. The reformed preachers, whom the Regent had chosen as chaplains, disseminated their doctrines throughout the kingdom, and under the sanction of his authority, made many converts from the Roman Catholic faith.*

One of these preachers deserves particular notice here, as it was by means of his sermons that Knox first perceived the beauty of evangelical truth, and had deep impressions of religion made upon his heart.† *Thomas Guillaume*, or *Williams*, was born at Athelstoneford, a village of East Lothian, and had entered into the order of Blackfriars, or Dominican monks, among whom he rose to great eminence.‡ But having embraced the sentiments of the Reformers, he threw off the monkish habit. His learning and elocution recommended him to Arran and his protestant counsellors; and he was much esteemed by the people as a clear expositor of Scripture. When the Regent began to waver in his attachment to the Reformation, Guillaume was dismissed from the court, and retired unto England, after which I do not find him noticed in history.

But the person to whom our Reformer was most indebted, was GEORGE WISHART, a brother to the laird of Pittarow, in Mearns. Being driven into banishment by the bishop of Brechin, for teaching the Greek Testament in Montrose, he had resided for some years at the university of Cambridge. In the year 1544, he returned to his native country, in the company of the commissioners, who had been sent to negociate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England. Seldom do we meet, in ecclesiastical history, with a character so amiable and interesting, as that of George Wishart. Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners; his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity.‖ In his tour of preaching through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses. To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his sermons, and private instructions. During the last visit which Wishart paid to Lothian, Knox waited constantly on his person, and bore the sword, which was carried before him, from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him at Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal of his faithful attendant, and seems to have presaged his future usefulness, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom. On the night in which he was apprehended by Bothwell, at the instigation of the Cardinal, he directed the sword to be taken from Knox, and while he insisted for liberty to accompany him to Ormiston, dismissed him with this reply, "Nay, return to your bairnes (meaning his pupils), and God blis you: ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

Having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in that church which had invested him with clerical orders, Knox had entered as tutor into the family of Hugh Douglas of Langniddrie, a gentleman in East Lothian, who had embraced the reformed doctrines. John Cockburn of Ormiston, a neighbouring gentleman of the same persuasion, also put his son under his tuition. These young men were instructed by him in the principles of religion, as well as of the learned languages. He managed their religious instruction in such a way as to allow the rest of the family, and the people of the neighbourhood, to reap advantage from it. He catechised them publicly in a chapel at Langniddrie, in which he also read to them, at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks. The memory of this fact has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called *John Knox's Kirk*.*

It was not to be expected, that he would be suffered long to continue this employment, under a government which was now entirely at the devotion of Cardinal Beatoun, who had gained a complete ascendant over the mind of the timid and irresolute Regent. But in the midst of his cruelties, and while he was planning still more desperate deeds,† the Cardinal was himself suddenly cut off. A conspiracy was formed against his life; and a small, but determined band, (some of whom seem to have been instigated by resentment for private injuries, and the influence of the English court, others animated by a desire to revenge his cruelties, and deliver their country from his oppression), seized upon the castle of St. Andrews, in which he resided, and put him to death, on the 29th of May, 1546.

The death of Beatoun did not, however, free Knox from persecution. John Hamilton, an illegitimate brother of the Regent, who was nominated to the vacant bishoprick, sought his life with as great eagerness as his predecessor. He was obliged to conceal himself, and to remove from place to place, to provide for his safety. Wearied with this mode of living, and apprehensive that he would some day fall into the hands of his enemies, he came to the resolution of leaving Scotland.

England presented the readiest and most natural sanctuary to those who were persecuted by the Scottish prelates. But though they usually fled to that kingdom in the first instance, they did not find their situation comfortable, and the greater part, after a short residence there, proceeded to the continent. Henry VIII. from motives which, to say the least, were highly suspicious had renounced subjection to the Romish See, and compelled his subjects to follow his example. He invested himself with the ecclesiastical supremacy, within his own dominions, which he had wrested from the Bishop of Rome; and in the arrogant and violent exercise of that power, the English Pope was scarcely exceeded by any of the pretended successors of St. Peter. Having signalized himself at a former period as a literary champion against Luther, he was anxious to demonstrate that his breach with the court of Rome had not alienated him from the Catholic faith; and he would suffer none to proceed a step beyond the narrow and capricious line of reform which he was pleased to prescribe. Hence the motley system of religion which he established, and the contradictory measures by which it was supported. Statutes against the authority of the Pope, and against the tenets of Luther, were enacted in the same parliament; and Papists and Protestants were alternately brought to the same stake. The Protestants in Scotland were universally dissatisfied with this bastard reformation, a circumstance which had contributed not a little to cool their zeal for the lately proposed alliance with England. Sir Ralph Sadler, his ambassador, found himself in a very awkward predicament on this account; for the Papists were offended because he had gone so far from Rome, the Protes-

* Knox, 33—4.

† Life, prefixed to History of the Reformation, Anno 1644.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 118. Calderwood says that he was provincial of the order of Dominicans, or Blackfriars in Scotland. But a late author informs us, that the chartulary of the Blackfriars' monastery at Perth mentions John Grierson as having been provincial from the year 1525, to the time of the Reformation. Scott's History of the Reformers, p. 96.

‖ See Note XI.

* Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 526. comp. Knox, Historie, 67.

† In his progress through the kingdom with the Governor, he instigated him, "to hang (at Perth) four honest men, for eating of a goose on Friday; and drowned a young woman, because she refused to pray to our lady in her birth." Pitscottie, 188. Knox says, that the woman "having a soucking babe upoun hir briest, was drounit." Historie, 40. Petrie's History of the Church of Scotland, Part ii. p. 182. He had planned the destruction of the principal gentlemen of Fife, as appeared from documents found after his death. Knox, 63, 64.

tants because he had not gone farther. The latter disrelished, in particular, the restrictions which he had imposed upon the reading and interpretation of the scriptures, and which he urged the Regent to imitate in Scotland. And they had no desire for *the King's Book*, of which Sadler was furnished with copies to distribute, and which lay as a drug upon his hands.*

On these accounts Knox had no desire to go to England, where although "the Pope's name was suppressed, his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour."† His determination was to visit Germany, and to prosecute his studies in some of the Protestant universities, until he should see a favourable change in the state of his native country. The lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston were extremely reluctant to part with him, and they prevailed on him to relinquish his design, and to repair along with their sons, to the Castle of St. Andrews.‡

The conspirators against Cardinal Beatoun kept possession of the castle after his death. The Regent had assembled an army and laid siege to it, from a desire, not so much to revenge the murder of the Cardinal, at whose fall he secretly rejoiced, as to comply with the importunity of the clergy, and to release his eldest son, who had been retained by Beatoun as a pledge of his father's fidelity, and had now fallen into the hands of the conspirators. But the besieged having obtained assistance from England baffled all his skill; and a treaty was at last concluded, by which they engaged to deliver up the castle to the Regent, upon his procuring to them from Rome a pardon for the Cardinal's murder. The pardon was obtained; but the conspirators alarmed, or affecting to be alarmed, at the contradictory terms in which it was expressed, refused to perform their stipulation, and the Regent felt himself unable, without foreign aid, to enforce a compliance. In this interval, a number of persons who were harassed for their attachment to the reformed sentiments, repaired to the castle, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion.‖

Writers unfriendly to Knox have endeavoured to fix an accusation upon him, respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beatoun. Some have ignorantly asserted, that he was one of the conspirators.§ Others, better informed, have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime, by taking shelter among them.¶ With more plausibility, others have appealed to his writings, as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintain that he justified it only so far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the Cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him.* The just judgment of Heaven is, I acknowledge, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his readers; at the same time, I think no one who carefully reads what he has written on this subject,† can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators. The truth is, he held the opinion, that persons who, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, had forfeited their lives, by the commission of flagrant crimes, such as notorious murderers and tyrants, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals; provided all redress, in the ordinary course of justice, was rendered impossible, in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. This was an opinion of the same kind with that of *tyrannicide*, held by so many of the ancients, and defended by Buchanan in his dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos.* It is a principle, I confess, of very dangerous application, extremely liable to be abused by factious, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice which was exceedingly common in that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, whom we may scruple to load with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.‡

Knox entered the Castle of St. Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547, and conducted the education of his pupils after his accustomed manner. In the chapel within the Castle, he read to them his lectures upon the scriptures, beginning at the place in the gospel according to John, where he had left off at Langniddrie. He catechised them in the parish church belonging to the city. Among the refugees in the castle who attended these exercises, and who had not been concerned in the conspiracy against Beatoun,‖ there were three persons who deserve to be particularly noticed.

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, had been a favourite at the court both of James IV. and of his son. He was esteemed one of the first poets of his age, and his writings had contributed very greatly to the advancement of the Reformation. Notwithstanding the indelicacy which disfigures several of his poetical productions,§ the personal deportment of Lindsay was grave; his morals were correct; and his writings discover a strong desire to reform the manners of the age, as well as ample proofs of true poetical genius, extensive learning, and wit the most keen and penetrating. He had long lashed the vices of the clergy, and exposed the absurdities and superstitions of popery, in the most popular and poignant satires; being protected by James V. who retained a strong attachment to the companion of his early sports,

* Sadler's State Papers, i. 264—5, comp. p. 128. Sir John Borthwick (who fled to England in the year 1540), ridicules the Scottish clergy for making it an article of accusation against him, that he had approved of "all those heresies, commonly called the heresies of England;" because (says he), "what religion at that time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace; in this point only, the Englishmen differed from the Scottes, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations; the prophanating of the supper and baptisme was like unto them both.—Truely, it is most false, that I had subscribed unto such kinde of heresies." Fox, 1149, 1150.

† Knox, Historie, p. 67. ‡ Ibid.

‖ Act. Parl. Scot. p. 471, 477—9. Keith, 50—1. Knox, 66—7. Buchanan. i. 296.

§ This is done in a book, entitled, "The Image of both Churches, Hierusalem and Babell, Unitie and Confusion, Obedience and Sedition, by P. D. M." (supposed to be Sir Tobie Matthews), p. 139, 140. Tornay, 1623. In p. 136. the author says, "Yet is there one aduise of Knox which is to be recorded with admiration, *It wear good, that rewards wear publicklie appointed by the peopl for such as kill tyrants, as well as for those that kill wolfs.*" In proof of this he refers to Knox's Historie, p. 372. The reader, who chuses to give himself the trouble, will probably search in vain (as I have done) for such a sentiment, either in that, or in any other part of the History.

¶ "Quorum se societate, non multo post, implicaret Joannes Knoxus, Calvinistarum minister, qui se evangelicæ perfectionis cumulum assecutum non arbitrabatur nisi in Cardinalis ac sacerdotis sanguine ac cæde triumphasset." Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum. lib. x. The bishop should have recollected, that the violence of his popish brethren drove "the Calvinistic minister" to this "pinnacle of evangelical perfection."

* Principal Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 42. A. 1646. Cald. MS. ad An. 1590. † Historie, 86. ‡ See Note XII.

‖ Spottiswood says, that "seven-score persons entered into the Castle, the day after the slaughter" of the Cardinal. History, p. 84.

§ The coarseness of the age, and the strong temptation which he was under to gratify a voluptuous prince, will not excuse the gross indelicacies of Lindsay; and still less will the desire of preserving the ancient dialect of Scotland, and of gratifying an antiquarian passion, apologize for giving to the modern public a *complete* edition of his works, accompanied with a glossary and explanatory notes.

and the poet who had often amused his leisure hours. After the death of that monarch, he entered zealously into the measures pursued by the Earl of Arran, at the commencement of his government; and when the Regent dismissed his reforming counsellors, Sir David was left exposed to the vengeance of the clergy, who could never forgive the injuries which they had received from his pen.*

Henry Balnaves of Halhill had raised himself, by his talents and probity, from an obscure situation to the highest honours of the state, and was justly regarded as one of the principal ornaments of the reformed cause in Scotland. Descended from poor parents in the town of Kircaldy, he travelled when only a boy to the Continent, and hearing of a free school in Cologne, he gained admission to it, and received a liberal education, together with instruction in the principles of the Protestant religion. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, and practised for some time before the consistorial court of St. Andrews.† Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, his reputation daily increased, and he at length obtained a seat in the Court of Session and in Parliament.‡ James V. employed him in managing public affairs of great importance; and at the beginning of Arran's regency, he was made Secretary of State. The active part which he at that time took in the measures for promoting the Reformation rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the administration which succeeded, and obliged him to seek shelter within the walls of the Castle.‖

John Rough, having conceived a disgust at being deprived of some property to which he thought himself entitled, had left his parents, and entered a monastery in Stirling, when he was only seventeen years of age.§ During the time that the light of divine truth was spreading through the nation, and penetrating even the recesses of cloisters, he had felt its influence, and became a convert to the reformed sentiments. The reputation which he had gained as a preacher was such, that, in the year 1543, the Earl of Arran procured a dispensation for his leaving the monastery, and appointed him one of his chaplains. Upon the apostacy of Arran from the reformed religion, he retired first into Kyle, and afterwards into the Castle of St. Andrews, where he was chosen preacher to the garrison.¶

These persons were so much pleased with Knox's talents, and his manner of teaching his pupils, that they urged him strongly to preach in public, and to become colleague to Rough. But he resisted all their solicitations, assigning as his reason, that he did not consider himself as having a call to this employment, and would not be guilty of intrusion. They did not, however, desist from their purpose; but, having consulted with their brethren, came to a resolution, without his knowledge, that a call should be publicly given him, in the name of the whole, to become one of their ministers.

Accordingly on a day fixed for the purpose, Rough preached a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he declared the power which a congregation, however small, had over any one in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office, and how dangerous it was for such a person to reject the call of those who desired instruction. Sermon being concluded, the preacher turned to Knox, who was present, and addressed him in these words: "Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Then addressing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was; and we approve it." Overwhelmed by this unexpected and solemn charge, Knox, after an ineffectual attempt to address the audience, burst into tears, rushed out of the assembly, and shut himself up in his chamber. "His countenance and behaviour from that day, till the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together."*

This proof of the sensibility of his temper, and the reluctance which he felt at undertaking a public office, may surprize those who have carelessly adopted the common notions respecting our Reformer's character; but we shall meet with many examples of the same kind in the course of his life. The scene, too, will be extremely interesting to such as are impressed with the weight of the ministerial function, and will naturally awaken a train of feelings in the breasts of those who have been intrusted with the gospel. It revives the memory of those early days of the church, when persons did not rush forward to the altar, nor beg to "be put into one of the priest's offices, to eat a piece of bread;" when men of piety and talents, deeply affected with the awful responsibility of the office, and with their own insufficiency, were with great difficulty induced to take on them those orders, which they had long desired, and for which they had laboured to qualify themselves. What a contrast did this exhibit to the conduct of the herd, which at that time filled the stalls of the popish church! The behaviour of Knox also reproves those who become preachers of their own accord; and who, from vague and enthusiastic desires of doing good, or a fond conceit of their own gifts, trample upon good order, and thrust themselves into a sacred public employment, without any regular call.

We must not, however, imagine that his distress of mind, and the reluctance which he discovered in complying with the call which he had now received, proceeded from consciousness of its invalidity, through the defect of certain external formalities which had been usual in the church, or which, in ordinary cases, may be observed with propriety in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These, as far as warranted by scripture, or conducive to the preservation of order, he did not contemn; and his judgment respecting them may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish Reformed Church, in the organization of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the necessity of episcopal ordination, as totally unauthorised by the laws of Christ; nor did he even regard the imposition of the hands of presbyters as a rite essential to the validity of orders, or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the church. The papists, indeed, did not fail to declaim on this topic, representing Knox, and other reformed ministers, as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the Eng-

* Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi: Auctore Johan. Jonstono Abredonense Scoto, p. 27—8. Lugduni Batavorum, 1603. 4to. Chalmers's Life of Lindsay, Works, vol. I.

† Cald. MS. i. 119.

‡ Lord Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 2. Act. Parl. Scot. p. 353.

‖ Act. Parl. Scot. p. 409. Sadler's State Papers, i. 83, Knox, 35.

§ Fox, p. 1840. He was born A. D. 1510.

¶ Ibid. Knox, Historie, p. 33, 36. 67.

* Knox, Historie, p. 68.

lish church afterwards learn to talk, not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed churches, except their own; a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended, with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal, and horrid consequences. The fathers of the English Reformation, however, were very far from entertaining such contracted and unchristian sentiments. When Knox afterwards went to England, they accepted his services without the smallest hesitation. They maintained a constant correspondence with the reformed divines on the Continent, and cheerfully owned them as brethren and fellow-labourers in the ministry. And they were not so ignorant of their principles, or so forgetful of their character, as to prefer ordination by popish prelates to that which was conferred by protestant presbyters.* I will not say that our Reformer utterly disregarded his early ordination in the popish church, (although, if we may credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was his sentiment);† but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews as principally constituting his call to the ministry.

His distress of mind on the present occasion proceeded from a higher source than the deficiency of some external formalities in his call. He had now very different thoughts as to the importance of the ministerial office, from what he had entertained when ceremoniously invested with orders. The care of immortal souls, of whom he must give an account to the Chief Bishop; the charge of declaring "the whole counsel of God, keeping nothing back," however ungrateful it might be to his hearers; the manner of life, afflictions, persecutions, imprisonment, exile, and violent death, to which the preachers of the Protestant doctrine were exposed; the hazard of his sinking under these hardships, and "making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience;" these, with similar considerations, rushed into his mind, and filled it with anxiety and fear. Satisfied, at length, that he had the call of God to engage in this work, he composed his mind to a reliance on Him who had engaged to make his "strength perfect in the weakness" of his servants, and resolved, with the apostle, "not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Often did he afterwards reflect with lively emotion upon this very interesting step of his life, and never, in the midst of his greatest sufferings, did he see reason to repent the choice which he had so deliberately made.

An occurrence which took place about this time contributed to fix his wavering resolution, and induced an earlier compliance with the call of the congregation than he might otherwise have been disposed to yield. Though sound in doctrine, Rough's literary acquirements were moderate. Of this circumstance the patrons of the established religion in the university and abbey took advantage; and among others, one, called Dean John Annan,* had long proved vexatious to him, by stating objections to the doctrine which he preached, and entangling him with sophisms, or garbled quotations from the fathers. Knox had assisted the preacher with his pen, and by his superior skill in logic and the writings of the fathers, had exposed Annan's fallacies, and confuted the popish errors. This polemic, being one day, at a public disputation in the parish church, driven from all his usual defences, fled as his last refuge to the infallible authority of the church, which, he alleged, in consequence of its having condemned the tenets of the Lutherans as heretical, had rendered all further debate on that subject unnecessary. To this Knox replied, that before they could submit to such a summary determination of the matters of controversy, it was requisite to ascertain the true church by the marks given in scripture, lest they should blindly receive, as their spiritual mother, a harlot instead of the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. "For (continued he), as for your Roman church as it is now corrupted, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be that MAN OF SIN, of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than were the church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." This was a bold charge; but the minds of the people were prepared to listen to the proof. They exclaimed, that, if this was true, they had been miserably deceived, and insisted that, as they could not all read his writings, he would ascend the pulpit, and give them an opportunity of hearing the probation of what he had so confidently affirmed. The challenge was not to be retracted, and the request was reasonable. The following Sabbath was accordingly fixed for making good his promise.

On the day appointed, he appeared in the pulpit of the parish church, and gave out Daniel vii. 24, 25. as his text. After an introduction, in which he explained the vision, and shewed that the four empires, emblematically represented by four different animals, were the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, out of the ruins of the last of which rose the empire described in his text, he proceeded to shew that this was applicable to no power but the papal. He compared the parallel passages in the New Testament, and shewed that the king mentioned in his text was the same elsewhere called the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, the Babylonian harlot; and that, in prophetical style, these expressions did not describe a single person, but a body or multitute of people under a wicked head, including a succession of persons occupying the same place. In support of his assertion, that the papal power was anti-christian, he described it under the three heads of life, doctrine, and laws. He depicted the scandalous lives of the popes, from records published by catholic writers, and contrasted their doctrine and laws with those of the New Testament, particularly on the heads of justification, holidays, and abstinence from meats and from marriage. He quoted from the canon law the blasphemous titles and prerogatives ascribed

* In the year 1582, Archbishop Grindal, by a formal deed, declared the validity of the orders of Mr. John Morrison, who had been ordained by the Synod of Lothian, "according to the *laudable* form and rite of the reformed church of Scotland" (says the instrument), per generalem Synodum sive Congregationem illius comitatus, juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum, ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus.—Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujusmodi, modo præmisso factam, quantum in nos est, et jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, &c. Strype's Life of Grindal. Appeud. book ii. Numb. xvii. p. 101. Whittingham, Dean of Durham, was ordained in the English church at Geneva, of which Knox was pastor; and Travers, the opponent of Hooker, was ordained by a presbytery at Antwerp. Attempts were made by some highflyers to invalidate their orders, and induce them to submit to re-ordination, but they did not succeed. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. 520—4.

† Ninian Winzet, apud Keith's History, App. p. 212, 213. Burne's Disputation, p. 128. Parisc, 1581.

* The friars were accustomed about this time to assume the dignified title of *Dean*, although they did not hold that place in the church which entitled them to the name.

"All monk'ry, ye may hear and sie,
Are callit Denis for dignite;
Howbeit his mother milk the kow,
He mon be callit Dene Andrew."
Chalmers's Lindsay, iii. 103.

to the Pope, as an additional proof that he was described in his text.* In conclusion, he signified, that, if any of his hearers thought that he had misquoted, or misinterpreted the testimonies which he had produced from the scriptures, ecclesiastical history, or the writings of the fathers, he was ready upon their coming to him, in the presence of witnesses, to give them satisfaction. Among the audience were his former preceptor, Major, and the other members of the university, the Sub-prior of the abbey, and a great number of canons and friars of different orders.

This sermon, delivered with a considerable portion of that popular eloquence for which Knox was afterwards so celebrated, made a great noise, and excited much speculation among all classes.† The preachers who had preceded him, not even excepting Wishart, had contented themselves with refuting some of the grosser errors of the established religion: Knox struck at the root of popery, by boldly pronouncing the Pope to be Antichrist, and the whole system erroneous and antiscriptural. The report of the sermon, and of the effects produced by it, soon reached Hamilton, the bishop-elect of St. Andrews. He wrote to Winram, the Sub-prior, who was Vicar-general during the vacancy of the See, that he was surprised he would allow such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught without opposition. Winram was at bottom friendly to the reformed tenets; but he durst not altogether disregard this admonition, and therefore appointed a convention of the learned men in the abbey and university to be held in St. Leonard's Yards, to which he summoned Knox and Rough.

The two preachers appeared before the assembly. Nine articles drawn from their sermons were exhibited, "the strangeness of which (the Sub-prior said) had moved him to call for them to hear their answers." Knox conducted the defence, for himself and his colleague, with much acuteness and moderation. He expressed high satisfaction at appearing before an auditory so honourable, modest, and grave. As he was not a stranger to the report concerning the private sentiments of Winram, and nothing was more abhorrent to his mind than dissimulation, he, before commencing his defence, obtested him to deal uprightly in a matter of such magnitude. The people (he said) ought not to be deceived or left in the dark; if his colleague and he had advanced any thing unscriptural, he wished the Sub-prior by all means to expose it, but if, on the other hand, he was convinced that the doctrine taught by them was true, it was his duty to give it the sanction of his authority. Winram cautiously replied, that he did not come there as a judge, and would neither approve nor condemn; he wished a free conference, and, if Knox pleased, he would reason with him a little. Accordingly, he proceeded to state some objections to one of the propositions maintained by Knox, "that in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the sacraments, the rule prescribed in the scriptures is to be observed without addition or diminution; and that the church has no right to devise religious ceremonies, and impose significations upon them." After maintaining the argument for a short time, the Sub-prior devolved it on a grey-friar, named Arbugkill, who took it up with great confidence, but was soon forced to yield with disgrace. He rashly engaged to prove the divine institution of ceremonies; and being pushed by his antagonist from the gospels and acts to the epistles, and from one epistle to another, he was driven at last to affirm, "that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but they afterwards received him and ordained ceremonies." Knox smiled at the extravagant assertion. "Father! (exclaimed the Sub-prior) what say ye? God forbid that ye say that! for then farewell the ground of our faith." Alarmed and abashed, the friar attempted to correct his error, but in vain. Knox could not afterwards bring him to the argument upon any of the articles. He resolved all into the authority of the church. His opponent urging that the church could have no authority to act contrary to the express directions of scripture, which enjoined an exact conformity to the divine laws respecting worship; "if so (said Arbugkill), you will leave us no church." "Yes, (rejoined Knox, sarcastically), in David I read of the church of malignants, *Odi ecclesiam malignantium*; this church you may have without the word, and fighting against it. Of this church if you will be, I cannot hinder you; but as for me, I will be of no other church but that which has Jesus Christ for pastor, hears his voice, and will not hear the voice of a stranger." For purgatory, the friar had no better authority than that of Virgil in the sixth Æneid; and the pains of it according to him were—*a bad wife.**

Solventur risu tabulæ: tu missus abibis.

Instructed by the issue of this convention, the papists avoided for the future all disputation, which tended only to injure their cause. Had the Castle of St. Andrews been in their power, they would soon have silenced these troublesome preachers; but as matters stood, more moderate and crafty measures were necessary. The plan adopted for counteracting the popular preaching of Knox and Rough was politic. Orders were issued, that all the learned men of the abbey and university should preach by turns every Sunday in the parish church. By this means the reformed preachers were excluded on those days when the greatest audiences attended; and it was expected that the diligence of the established clergy would concilitate the affections of the people. To avoid offence or occasion of speculation, they were also instructed not to touch in their sermons upon any of the controverted points. Knox easily saw through this artifice; but he contented himself with expressing a wish, in the sermons which he still delivered on week days, that the clergy would show themselves equally diligent in places where their labours were more necessary. At the same time, he rejoiced (he said) that Christ was preached, and that nothing was publicly spoken against the truth; if any thing of this kind should be advanced, he requested the people to suspend their judgment, until they should have an opportunity of hearing him in reply.†

His labours were so successful, during the few months that he preached at St. Andrews, that, besides the garrison in the Castle, a great number of the inhabitants of the town renounced popery, and made profession of the protestant faith, by participating of the Lord's Supper. This was the first time that the sacrament of the supper was dispensed after the reformed mode in Scotland; if we except the administration of it by Wishart in the same Castle, which was performed with great privacy, immediately before his

* The doctrine which the preacher delivered at this time was afterwards put into "ornate meeter." by one of his hearers, Sir D. Lindsay, who, in his "Monarchie," finished Anno 1553, has given a particular account of the rise and corruptions of popery, under the name of the "fifth spiritual and papal monarchie." Chalmers's Lindsay, iii. 86—116.

† "Sum said, utheris hued the branches of papistry, bot he straiketh at the rute, to destroye the whole. Utheris said, gif the doctors and magistri nostri defend not now the Pope and his authoritie, which in their owin presence is so manifestlie impugnit, the devill have my part of him and his lawes bothe. Utheris said, Mr. George Wischeart spak never so planelie, and yet he was brunt; even so will he be in the end. Utheris said, the tyrannie of the Cardinal maid not his cause the better, nether yet the suffering of Godis servand maid his cause the wors.—And thairfoir we wald counsail yow and thame to provyde better defences than fyre and sword; for it may be that allis ye shall be disappointed: men now have uther eyes than they had then. This answer gave the laird of Nydrie." Knox, Historie, p. 70.

* Knox, Historie, p. 70---74. † Ib. 74---5.

martyrdom.* Those who preceded Knox appear to have contented themselves with preaching; and such as embraced their doctrine had most probably continued to receive the sacraments from the popish clergy, or at least from such of them as were most friendly to the reformation of the church. The gratification which he felt in these first fruits of his ministry, was considerably abated by instances of vicious conduct in those under his charge, some of whom were guilty of those acts of licentiousness which are too common among soldiery when placed in similar circumstances. From the time that he was chosen to be their preacher, he had openly rebuked those disorders, and when he perceived that his admonitions failed in putting a stop to them, he did not conceal his apprehensions of the unsuccessful issue of the enterprise in which they were engaged.†

In the end of Jnne 1547, a French fleet, with a considerable body of land forces, under the command of Leo Strozzi, appeared before St. Andrews, to assist the Governor in the reduction of the Castle. It was invested both by sea and land; and being disappointed of the expected aid from England, the besieged, after a brave and vigorous resistance, were under the necessity of capitulating to the French commander on the last day of July. The terms of the capitulation were honourable; the lives of all that were in the Castle were to be spared, they were to be transported to France, and if they did not choose to enter into the service of the French king, were to be conveyed to any country which they might prefer, except Scotland. John Rough had left the Castle previous to the commencement of the siege, and retired to England.‡ Knox, although he did not expect that the garrison would be able to hold out, could not prevail upon himself to desert his charge, and resolved to share with his brethren in the hazard of the siege. He was conveyed along with the rest on board the fleet, which, in a few days, set sail for France, arrived at Fecamp, and, going up the Seine, anchored before Rouen. The capitulation was violated, and they were all detained prisoners of war, at the solicitation of the Pope and Scottish clergy. The principal gentlemen were incarcerated in Rouen, Cherburg, Brest, and Mont St. Michel. Knox, with some others, was confined on board the galleys, bound with chains, and in addition to the rigours of ordinary captivity, exposed to all the indignities with which papists were accustomed to treat those whom they regarded as heretics.‖

From Rouen they sailed to Nantes, and lay upon the Loire during the following winter. Solicitations, threatenings, and violence, were all employed to induce the prisoners to change their religion, or at least to countenance the popish worship. But so great was their abhorrence of its idolatry, that not a single individual of the whole company, on land or water, could be induced to symbolise in the smallest degree. While the prison-ships lay on the Loire, mass was frequently said, and *Salve Regina* sung, on board, or on the shore within their hearing. On these occasions they were brought out and threatened with the torture, if they did not give the usual signs of reverence; but instead of complying, they covered their heads as soon as the service began. Knox has preserved, in his History, a humorous incident which took place on one of these occasions; and although he has not said so, it is highly probable that he himself was the person concerned in the affair. One day a fine painted image of the Virgin was brought into one of the galleys, and a Scots prisoner was desired to give it the kiss of adoration. He refused, saying that such idols were accursed, and he would not touch it. "But you shall," replied one of the officers roughly, thrusting it in his face, and placing it between his hands. Upon this he took hold of the image, and watching his opportunity, threw it into the river, saying, *Lat our Ladie now save hirself: sche is lycht enoughe, lat hir leirne to swyme.* The officers with difficulty saved their goddess from the waves; and the prisoners were relieved for the future from such troublesome importunities.*

In the summer 1548, as nearly as I can collect, the galleys in which they were confined returned to Scotland, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, watching for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship.† But even in this state, his fortitude of mind remained unsubdued,‡ and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries (natural to men in their situation,) "if he thought they would ever obtain their liberty," his uniform answer was, "God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life." While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St. Andrews, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship with him, pointed to the spires of St. Andrews, and asked him if he knew the place. "Yes! (replied the sickly and emaciated captive) I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." This striking reply Sir James repeated, in the presence of a number of witnesses, many years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified.‖

We must not, however, think that he possessed this tranquility and elevation of mind, during the whole period of his imprisonment. When first thrown into fetters, insulted by his enemies, and deprived of all prospect of release, he was not a stranger to the anguish of despondency, so pathetically described by the Royal Psalmist of Israel.§ He felt that conflict in his spirit, with which all good men are acquainted, and which becomes peculiarly sharp when aggravated by corporal affliction. But, having had recourse to prayer, the never-failing refuge of the oppressed, he was relieved from all his fears, and, reposing upon the promise and the providence of the God whom he served, he attained to "the confidence and rejoicing of hope." Those who wish for a more particular account of the state of his mind at this time, will find it in the notes, extracted from a rare work which he composed on prayer, and the chief materials of which were suggested by his own experience.¶

When free from fever, he relieved the tedious hours

* Buchanan, Hist. lib. xv. Oper, Tom. i. 293.---4. Pitscottie, 189, folio ed.

† Buchan. Oper. i. 296. Pitscottie, 191. Knox, 76.

‡ Rough continued to preach in England until the death of Edward VI. when he retired to Norden in Friesland. There he was obliged to support himself and his wife (whom he had married in England) by knitting caps, stockings, &c. Having come over to London in the course of his trade, he heard of a congregation of protestants which met secretly in that city; to them he joined himself, and was elected their pastor. A few weeks after this, the conventicle was discovered by the treachery of one of their own number, and Rough was carried before Bishop Bonner, by whose orders he was committed to the flames on the 22d of December 1557. An account of his examination, and two of his letters, breathing the true spirit of a martyr, may be seen in Fox, p. 1840—1842.

‖ Balnaves's Confession, Epist. Dedic. Archibald Hamilton says that he was condemned to work at the oar;—"impellendis longarum navium remis, cum reliquis adjudicatur." Dial. de Confus. Calv. Sectæ, p. 64, b.

* Knox, Historie, p. 83. † MS. Letters, p. 53.

‡ One of his most bitter adversaries has borne an involuntary and undesigned testimony to his magnanimity at this time. "Ubi longo maris tædio, et laboris molestia extenuatum quidem, et subactum corpus fuit; sed animi elatio eum subinde rerum magnarum spe extimulans, nihilo magis tunc quam prius quiescere potuit." Hamiltonii Dialogus, p. 64, b.

‖ Knox, Historie, p. 74. § Psalm xlii. ¶ See Note XIII.

of captivity, by committing to writing a confession of his faith, containing the substance of what he had taught at St. Andrews, with a particular account of the disputation which he had maintained in St. Leonard's Yards. This he found means to convey to his religious acquaintances in Scotland, accompanied with an earnest exhortation to persevere in the faith which they had professed, whatever persecutions they might suffer for its sake.* To this confession I find him referring in the defence which he afterwards made before the bishop of Durham. "Let no man think, that because I am in the realm of England, therefore so boldly I speak. No: God hath taken that suspicion from me. For the body lying in most painful bands, in the midst of cruel tyrants, his mercy and goodness provided that the hand should write and bear witness to the confession of the heart, more abundantly than ever yet the tongue spake."†

Notwithstanding the rigour of their confinement, the prisoners who were separated found opportunities of occasionally corresponding with one another. Henry Balnaves of Hallhill composed in his prison a treatise on *Justification* and the *Works and Conversation of a justified man.* This being conveyed to Knox, probably after his return from the coast of Scotland, he was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, and added some marginal notes, and a concise epitome of its contents; to the whole he prefixed a recommendatory dedication, intending that it should be published for the use of their brethren in Scotland, as soon as an opportunity offered.‡ The reader will not, I am persuaded, be displeased to have some extracts from this dedication, which represent, more forcibly than any description of mine can do, the pious and heroic spirit which animated the Reformer, when "his feet lay in irons;" and I shall quote more freely as the book is rare.

It is thus inscribed:‖ "John Knox, the bound servant of Jesus Christ, unto his best beloved brethren of the congregation of the Castle of St. Andrews, and to all professors of Christ's true evangel, desireth grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father, with perpetual consolation of the Holy Spirit." After mentioning a number of instances in which the name of God was magnified, and the interests of religion advanced, by the exile of those who were driven from their native countries by tyranny, as in the examples of Joseph, Moses, Daniel, and the primitive Christians; he goes on thus: "Which thing shall openly declare this godly work subsequent. The counsel of Satan in the persecution§ of us, first, was to stop the wholesome wind of Christ's evangel to blow upon the parts where we converse and dwell; and secondly, so to oppress ourselves by corporal affliction and worldly calamities, that no place should we find to godly study. But by the great mercy and infinite goodness of God our Father, shall these his counsels be frustrate and vain. For, in despite of him and all his wicked members, shall yet that same word (O Lord! this I speak, confiding in thy holy promise) openly be proclaimed in that same country. And how that our merciful Father amongst these tempestuous storms, by* all mens expectation, hath provided some rest for us, this present work shall testify, which was sent to me in Roane, lying in irons, and sore troubled by corporal infirmity, in a galley named Nostre Dame, by an honourable brother, Mr. Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, for the present holden as prisoner, (though unjustly) in the old palace of Roane.† Which work after I had once again read to the great comfort and consolation of my spirit, by counsel and advice of the foresaid noble and faithful man, author of the said work, I thought expedient it should be digested in chapters, &c. Which thing I have done as imbecility of ingine‡ and incommodity of place would permit; not so much to illustrate the work (which in the self is godly and perfect) as, together with the foresaid nobleman and faithful brother, to give my confession of the article of justification therein contained.‖ And I beseech you, beloved brethren, earnestly to consider, if we deny any thing presently, (or yet conceal and hide) which any time before we professed in that article. And now we have not the Castle of St. Andrews to be our defence, as some of our enemies falsely accused us, saying, If we wanted our walls, we would not speak so boldly.—But blessed be that Lord whose infinite goodness and wisdom hath taken from us the occasion of that slander, and hath shewn unto us, that the serpent hath power only to sting the heel, that is, to molest and trouble the flesh, but not to move the spirit from constant adhering to Christ Jesus, nor public professing of his true word. O blessed be thou, Eternal Father, which, by thy only mercy, hast preserved us to this day, and provided that the confession of our faith (which ever we desired all men to have known) should, by this treatise, come plainly to light. Continue, O Lord, and grant to us, that as now with pen and ink, so shortly we may confess with voice and tongue the same before thy congregation; upon whom look, O Lord God, with the eyes of thy mercy, and suffer no more darkness to prevail. I pray you pardon me, beloved brethren, that on this manner I digress: vehemency of spirit (the Lord knoweth I lie not) compelleth me thereto."

The prisoners in Mont St. Michel consulted Knox, as to the lawfulness of attempting to escape by breaking their prison, which was opposed by some of them, lest their escape should subject their brethren who remained in confinement to more severe treatment. He returned for answer, that such fears were not a sufficient reason for relinquishing the design, and that they might, with a safe conscience, effect their escape, provided it could be done "without the blood of any shed or spilt; but to shed any man's blood for their freedom, he would never consent."§ The attempt was accordingly made by them, and successfully executed, "without harm done to the person of any, and without touching any thing that appertained to the king, the captain, or the house."¶

At length after enduring a tedious and severe imprisonment of nineteen months, Knox obtained his liberty. This happened in the month of February, 1549, according to the modern computation.** By what means

* Knox, Historie, p. 74. This Treatise appears to have been lost. † MS. Letters, p. 40.

‡ The manuscript, there is reason to think, was conveyed to Scotland about that time, but it fell aside, and was long considered as lost. After Knox's death, it was discovered by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in the house of Ormiston, and was printed, Anno 1584, by Thomas Vaultrollier, in 12mo. with the title of "Confession of Faith, &c., by Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, one of the Lords of Council and Session of Scotland."—David Buchanan, in his edition of Knox's History, Anno 1644, among his other alterations and interpolations, makes Knox to say that this work was published at the time he wrote his History, which may be numbered among the anachronisms in that edition, which, for some time, discredited the authenticity of the History, and led many to deny that Knox was its author. But in the genuine editions, Knox expresses the very reverse. "In the presoun, he (Balnaves) wrait a maist profitabill treatise of justificatioun, and of the warkis and conversatioun of a justifyed man: *but how it was suppressit we knaw not.*" Historie, p. 83. Edin. Anno 1732. See also p. 181, of the first edition, in 8vo. printed at London by Vaultrollier in the year 1586.

‖ I have not adhered to the orthography of the printed work, which is evidently different from what it must have been in the MS.

§ It is "perfection" in the printed copy, which is evidently a mistake.

* i. e. beyond. † *Rouen*, not *Roanne*, is the place meant.

‡ i. e. genius or knowledge. ‖ See Note XIV.

§ This is the man whom a high church historian has represented as of the principles of the ancient *Zealots* or *Siccarii*, and one who taught that any person who met a papist might kill him! Collier, Eccles. Hist. ii. 545.

¶ Knox, Historie, p. 84, 85.

** In one of his letters, preserved by Calderwood, Knox says that he was *nineteen* months in the French galleys. Cald. MS. vol. i. 256. In the printed Calderwood, the period of his

his liberation was procured, I cannot certainly determine. One account says, that the galley in which he was confined was taken in the channel by the English.* According to another account, he was liberated by order of the King of France, because it appeared, on examination, that he was not concerned in the murder of the Cardinal, nor accessory to other crimes committed by those who held the Castle of St. Andrews.† In the opinion of others, his liberty was purchased by his acquaintances, who fondly cherished the hope that he was destined to accomplish some great achievements, and were anxious, by their interposition in his behalf, to be instrumental in promoting the designs of Providence.‡ It is not improbable, however, that he owed his deliverance to the comparative indifference with which he and his brethren were now regarded by the French court, who having procured the consent of the Parliament of Scotland to the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin, and obtained possession of her person, felt no longer any inclination to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy.

PERIOD III.

From the year 1549, when he was released from the French galleys, to the year 1554, when he fled from England.

Upon regaining his liberty, Knox immediately repaired to England. The objections which he had formerly entertained against a residence in that kingdom were now in a great measure removed. Henry VIII. had died in the year 1547; and archbishop Cranmer, released from the severe restraint under which he had been held by his tyrannical and capricious master, now exerted himself with much zeal in advancing the Reformation. In this he was cordially supported by those who governed the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI. But the undertaking was extensive and difficult; and in carrying it on, he found a great deficiency of ecclesiastical coadjutors. Although the most of the bishops had externally complied with the alterations introduced by authority, they remained attached to the old religion, and secretly thwarted, instead of seconding the measures of the Primate. The inferior clergy were, in general, as unable as they were unwilling to undertake the instruction of the people,‖ whose ignorance of religion was in many parts of the country extreme, and whose superstitious habits had become quite inveterate. This evil which prevailed universally throughout the popish church, instead of being corrected, was considerably aggravated by a ruinous measure adopted at the commencement of the English Reformation. When Henry suppressed the monasteries, and seized their revenues, he allotted pensions to the monks during life; but to relieve the royal treasury of this burden, small benefices in the gift of the crown were afterwards substituted in the place of pensions. The example of the monarch was imitated by the nobles who had procured monastic lands. By this means a great part of the inferior livings were held by ignorant and superstitious monks, who were a dead weight upon the English church, and a principal cause of the nation's sudden relapse to popery, at the subsequent accession of Queen Mary.*

Cranmer had already adopted measures for remedying this alarming evil. With the concurrence of the Protector and the Privy Council, he had invited a number of learned protestants from Germany into England, and had placed Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Emanuel Tremellius, as professors in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This was a wise measure, which secured a future supply of useful preachers, trained up by these able masters. But the necessity was urgent, and demanded immediate provision. For this purpose, instead of fixing a number of orthodox and popular preachers in particular charges, it was judged most expedient to employ them in itinerating through different parts of the kingdom, where the clergy were most illiterate or disaffected to the Reformation, and where the inhabitants were most addicted to superstition.

In these circumstances, our zealous countryman did not remain long unemployed. The reputation which he had gained by his preaching at St. Andrews,† and his late sufferings, recommended him to the English Council; and soon after his arrival in England, he was sent down from London to preach in Berwick.‡

The Council had every reason to be pleased with the choice which they had made of a northern preacher. He had long thirsted for the opportunity which he now enjoyed. His love for the truth, and his zeal against popery had been inflamed during his captivity; and he spared neither time nor labour in the instruction of those to whom he was sent. Regarding the worship of the popish church as grossly idolatrous, and its doctrine as damnable, he attacked both with the utmost fervour, and exerted himself in drawing his hearers from the belief of the one and from the observance of the other, with as much eagerness as in saving their lives from a devouring flame or flood. Nor were his efforts fruitless: during the two years that he continued in Berwick, numbers were converted by his ministry from ignorance and the errors of popery; and a visible reformation of manners was produced upon the soldiers of the garrison, who had formerly been noted for turbulence and licentiousness.‖

The popularity and success of a protestant preacher were very galling to the clergy in that quarter, who were, almost to a man, bigoted papists, and enjoyed the patronage of the bishop of the diocese. Tonstal, bishop of Durham, like his friend Sir Thomas More, was one of those men of whom it is extremely difficult to give a correct idea, qualities of an opposite

confinement is limited to *nine* months, a mistake which has been copied by several writers. It is proper that the reader of that book should be aware, that it consists merely of *excerpts* from Calderwood's History (which still remains in manuscript,) and, though it has been useful, is not always accurate in what it contains. Knox, in a conference with Mary of Scotland, told the Queen that he was five years resident in England (Historie, 289.) Now, as he came to England immediately after he obtained his liberty, and left it (as we shall afterwards see) in the end of January or beginning of February, 1554, this exactly accords with the date of his liberation which is given above from Calderwood's MS.

* This is mentioned in a MS. in my possession; but little credit can be given to it, as it is written in a modern hand, and no authority is produced.

† Petrie's Church History, Part ii. p. 184.

‡ Hamiltonii Dialog. p. 64.

‖ Peter Martyr, in a letter, dated Oxford, 1st July, 1550, laments the paucity of useful preachers in England. "Doleo plus quam dici possit, tanta ubique in Anglia verbi Dei penuria laborari; et eos qui oves Christi doctrina pascere tenentur, cum usque eo remisse agant, ut officium facere prorsus recusent, nescio quo fletu, quibusve lachrymis deplorari possit. Verum confido fore ut meliora simus visuri." Martyri Epist. apud Loc. Commun. p. 760. Geneva, 1624.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, II. 24. The suppression of the chauntries, in the reign of Edward VI. was attended with similar effects. Strype's Mem. of the Reform. II. 446.

† I omitted mentioning in the proper place, that the biographer of Sir David Lindsay has stated, from the Minutes of the English Council, that Knox was in the pay of England as early as the year 1547. Chalmers's Lindsay, I. 32. I cannot suppose that the learned author would confound the salary which Knox received during his residence in England, with a pension allotted to him when he was in his native country. But on the other hand, I think it very unlikely that he should have been known to the English Court before he entered the castle of St. Andrews, and am inclined to suppose that any pension which he received from them did not commence until that period at soonest. Mr. Chalmers's language conveys the idea, that he was pensioned by England before he went to the Castle.

‡ Strype's Memor. of Reform. iii. 235. Knox. Hist. 85, 289.

‖ Knox, Historie, p. 289.

kind being mixed and blended in their character. Surpassing all his brethren in polite learning, he was the patron of bigotry and superstition. Displaying, in private life, that moderation and suavity of manners which liberal studies usually inspire,* he was accessory to the public measures of a reign, disgraced throughout by the most shocking barbarities. Claiming our praise for honesty, by opposing in Parliament innovations which his judgment condemned, he forfeited it by the most tame acquiescence and ample conformity; thereby maintaining his station amidst all the revolutions of religion during three successive reigns. He had paid little attention to the science immediately connected with his profession, and most probably was indifferent to the controversies then agitated; but living in an age in which it was necessary for every man to choose his side, he adhered to those opinions which had been long established, and which were friendly to the power and splendour of the ecclesiastical order. As if anxious to atone for his fault, in having forwarded those measures which produced a breach between England and the Roman See, he opposed in Parliament all the subsequent changes. Opposition awakened his zeal; he became at last a strenuous advocate for the popish tenets; and wrote a book in defence of transubstantiation, of which, says bishop Burnet, "the Latin style is better than the divinity."

The labours of Knox, who exerted himself to overthrow what the bishop wished to support, could not fail to be very disagreeable to Tonstal. As the preacher acted under the authority of the Protector and Council, he durst not inhibit him; but he was disposed to listen to the informations which were lodged against him by the clergy. Although the town of Berwick was Knox's principal station during the years 1549 1550, it is probable that he was appointed to preach occasionally in the adjacent country. Whether, in the course of his itinerancy, he had preached in Newcastle, or whether he was called up to it, in consequence of complaints against his sermons delivered at Berwick, it is difficult to ascertain. It is however certain, that a charge was exhibited against him before the bishop, for teaching that the sacrifice of the mass was idolatrous, and that a day was appointed for him publicly to assign his reasons for this opinion.

Accordingly, on the 4th of April, 1550, a large assembly being convened in Newcastle, among whom were the members of the council,† the bishop of Durham, and the learned men of his cathedral, Knox delivered, in their presence, an ample defence of his doctrine. After an appropriate exordium, in which he stated to the audience the occasion and design of his appearance, and cautioned them against the powerful prejudices of education and custom in favour of erroneous opinions and corrupt practices in religion, he proceeded to establish the doctrine which he had taught. The manner in which he treated the subject was well adapted to his auditory, which was composed both of the learned and the illiterate. He proposed his arguments in the syllogistic form, according to the practice of the schools, but illustrated them with a plainness level to the meanest capacity among his hearers. At the same time, the propositions on which he rested his defence are very descriptive of his characteristic boldness of thinking and acting. A more cautious and timid disputant would have satisfied himself with attacking the grosser notions which were generally entertained by the people on this subject, and with exposing the glaring abuses of which the priests were guilty in the lucrative sale of masses. Knox scorned to occupy himself in demolishing these feeble and falling outworks, and proceeded directly to establish a principle which overthrew the whole fabric of superstition. He engaged to prove that the mass, "even in her most high degree," and when stripped of the meretricious dress in which she now appeared, was an idol struck from the inventive brain of superstition, which had supplanted the sacrament of the supper, and engrossed the honour due to the person and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. "Spare no arrows," was the motto which Knox wore on his standard: the authority of Scripture, and the force of reasoning, grave reproof, and pointed irony, were weapons which he alternately employed. In the course of this defence, he did not restrain those sallies of raillery, which the fooleries of the popish superstition irresistibly provoke, even from those who are deeply impressed with its pernicious tendency. Before concluding his discourse, he adverted to certain doctrines which he had heard in that place on the preceding Sabbath, the falsehood of which he engaged to demonstrate; but in the first place, he said, he would submit the notes of the sermon, which he had taken down, to the preacher, that he might correct them as he saw proper; for his object was not to misrepresent nor captiously entrap a speaker, by catching at words unadvisedly uttered, but to defend the truth, and warn his hearers against errors destructive to their souls. The defence, as drawn up by Knox himself, is now before me in manuscript, and the reader who wishes a more particular account of its contents will find it in the notes.*

This defence had the effect of extending Knox's fame through the North of England, while it completely silenced the bishop and his learned assistants.† He continued to preach at Berwick during the remaining part of this year, and in the following was removed to Newcastle, and placed in a sphere of greater usefulness. In December 1551, the Privy Council conferred on him a mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of King Edward's Chaplains in Ordinary. "It was appointed (says his Majesty, in a Journal of important transactions which he wrote with his own hand) that I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four absent in preaching; one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year two in the marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex. These six to be Bill, Harle,‡ Perne, Grindal, Bradford, and——."‖ The name of the sixth has been dashed out of the Journal, but the industrious Strype has shewn that it was Knox.§ "These it seems (says Bishop Burnet) were the most zealous and readiest preachers, who were sent about as itinerants, to supply

* Sir Thomas More, in one of his letters to Erasmus, gives the following character of Tonstal: "Ut nemo est omnibus bonis literis instructior, nemo vita moribusque severior, ita nemo est usquam in convictu jucundior."

† Besides the great Council which managed the affairs of the kingdom under the Protector, a number of the privy-counsellors who belonged to this part of the country, composed a subordinate board, called "the Council of the North." The members here referred to belonged probably to this council, and not the town-council of Newcastle. If I am right in this conjecture, Knox might owe to them, and not to the bishop, the liberty of this public defence.

* See Note XV.

† The compiler of the account of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History printed in 1732, says, that the MS. containing the Defence, bears that it "quite silenced" the bishop and his doctors. But that writer does not appear to have ever seen the MS. which contains nothing of the kind. The fact, however, is attested by the bishop of Ossory, who had good opportunities of knowing its truth, and who is accurate in his account of other circumstances relative to it. His words are, "Et 4 die Aprilis ejusdem anni [1550] aperiens in concione opinionem, ejus idolatrias et horrendas blasphemias, tam solidis argumentis, abominationem esse probabat, ut, cum omnibus sciolis, Saturnius ille somniator, [Dunelmensis] refragare non possit." Baleus, De Script. Scot. et Hibern. Art. *Knoxus*.

‡ John *Harle* or *Harley*, was afterwards made bishop of Hereford, May 26, 1553. Strype's Cranmer, p. 301. A late writer has confounded this Englishman with *William Harlowe*, who was minister of St. Cuthbert's church, near Edinburgh. Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 242.

‖ King Edward's Journal, apud Burnet, ii. Records, p. 42.

§ Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 297. Memor. of Cranmer, p. 292. Burnet, iii. 212. Records. 420, 422.

the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty."* An annual salary of forty pounds was allotted to each of the chaplains.†

In the course of this year, Knox was consulted about the book of Common Prayer, which was undergoing a revisal. On that occasion, it is probable that he was called up for a short time to London. Although the persons who had their chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs were not disposed, or did not think it yet expedient, to introduce that thorough reform which he judged necessary, in order to reduce the worship of the English church to the scripture-model, his representations were not altogether disregarded. He had influence to procure an important change in the communion-office, completely excluding the notion of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and guarding against the adoration of the elements, which was too much countenanced by the practice, still continued, of kneeling at their reception.‡ In his *Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England*, Knox speaks of these amendments with great satisfaction. "Also God gave boldness and knowledge to the Court of Parliament to take away the *round clipped god*, wherein standeth all the holiness of the papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions (kneeling at the Lord's table excepted) which before profaned Christ's true religion." These alterations gave great offence to the papists. In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the Prolocutor, Dr. Weston, complained of our countryman's influence in procuring them. "A *runnagate Scot* did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresie was put into the last communion-book; so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time."‖ In the following year, he was employed in revising the *Articles of Religion*, previous to their ratification by Parliament.§

During his residence at Berwick, he had formed an acquaintance with *Miss Marjory Bowes*, a young lady who afterwards became his wife. She belonged to the honourable family of Bowes, and was nearly allied to Sir Robert Bowes, a distinguished courtier during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his son Edward. Before he left Berwick, Knox had paid his addresses to this young Lady, and met with a favourable reception. Her mother also was friendly to the match; but owing to some reason, most probably the presumed aversion of her father, it was deemed prudent to delay solemnizing the union. But having come under a formal promise to her, he considered himself, from that time, as sacredly bound, and he always addressed Mrs. Bowes by the name of *Mother*, in the letters which he wrote to that lady.*

Without derogating from the praise justly due to those worthy men who were at this time employed in disseminating religious truth through England, I may say, that our countryman was not behind the first of them, in the unwearied assiduity with which he laboured in the stations assigned to him. From an early period, his mind seems to have presaged, that the golden opportunity now enjoyed would not be of long duration. He was eager to "redeem the time," and indefatigable both in his studies and in teaching. In addition to his ordinary services on Sabbath, he preached regularly on week days, frequently on every day of the week.† Besides the portion of time which he allotted to study, he was often employed in conversing with persons who applied to him for advice on religious subjects.‡ The Council were not insensible to the value of his services, and conferred on him several marks of approbation. They wrote different letters to the governors and principal inhabitants of the places where he preached, recommending him to their notice and protection.‖ They secured him in the regular payment of his salary, until he should be provided with a benefice.§ And they, out of respect to him, in September 1552, granted a patent to his brother *William Knox*, a merchant, giving him liberty for a limited time, to trade to any port of England, in a vessel of a hundred tons burden.¶

But the things which recommended Knox to the Council drew upon him the hatred of a numerous and powerful party in the Northern counties, who remained addicted to popery. Irritated by his boldness and success in attacking their superstition, and sensible that it would be in vain, and even dangerous, to prefer an accusation against him on that ground, they watched for an opportunity of catching at something in his discourses or behaviour, which they might improve to his disadvantage. He had long observed with great anxiety the impatience with which the papists submitted to the present government, and their eager desires for any change which might lead to the overthrow of the protestant religion; desires which were expressed by them in the North, without that reserve

* Burnet, ii. 171.

† Strype's Memor. of Reform. ut supra. Life of Grindal, p. 7. Mr. Strype says, that the number of chaplains was afterwards reduced to four, Bradford and Knox being dropped from the list. But both of these preached in their turn before the Court, in the year 1553. And in the Council-book a warrant is granted, October 27th, 1552, to four gentlemen, to pay to Knox, "his Majesty's preacher in the North, forty pounds, as his Majesty's reward." Strype's Cranmer, 292. This salary he retained until the death of Edward; for in a letter written by him at the time he left England, he says: "Ather the Queens Majestie, or sum Thesaurer will be 40 pounds rycher by me, sae meikle lack I of the dutie of my patentis; but that littil trubillis me." MS. Letters, p. 286.

‡ See Note XVI.

‖ Fox, p. 1326. Strype questions the truth of Weston's statement, and says that Knox "was hardly come into England (at least any further than Newcastle) at this time." Annals, iii. 117. But we have already seen that he arrived in England as early as the beginning of 1549.

§ "October 2, (1552,) a letter was directed to Mess. Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain articles exhibited to the King's Majesty, to be subscribed by all such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the same." Council-book, apud Strype's Cranmer, p. 273. Their report was returned before the 20th November, ibid. p. 301. Burnet says, the order was given October 20. History, iii. 212. The articles agreed to at this time were *forty-two*. In 1562 they were reduced to *thirty-nine*, their present number.

* From this appellation in the MS. Letters, I concluded that Knox was married to Miss Bowes before he left Berwick, until I met with a book printed by him, to which one of his letters to Mrs. Bowes is added. On the margin of this, opposite to a place in which he had called her *mother*, is this note: "I had maid faithful promise, before witnes, to Mariorie Bowes her daughter, so as she tuke me for sone, I hartly embrased her as my mother." Knox's Answer to Tyrie the Jesuit. F. ij.

† MS. Letters, p. 265, 276. ‡ Ibid. *passim*.

‖ They wrote a letter in his commendation, Dec. 9, 1552, to Lord Wharton, Deputy Warden of the Borders. During the following year, when he was employed in Buckinghamshire, in order to secure greater acceptance and respect to him in that county, the Council wrote in his favour to Lords Russel and Windsor, to the Justices of the Peace, and to several other gentlemen. Strype's Cranmer, p. 292.

§ Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 533.

¶ Bishop Burnet and Mr. Strype, (Memor. of Reform. ii. 299.) who record this fact, conjecture that the patentee was a relation of our Reformer. That he was his brother is evident from Knox's letters, which mention his being in England about this time. In a letter written in 1553, he says: "My brother, *Williame Knox*, is presentlie with me. What ye wald haif frome Scotland, let me knaw this Monunday at nycht; for hie must depart on Tyisday." MS. p. 271. The same person seems to be meant in the following extract from another letter: "My brother hath communicat his haill hart with me; and I persave the mychtie operation of God. And sa let us be estabblissit in his infinit gudnes and maist sure promissis." MS. p. 266.

William Knox afterwards became a preacher, and was minister of Cockpen, in Mid Lothian, after the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland. No fewer than fourteen ministers of the church of Scotland are numbered among his descendants. Genealogical Account of the Knoxes, apud Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 152.

which prudence dictated in places adjacent to the seat of authority. He had witnessed the joy with which they received the news of the Protector's fall, and was no stranger to the satisfaction with which they circulated prognostications as to the speedy demise of the king. In a sermon preached by him about Christmas 1552, he gave vent to his feelings on this subject; and lamenting the obstinacy of the papists, asserted, that such as were enemies to the gospel, then preached in England, were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth, thirsted for nothing more than his Majesty's death, and cared not who should reign over them, provided they got their idolatry again erected. This free speech was immediately laid hold of by his enemies, and transmitted, with many aggravations, to some great men about court, secretly in their interest, who thereupon accused him of high misdemeanors, before the Privy Council.*

In taking this step, they were not a little encouraged by their knowledge of the sentiments of the Duke of Northumberland, who had lately come down to his charge as Warden General of the Northern marches.† This ambitious and unprincipled nobleman had affected much zeal for the reformed religion, that he might the more easily attain the highest preferment in the state, which he had recently secured by the ruin of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector of the kingdom. Knox had offended him by publicly lamenting the fall of Somerset as threatening danger to the Reformation, of which he had always shewn himself a zealous friend, however blameable his conduct might have been in other respects.‡ Nor could the freedom which the preacher used, in reproving from the pulpit the vices of great as well as small, fail to be displeasing to a man of Northumberland's character. On these accounts, he was desirous to have Knox removed from that quarter, and had actually applied for this, by a letter to the Council, previous to the occurrence just mentioned; alleging, as a pretext for this, that great numbers of Scotsmen resorted to him: as if any real danger was to be apprehended from this intercourse with a man, of whose fidelity the existing government had so many strong pledges, and who uniformly employed all his influence to remove the prejudices of his countrymen against England.‖

In consequence of the charge exhibited against him to the Council, he was summoned to repair immediately to London, and answer for his conduct. The following extract of a letter, written by him to Miss Bowes,§ will shew the state of his mind on receiving this citation. "Urgent necessity will not suffer that I testify my mind unto you. My Lord of Westmoreland¶ has written unto me this Wednesday at six of the clock at night, immediately thereafter to repair unto him, as I will answer at my peril. I could not obtain license to remain the time of the sermon upon the morrow. Blessed be God who does ratify and confirm the truth of his word from time to time, as our weakness shall require! Your adversary, sister, doth labour that you should doubt whether this be the word of God or not. If there had never been testimonial of the undoubted truth thereof before these our ages, may not such things as we see daily come to pass prove the verity thereof? Doth it not affirm, that it shall be preached, and yet contemned and lightly regarded by many; that the true professors thereof shall be hated by father, mother, and others of the contrary religion; that the most faithful shall be persecuted? And cometh not all these things to pass in ourselves? Rejoice, sister, for the same word that forespeaketh trouble doth certify us of the glory consequent. As for myself, albeit the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But, alas! I fear that yet I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time.—Be sure I will not forget you and your company, so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature."*.

Upon reaching London, he found that his enemies had been uncommonly industrious in their endeavours to excite prejudice against him. But the Council, after hearing his defences, were convinced of the malice of his accusers, and gave him an honourable acquittal. He was employed to preach before the court, and his sermons gave great satisfaction, particularly to his Majesty, who contracted a favour for him, and was very desirous to have him promoted in the church.† The Council resolved that he should preach in London and the southern counties during the following year; but they allowed him to return for a short time to Newcastle, either that he might settle his affairs in the north, or that a public testimony might be borne to his innocence in the place where it had been attacked. In a letter to his sister, dated Newcastle, 23d March, 1553, we find him writing as follows, "Look farther of this matter in the other letter,‡ written unto you at such time as many thought I should never write after to man. Heinous were the delations laid against me, and many are the lies that are made to the Council. But God one day shall destroy all lying tongues, and shall deliver his servants from calamity. I look but one day or other to fall in their hands; for more and more rageth the members of the devil against me. This assault of Satan has been to his confusion, and to the glory of God. And therefore, sister, cease not to praise God, and to call for my comfort; for great is the multitude of enemies, whom every one the Lord shall confound. I intend not to depart from Newcastle before Easter."

His confinement in the French galleys, together with his labours in England, had considerably impaired the vigour of his constitution, and brought on the gravel. In the course of the year 1553, he endured several violent attacks of this acute disorder, accompanied with severe pain in his head and stomach. "My daily labours must now increase (says he, in the letter last quoted), and therefore spare me as much as you may. My old malady troubles me sore, and nothing is more contrarious to my health than writing. Think not that I weary to visit you; but unless my pain shall cease, I will altogether become unprofitable. Work, O Lord, even as pleaseth thy infinite goodness, and relax the

* MS. Letters, p. 193. Knox's Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, p. 61, apud History, Edin. 1644, 4to.

† The Earl of Warwick, now created Duke of Northumberland, was appointed Warden General of the Northern marches in Oct. 1551. But being occupied in securing his interest at court, he got himself excused from going North until June 1552. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 282, 339.

‡ MS. Letters, p. 112, 173. Admonition, p. 51. apud History, Edinburgh, 1644. Knox considered that the papists had a secret hand in fomenting those dissentions which led to the condemnation and execution of the Protector. Nor were his suspicions ill founded. See Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 306—7.

‖ The Duke's letter was dated Nov. 23, 1552. Haynes, State Papers, 136. Brand's History of Newcastle, p. 304. Redpath's Border History, p. 577.

§ A great number of his letters in the MS. are superscribed "To his Sister." It appears from internal evidence that this was a daughter of Mrs. Bowes, and, although I cannot be positive, I am inclined to think that she was the young lady whom he married. One letter has this superscription, "To Mariorie Bowes, who was his first wife." In it he addresses her by the name of *Sister*, and at the close, says, "I think this be the first letter that ever I wrait to you." MS. p. 335. But there is no date by which to compare it with other letters.

¶ Henry Nevyl, Earl of Westmoreland, was, by the interest of the Duke of Northumberland, admitted a member of the Privy Council, anno 1552. He was also a member of the Council for the North, and Lord Lieutenant of the bishopric of Durham. His private character was indifferent. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 401, 457—9.

* MS. Letters, p. 267—9.

† MS. Letters, p. 112. Melchior Adam, Vit. Theolog. Ext. p. 137.

‡ The letter last quoted. MS. Letters, p. 273—4. compared with p. 268.

troubles, at thy own pleasure, of such as seeketh thy glory to shine, Amen."* In another letter to the same correspondent, he writes: "The pain of my head and stomach troubles me greatly. Daily I find my body decay; but the providence of my God shall not be frustrate. I am charged to be at Widdrington upon Sunday, where I think I shall also remain Monday. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you. Desire such faithful as with whom ye communicate your mind, to pray that, at the pleasure of our good God, my dolour both of body and spirit may be relieved somewhat; for presently it is very bitter. Never found I the spirit, I praise my God, so abundant where God's glory ought to be declared; and therefore I am sure there abides something that yet we see not."† "Your messenger (says he in another letter) found me in bed, after a sore trouble and most dolorous night; and so dolour may complain to dolour when we two meet. But the infinite goodness of God, who never despiseth the petitions of a sore troubled heart, shall, at his good pleasure, put end to these pains that we presently suffer, and in place thereof shall crown us with glory and immortality for ever. But, dear sister, I am even of mind with faithful Job, yet most sore tormented, that my pain shall have no end in this life. The power of God may, against the purpose of my heart, alter such things as appear not to be altered, as he did unto Job; but dolour and pain, with sore anguish, cries the contrary. And this is more plain than ever I spake, to let you know ye have a fellow and companion in trouble: and thus rest in Christ, for the head of the serpent is already broken down, and he is stinging us upon the heel."‡

About the beginning of April, 1553, he returned to London. In the month of February preceding, Archbishop Cranmer had been directed by the Council to present him to the vacant living of *All-Hallows* in the city.‖ This proposal, which originated in the personal favour of the young King, was very disagreeable to Northumberland, who exerted himself privately to hinder his preferment. The interference of this nobleman, however, was unnecessary; for Knox declined the living when it was offered to him; and, on being questioned as to his reasons, readily acknowledged, that he had not freedom in his mind to accept of a fixed charge, in the present state of the English church. His refusal, with the reason which he had assigned, gave offence, and on the 14th of April, he was called before the Privy Council. There were present the archbishop of Canterbury, Goodrick bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor, the earls of Bedford, Northampton, and Shrewsbury, the lords Treasurer and Chamberlain, and the two Secretaries. They asked him, Why he had refused the benefice provided for him in London? He answered, that he was fully satisfied that he could be more useful to the church in another situation. Being interrogated, If ·· was his opinion, that no person could lawfully servo in ecclesiastical ministrations, according to the present laws of that realm? he frankly replied, That there were many things in the English church which needed reformation, and that without this reformation ministers could not, in his opinion, discharge their office conscientiously in the sight of God; for no minister had authority, according to the existing laws, to prevent the unworthy from participating of the sacraments, which was "a chief point of his office." He was asked, If kneeling at the Lord's table was not a matter of indifference? He replied, that Christ's action at the communion was most perfect, and in it no such posture was used; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was an addition and invention of men. On this article, there was a smart dispute between him and some of the members of the Council. After long reasoning, he was told, that they had not sent for him with any bad design, but were sorry to understand that he was of a contrary judgment to the common order. He said, he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. They dismissed him with soft words, advising him to use all means for removing the dislike which he had conceived to some of the forms of their church, and to reconcile his mind, if possible, to the idea of communicating according to the established rites.*

Scruples which had resisted the force of authority and argument have often been found to yield to the more powerful influence of lucrative and honourable situations. But whether, with some, we shall consider Knox's conduct on this occasion as indicating the poverty of his spirit,† or shall regard it as a proof of true independence of mind, even the prospect of elevation to the episcopal bench could not overcome the repugnance which he felt at a closer connection with the English church. Edward VI. with the concurrence of his Privy Council, offered him a bishoprick. But he rejected it; and in the reasons which he gave for his refusal, declared the episcopal office to be destitute of divine authority in itself, and its exercise in the English church to be inconsistent with the ecclesiastical canons. This is attested by Beza, a contemporary author.‡ Knox himself speaks, in one of his treatises, of the "high promotions" offered to him by Edward;‖ and we shall find him, at a later period of his life, expressly asserting, that he had refused a bishoprick. Tonstal being sequestered upon a charge of misprision of treason, the Council had come to a resolution, about this time, to divide his extensive diocese into two bishopricks, the seat of one of which was to be at Durham, and of the other at Newcastle. Ridley, bishop of London, was to be translated to the former, and it is highly probable that Knox was intended for the latter. "He was offered a bishopric (says Brand), probably the new founded one at Newcastle, which he refused—*revera noluit episcopari.*"§

It may be proper, in this place, to give a more particular account of Knox's sentiments respecting the English church. The reformation of religion, it is well known, was established on very different principles in England and in Scotland, both as to worship and ecclesiastical polity. In England, the papal supremacy was transferred to the prince, the hierarchy, being subjected to the civil power, was suffered to remain, and after removing the grosser superstitions, the principal forms of the ancient worship were retained; whereas, in Scotland, all of these were discarded, as destitute of divine authority, unprofitable, burdensome, or savouring of popery; and the worship and government of the church were reduced to the primitive standard of scriptural simplicity. The influence of Knox, in recommending this establishment to his countrymen, is universally allowed; but, as he officiated for a considerable time in the church of England, and on this account was supposed to have been pleased with its constitution, it has been usually said that he afterwards contracted a dislike to it during his exile on the continent, and that, having then imbibed the sentiments of Calvin, he carried them along with

* MS. Letters, p. 276.
† Ibid. p. 260—1.
‡ Ibid. p. 262.
‖ Strype's Cranmer, p. 292.

* The account of this examination before the Council is taken from a letter of Knox, the substance of which has been inserted by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Strype in his Memorials of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 400.

† Luther having rejected with disdain the great offers by which Aleander, the papal legate, attempted to gain him over to the court of Rome, "He is a ferocious brute (exclaimed the legate, equally confounded and disappointed) whom nothing can soften, and who regards riches and honours as mere dirt; otherwise the Pope would long ago have loaded him with favours." Beausobre's History of the Reformation, i. 395—6. Macaulay's Translation.

‡ Bezæ Icones, Ee iij. Verheideni Effigies, p. 92, 93. Melch. Adam. p. 137.

‖ MS. Letters, p. 73. The passage will afterwards be quoted

§ History of Newcastle, p. 304.

him to his native country, and organized the Scottish church after the Genevan model. This statement is inaccurate. His objections to the English liturgy were increased and strengthened during his residence on the continent, but they existed before that time. His judgment respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline was matured during that period, but his radical sentiments on these heads were formed long before he saw Calvin, or had any intercourse with the foreign reformers. At Geneva he saw a church, which, *upon the whole*, corresponded with his idea of the divinely authorized pattern; but he did not indiscriminately approve, nor servilely imitate either that or any other existing establishment.*

As early as the year 1547, he taught, in his first sermons at St. Andrews, that no mortal man could be head of the church, that there were no true bishops but such as preached personally without a substitute, that in religion men are bound to regulate themselves by divine laws, and that the sacraments ought to be administered exactly according to the institution and example of Christ. We have seen that, in a solemn disputation in the same place, he maintained that the church has no authority, on pretext of decorating divine service, to devise religious ceremonies, and impose upon them arbitrary significations.† This position he also defended in the year 1550 at Newcastle, and in his late appearance before the Privy Council at London. It was impossible that the English church, in any of the shapes which it assumed, could stand the test of these principles. The ecclesiastical supremacy, the various orders and dependencies of the hierarchy, crossing in baptism, and kneeling in the eucharist, with other ceremonies; the theatrical dress, the mimical gestures, the vain repetitions used in religious service, were all condemned and repudiated by the cardinal principle to which he steadily adhered, that in the church of Christ, and especially in the acts of worship, every thing ought to be arranged and conducted, not by the pleasure and appointment of men, but according to the dictates of inspired wisdom and authority.

He rejoiced that liberty and encouragement were given to preach the pure word of God throughout the extensive realm of England; that idolatry and gross superstition were suppressed; and that the rulers were disposed to support the Reformation, and even to carry it farther than had yet been done. Considering the character of the greater part of the clergy, the extreme paucity of useful preachers, and other hindrances to the introduction of the primitive order and discipline of the church, he acquiesced in the authority exercised by a part of the bishops, under the direction of the Privy Council, and endeavoured to strengthen their hands, in the advancement of the common cause, by painful preaching in the stations which were assigned to him. But he could not be induced to contradict or to conceal his fixed sentiments, and he cautiously avoided coming under engagements, by which he must have approved of what, in his decided conviction, was either unlawful in its own nature, or injurious in its tendency to the interests of religion. Upon these principles, he never submitted to the unlimited use of the liturgy, during the time that he was in England,‡ refused to become a bishop, and declined accepting a parochial charge. When he perceived that the progress of the Reformation was arrested, by the influence of a popish faction and the dictates of a temporizing policy; that abuses, which had formerly been acknowledged, began to be openly vindicated and stiffly maintained; above all, when he saw, after the accession of Elizabeth, that a retrograde course was taken, and a yoke of ceremonies, more grievous than that which the most sincere protestants had formerly complained of, was imposed and enforced by arbitrary statutes, he judged it necessary to speak in a tone of a more decided and severe reprehension.

Among other things which he censured in the English ecclesiastical establishment, were the continuing to employ a great number of ignorant and insufficient priests, who had been accustomed to nothing but saying mass, and singing the litany; the general substitution of the reading of homilies, the mumbling of prayers, or the chanting of matins and even-song, in the place of preaching; the formal celebration of the sacraments, unaccompanied with instruction to the people; the scandalous prevalence of pluralities; and the total want of ecclesiastical discipline. He was of opinion, that the clergy ought not to be entangled, and diverted from the duties of their office, by holding civil places; that the bishops should lay aside their secular titles and dignities; that the bishopricks should be divided, so that in every city or large town, there might be placed a godly and learned man, with others joined with him for the management of ecclesiastical matters; and that schools for the education of youth should be universally erected through the nation.*

Nor did the principal persons who were active in effecting the English Reformation differ widely from Knox in these sentiments; although they might not have the same conviction of their importance, and of the expediency of reducing them to practice. We would mistake exceedingly, if we supposed that they were men of the same principles and temper with many who succeeded to their places, or that they were satisfied with the pitch to which they had carried the Reformation of the English church, and regarded it as a paragon and perfect pattern to other churches. They were strangers to those extravagant and illiberal notions which were afterwards adopted by the fond admirers of the hierarchy and liturgy. They would have laughed at the man who would have seriously asserted, that the ceremonies constituted any part of "the beauty of holiness," or that the imposition of the hands of a bishop was essential to the validity of ordination; they would not have owned that person as a protestant who would have ventured to insinuate, that where this was wanting, there was no Christian ministry, no ordinances, no church, and perhaps—no salvation! Many things which their successors have applauded, they barely tolerated, and they would have been happy if the circumstances of their time would have permitted them to introduce alterations, which have since been cried down as puritanical innovations. Strange as it may appear to some, I am

* The Churches of Geneva and Scotland, did not agree in all points. Though holidays were abolished in Geneva at the commencement of the Reformation, the observance of a number of them was very soon restored, and has always continued in that church; but this practice was wholly rejected by the church of Scotland, from the very first establishment of the Reformation, and its introduction has always been vigorously resisted by her. Other things in which they differed might easily be mentioned.

† Knox, Historie, p. 72—74. and this Life, p. 33.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 250. During the reign of Edward, and even the first years of his sister Elisabeth's, absolute conformity to the liturgy was not pressed upon ministers. Strype's Annals, i. 419, 432. Burnet, iii. 305, 311. Hutchinson's Antiq. of Durham, i. 453. Archbishop Parker, in the beginning of Elisabeth's reign, administered the elements to the communicants *standing*, in the cathedral church of Canterbury. Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed the communion to be received in the same posture in Coventry; and the practice was continued in that town as late, at least, as the year 1603. Certain demands propounded unto Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, &c. p. 45. A. 1605. Removal of Imputations laid upon Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, p. 51. A. 1606. A Dispute upon the question of Kneeling, p. 131. A. 1608.

* This statement of his sentiments is drawn from his Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel; printed at Geneva, Anno 1559, and at the end of his History, Edinburgh, 1644, 4to. and from his letters to Mrs. Locke, dated 6th April, and 15th October 1559, apud Cald. MS. i. 380, 491.

not afraid of exceeding the truth when I say, that if the English Reformers (including the protestant bishops) had been left to their own choice, if they had not been held back and retarded by a large mass of popishly affected clergy in the reign of Edward, and restrained by the supreme civil authority on the accession of Elizabeth, they would have brought the government and worship of the church of England, nearly to the pattern of other reformed churches. If the reader doubts this, he may consult the evidence produced in the notes.*

Such, in particular, was the earnest wish of his Majesty Edward VI. a prince who, besides his other rare qualities, had an unfeigned reverence for the word of God, and a disposition to comply with its precepts in preference to custom and established usages; and who shewed himself uniformly inclined to give relief to his conscientious subjects, and sincerely bent on promoting the union of all the friends of the reformed religion at home and abroad. Of his intentions on this head, there remain the most unquestionable and satisfactory documents.† Had his life been spared, there is every reason to think that he would have accomplished the correction or removal of those evils in the English church, which the most steady and enlightened protestants have lamented. Had his sister Elizabeth been of the same spirit with him and prosecuted the plan which he laid down, the consequences would have been most happy both for herself and for her people, for the government and for the church. She would have united all the friends of the Reformation, who were the great support of her authority. She would have weakened the interest of the Roman Catholics, whom all her accommodating measures could not gain, nor prevent from repeatedly conspiring against her life and crown. She would have put an end to those dissentions among her protestant subjects which continued during the whole of her reign, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her successors, and which, being fomented and exasperated by the severities employed for their suppression, at length burst forth to the temporary overthrow of the monarchy, as well as of the hierarchy, whose exorbitancies it had patronised, and whose corruptions it had sanctioned and maintained;—dissentions which subsist to this day, and, though softened by the partial lenitive of a toleration, have gradually alienated from the communion of that church a large proportion of the people, and which, if a timely and salutary remedy be not applied, may ultimately undermine the foundations of the English establishment.

During the time that Knox was in London, he had full opportunity for observing the state of the Court; and the observations which he made, filled his mind with the most anxious forebodings. Of the piety and sincerity of the young king, he entertained not the smallest doubt. Personal acquaintance heightened the idea which he had conceived of his character from report, and enabled him to add his testimony to the tribute of praise, which all who knew that prince had so cheerfully paid to his common virtues and endowments.‡ But the principal courtiers, by whom he was at that time surrounded, were persons of a very different description, and gave proofs, too unequivocal to be mistaken, of indifference to all religion, and of a readiness to acquiesce, and even to assist in the re-establishment of the ancient superstition, whenever a change of rulers should render this measure practicable and expedient. The health of Edward, which had long been declining, growing gradually worse, so that no hope of his recovery remained, they were eager only about the aggrandizing of their families, and providing for the security of their places and fortunes.

The royal chaplains were men of a very different character from those who have usually occupied that place in the courts of princes. They were no time-serving, supple, smooth-tongued parasites; they were not afraid of forfeiting their pensions, or of alarming the consciences, and wounding the delicate ears of their royal and noble auditors, by denouncing the vices which they committed, and the judgments of heaven to which they exposed themselves. The freedom used by the venerable Latimer is well known from his printed sermons, which, for their homely honesty, artless simplicity, native humour, and genuine pictures of the manners of the age, continue still to be read with interest. Grindal, Lever, and Bradford, who were superior to Latimer in learning, evinced the same fidelity and courage. They censured the ambition, avarice, luxury, oppression, and irreligion which reigned in the Court. As long as their Sovereign was able to give personal attendance on the sermons, the preachers were treated with exterior decency and respect; but after he was confined to his chamber by a consumptive cough, the resentment of the courtiers vented itself openly in the most contumelious speeches and insolent behaviour.*

From what the reader has already seen of Knox's character, he may readily conceive that the sermons delivered by him at court, were not less bold and free than those of his colleagues. We may form a judgment of them, from the account which he has given of the last sermon which he preached before his Majesty. In that he directed several piercing glances of reproof at the haughty Premier, and his crafty relation the Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, both of whom were among his hearers. His text was John xiii. 18. *He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me.* It had been often seen, he said, that the most excellent and godly princes were surrounded with false and ungodly officers and counsellors. Having enquired into the reasons of this, and illustrated the fact from the scripture examples of Achitophel under King David, Shebna under Hezekiah, and Judas under Jesus Christ, he added: "What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived; by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid, that Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer."†

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward VI. departed this life, to the unspeakable grief of all the lovers of learning, virtue, and the protestant religion; and a black cloud spread over England, which after hovering a while, burst into a dreadful storm, that raged during five years with the most destructive fury. Knox was at this time in London.‡ He received the afflicting tidings of his Majesty's decease with becoming fortitude and resignation to the sovereign will of heaven. The event did not meet him unprepared: he had long anticipated it, with its probable consequences: the prospect had produced the keenest anguish in his breast, and drawn tears from his eyes; and he had frequently introduced the subject into his public discourses and confidential conversations with his friends. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, some time after this, he says: "How oft have you and I talked of these present days, till neither of us both could refrain tears, when no such appearance then was seen of man! How oft have I said unto you, that I looked daily for trouble,

* See Note XVII. † See Note XVIII.

‡ We had (says he in his letter to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick) ane King of sa godlie disposition towardis vertew, and the treuth of God, that nane frome the beginning passit him, and (to my knawledge) none of his yeiris did ever mache him, in that behalf; gif hie myght haif bene lord of his awn will." MS. Letters, p. 119. He has passed a more full encomium on this prince, in his Historie, p. 89.

* See Note XIX.

† MS. Letters, p. 175—177, and Admonition, p. 52, 54. apud History, Edin. 1644. 4to.

‡ One of his letters to Mrs. Bowes is dated London, 22d June, 1553. MS. Letters, p. 249. And from other letters it appears that he was still there in the following month.

and that I wondered at it, that so long I should escape it! What moved me to refuse (and that with displeasure of all men, even of those that best loved me) those high promotions that were offered by him whom God hath taken from us for our offences? Assuredly the foresight of trouble to come.* How oft have I said unto you that the time would not be long that England would give me bread! Advise with the last letter that I wrote unto your brother-in-law, and consider what is therein contained."†

He remained in London until the 19th of July, when Mary was proclaimed Queen, only nine days after the same ceremony had been performed in that city, for the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. The thoughtless demonstrations of joy given by the inhabitants, at an event which threatened such danger to the religious faith which they still avowed, affected him so deeply, that he could not refrain, in his sermons, from publicly testifying his displeasure at their conduct, and from warning them of the calamities which they had reason to dread.‡ Immediately after this, he seems to have withdrawn from London, and retired to the north of England, being justly apprehensive of the measures which might be pursued by the new government.‖

To induce the protestants to submit peaceably to her authority, Mary amused them for some time with proclamations, in which she promised not to do violence to their consciences. Though aware of the bigotry of the Queen, and the spirit of the religion to which she was devoted, the protestant ministers reckoned it their duty to improve this respite. In the month of August, Knox returned to the South, and resumed his labours. It seems to have been at this time that he composed the *Confession* and *Prayer*, commonly used by him in the congregations to which he preached, in which he prayed for Queen Mary by name, and for the suppression of such as meditated rebellion.§ While he itinerated through Buckinghamshire, he was attended by large audiences, which his popularity and the alarming crisis drew together; especially at Amersham, a borough formerly noted for the general reception of the doctrines of Wickliffe, the precursor of the Reformation in England, and from which the seed sown by his followers had never been altogether eradicated.¶ Wherever he went, he earnestly exhorted the people to repentance under the tokens of divine displeasure, and to a steady adherence to the faith which they had embraced. He continued to preach in Buckinghamshire and Kent during the harvest months, although the measures of government daily rendered his safety more precarious; and in the beginning of November, returned to London, where he resided chiefly with Mr. Locke and Mr. Hickman, two respectable merchants of his acquaintance.**

While the measures of the new government threatened danger to all the protestants in the kingdom, and our countryman was under daily apprehensions of imprisonment, he met with a severe trial of a private nature. I have already mentioned his engagements to Miss Bowes. At this time, it was judged proper by both parties to avow the connection, and to proceed to solemnize their union. This step was opposed by the young lady's father; and his opposition was accompanied with circumstances which gave much distress to Knox, to Mrs. Bowes, and her daughter. His refusal seems to have proceeded from family pride; but I am inclined to think that it was also influenced by religious considerations; as from different hints dropped in the correspondence about this affair, he appears to have been, if not inclined to popery in his judgment, at least resolved to comply with the religion now favoured by the Court. On this subject I find Knox writing from London to Mrs. Bowes, in a letter, dated 20th September, 1553. "My great labours, wherein I desire your daily prayers, will not suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between your husband and you, touching my matter with his daughter. I praise God heartily, both for your boldness and constancy. But I beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therewith. It becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deliverance of my own flesh,* as that I will do, by God's grace, both fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have written to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother Harry will declare to you and my wife. If I escape sickness and imprisonment, [you may] be sure to see me soon."†

His wife and mother-in-law were anxious that he should settle in Berwick, or in its neighbourhood, where he might perhaps be allowed to reside peaceably, although in a more private way than formerly. To this proposal he does not seem to have been averse, provided he could have seen any prospect of his being able to support himself. Since the accession of Queen Mary, the payment of the salary allotted to him by government had been stopped. Indeed, he had not received any part of it for the last twelve-months.‡ His father-in-law was abundantly able to give him a sufficient establishment; but Knox's spirit could not brook the thought of being dependant on one who had treated him with coldness and disdain. Induced by the importunity of his mother-in-law, he applied to Sir Robert Bowes at London, and attempted by a candid explanation of all circumstances, to remove any umbrage which had been conceived against him by the family, and to procure an amicable settlement of the whole affair. The unfavourable issue of this interview was communicated by him in a letter to Mrs. Bowes, of which the following is an extract.

"Dear Mother, so may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shewn unto me at all times since our first acquaintance; albeit such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care toward you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes on the matter ye know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea dispiteful words hath so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him. Among other his most unpleasing words, while that I was about to have declared my part in the whole matter, he said, 'Away with your rhetorical reasons, for I will not be persuaded with them.' God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause. But what he would not be content to hear of me, God shall declare to him one day to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me. I pray God that your conscience were quiet and at peace, and I regard not what country consume this my wicked carcase. And were [it] not that no man's unthankful-

* We have already seen (p. 40.) that this was not his sole reason for refusing preferment in the English church.

† MS. Letters, p. 73, 74. also p. 250.

‡ In his "Letter to the faithful in London," &c. he puts them in mind of the premonitions which he had given on different occasions, and, among others, of "what was spoken in Londone in ma places nor ane, whan fyreis of joy and ryatous banketting wer at the proclamation of Marie your quene." MS. 112, 113.

‖ One of his letters is dated, Carlisle, 26th July, 1553. MS. p. 270. § See Note XX.

¶ Fox, 710, 748-9, 751-766. Knox, Admonition, p. 67. Append. to History, Edin. 1644. 4to.

** MS. Letters, p. 289, 291.

* His wife. † MS. Letters, p. 290, 291. ‡ Ib. p. 296

ness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those, of whom not only I thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful. But so must men declare themselves. Affection does trouble me at this present; yet I doubt not to overcome by Him, who will not leave comfortless his afflicted to the end: whose omnipotent Spirit rest with you. Amen."*

He refers to the same disagreeable affair in another letter written about the end of this year. After mentioning the bad state of his health, which had been greatly increased by distress of mind, he adds, "It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick; and almost I am determined not to come at all. Ye know the cause. God be more merciful unto some, than they are equitable unto me in judgment. The testimony of my conscience absolves me, before his face who looks not upon the presence of man.†" These extracts shew us the heart of the writer; they discover the sensibility of his temper, the keenness of his feelings, and his pride and independence of spirit struggling with a sense of duty and with affection to his relations.

About the end of November, or the beginning of December, he retired from the south to Newcastle. The Parliament had by this time repealed all the laws made in favour of the Reformation, and restored the Roman Catholic religion; but such as pleased, were permitted to observe the protestant worship, until the 20th of December. After that period they were thrown out of the protection of the law, and exposed to the pains decreed against heretics. Many of the bishops and ministers were committed to prison; others had escaped beyond sea. Knox could not, however, prevail on himself either to flee the kingdom, or to desist from preaching. Three days after the period limited by the statute had elapsed, he says in one of his letters, "I may not answer your places of scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the sixth psalm, for every day of this week must I preach, if this wicked carcase will permit."‡

His enemies, who had been defeated in their attempts to ruin him under the former government, had now access to rulers sufficiently disposed to listen to their information. They were not dilatory in improving the opportunity. In the end of December 1553, or beginning of January 1554, his servant was seized, as he carried letters from him to his wife and mother-in-law, and the letters were taken from him, in the hopes of finding in them some matter of accusation against the writer. As they contained merely religious advices, and exhortations to constancy in the protestant faith (which he was prepared to avow before any court to which he might be called), he was not alarmed at their interception. But, being aware of the uneasiness which the report would give to his friends at Berwick, he set out immediately with the design of visiting them. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which he conducted this journey, the rumour of it quickly spread; and some of his wife's relations who had joined him, persuaded that he was in imminent danger, prevailed on him, greatly against his own inclination, to relinquish his design of proceeding to Berwick, and to retire to a place of safety on the coast, from which he might escape by sea, provided the search for him was continued. From this retreat he wrote to his wife and her mother, acquainting them with the reasons of his absconding, and the small prospect which he had of being able at that time to see them. His brethren (he said) "had, partly by admonition, partly by tears, compelled him to obey," somewhat contrary to his own mind; for "never could he die in a more honest quarrel," than by suffering as a witness for that truth of which God had made him a messenger. Notwithstanding this state of his mind, he promised, if Providence prepared the way, to "obey the voices of his brethren, and give place to the fury and rage of Satan for a time."*

Having ascertained that his friends were not mistaken in the apprehensions which they felt for his safety, and that he could not hope to elude the pursuit of his enemies, if he remained in England, he procured a vessel, which landed him safely at Dieppe, a port of Normandy in France, on the 28th of January, 1554.†

* MS. Letters, p. 293, 294.
† Ibid. p. 265.
‡ Ibid. p. 265.

PERIOD IV.

From the year 1554, when he left England, till the year 1556, when he returned to Geneva, after visiting Scotland.

Providence, having more important services in reserve for Knox, made use of the urgent importunities of his friends to hurry him away from those dangers, to which, had he been left to the determination of his own mind, his zeal and fearlessness would have prompted him to expose himself. No sooner did he reach a foreign shore than he began to regret the course which he had been induced to take. When he thought upon his fellow-preachers, whom he had left behind him immured in dungeons, and the people lately under his charge, now scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd, he felt an indescribable pang, and an almost irresistible desire to return and share in the hazardous but honourable conflict. Although he had only complied with the divine direction, "when they persecute you in one city, flee ye unto another," and although in his own breast he stood acquitted of cowardice, yet he found it difficult to divest his conduct of the appearance of that weakness, and he was afraid that it might operate as a discouragement to his brethren in England, and might prove an inducement to them to make sinful compliances with the view of saving their lives.

On this subject we find him unbosoming himself to Mrs. Bowes, in his letters from Dieppe. "The desire that I have to hear of your continuance with Christ Jesus, in the day of this his battle (which shortly shall end to the confusion of his proud enemies,) neither by tongue nor by pen can I express, beloved mother. Assuredly, it is such, that it vanquisheth and overcometh all remembrance and solicitude which the flesh useth to take for feeding and defence of herself. For, in every realm and nation, God will stir up some one or other to minister those things that appertain to this wretched life; and, if men will cease to do their office, yet will he send his ravens: so that in every place, perchance, I may find some fathers to my body. But, alas! where I shall find children to be begotten unto God, by the word of life, that can I not presently consider; and therefore the spiritual life of such as sometime boldly professed Christ (God knoweth,) is to my heart more dear than all the glory, riches, and honour in earth; and the falling back of such men, as I hear daily to turn back to that idol again, is to me more dolorous than, I trust, the corporal death shall [be,] whenever it shall come at God's appointment. Some

* MS. Letters. p. 284.
† MS. Letters, p. 318. Archibald Hamilton has trumped up a ridiculous story, respecting Knox's flight from England. He says, that by teaching the unlawfulness of female government, he had excited a dangerous rebellion against Queen Mary. But the Queen having marched against the rebels, defeated them with great slaughter; upon which Knox, *stained with their blood*, fled to Geneva, carrying along with him a noble and rich lady! Dialog. de Confus. Calv. Sect. p. 65.

will ask then, Why did I flee? Assuredly I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause hath been to let me see with my corporal eyes, that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, that, in the day of rest and peace, bare a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter: by God's grace I may come to battle before that all the conflict be ended. And haste the time, O Lord! at thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may yet praise thy holy name before the congregation, if it were but in the very hour of death."—"I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as his Holy Spirit presently moveth me to write unfeignedly. And albeit that I have, in the beginning of this battle, appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier (the cause I remit to God,) yet my prayer is, that I may be restored to the battle again. And blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am not left so bare without comfort, but my hope is to obtain such mercy, that, if a short end be not made of all my miseries by final death, (which to me were no small advantage,) that yet, by Him who never despiseth the sobs of the sore afflicted, I shall be so encouraged to fight that England and Scotland shall both know, that I am ready to suffer more than either poverty or exile, for the profession of that doctrine, and that heavenly religion, whereof it has pleased his merciful providence to make me, among others, a simple soldier and witness-bearer unto men. And therefore, mother, let no fear enter into your heart, as that I, escaping the furious rage of these ravenous wolves (that for our unthankfulness are lately loosed from their bands,) do repent any thing of my former fervency. No, mother; for a few sermons by me to be made within England, my heart at this hour could be content to suffer more than nature were able to sustain; as by the grace of the most mighty and most merciful God, who only is God of comfort and consolation through Christ Jesus, one day shall be known."*

In his present sequestered situation, Knox had full leisure to meditate upon the various and surprising turns of providence in his lot, during the last seven years; his call to the ministry and employment at St. Andrews, his subsequent imprisonment and release, the sphere of usefulness in which he had been placed in England, with the afflicting manner in which he was excluded from it, and driven to seek refuge as an exile in that country to which he had formerly been carried as a prisoner. The late events seemed in a special manner to summon him to a solemn review of the manner in which he had discharged the sacred trust committed to him, as "a steward of the mysteries of God." It will throw light on his character, and may not be without use to such as occupy the same station, to exhibit the result of his reflections on this subject.

He could not deny, without ingratitude to Him who had called him to be his servant, that his qualifications for the ministry had been in no small degree improved since he came to England; and he had the testimony of his own conscience, in addition to that of his numerous auditors, that he had not altogether neglected the gifts bestowed on him, but had exercised them with some measure of fidelity and painfulness. At the same time, he found reason for self-accusation on different grounds. Having mentioned, in one of his letters, the reiterated charge of Christ to Peter, *Feed my sheep, feed my lambs*, he exclaims, "O alas! how small is the number of pastors that obeys this commandment. But this matter will I not deplore, except that I (not speaking of others) will accuse myself that do not, I confess, the uttermost of my power in feeding the lambs and sheep of Christ. I satisfy, peradventure, many men in the small labours I take; but I satisfy not myself. I have done somewhat, but not according to my duty."* In the discharge of private duties, he acknowledges, that shame, and the fear of incurring the scandal of the world, had sometimes hindered him from visiting the female part of his charge, and administering to them the instruction and comfort which they craved. In public ministrations, he had been deficient in fervency and fidelity, in impartiality, and in diligence. He could not charge himself with flattery, and his "rude plainness" had given offence to some; but his conscience now accused him of not having been sufficiently plain in admonishing offenders. His custom had been to describe the vices of which his hearers were guilty in such colours that they might read their own image; but being "unwilling to provoke all men against him," he had restrained himself from particular applications. Though his "eye had not been much set on worldly promotion," he had sometimes been allured, by affection for friends and familiar acquaintances, to reside too long in particular places, to the neglect of others which had equal or perhaps stronger claims on his regard. At that time he thought he had not sinned, if he had not been idle; now he was convinced that it was his duty to have considered how long he should remain in one place, and how many hungry souls were starving elsewhere. Sometimes, at the solicitation of friends, he had spared himself, and devoted to worldly business, or to bodily recreation and exercise, the time which ought to have been employed in the discharge of his official duties. "Besides these, (says he) I was assaulted, yea infected, with more gross sins, that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation, and praise of men; against which, albeit that sometimes the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lie not) to sob and lament for these imperfections, yet never ceased they to trouble me, when any occasion was offered; and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded, till vain-glory had almost got the upperhand. O Lord! be merciful to my great offence; and deal not with me according to my great iniquity, but according to the multitude of thy mercies."†

Such was the strict scrutiny which Knox made into his ministerial conduct. To many the offences of which he accused himself will appear slight and venial: others will perceive in them nothing worthy of blame. But they struck *his* mind in a very different light, in the hour of adversity and solitary meditation. If he, whose labours were so abundant as to appear to us excessive, had such reason for self-condemnation, how few are there in the same station who may not say, *I do remember my faults this day!*

He did not, however, abandon himself to melancholy and unavailing complaints. One of his first cares, after arriving at Dieppe, was to employ his pen in writing suitable advices to those whom he could no longer instruct by his sermons and conversation. With this view he transmitted to England two short treatises. The one was an exposition of the sixth psalm, which, at the request of Mrs. Bowes, he had begun to write in England, but had not found leisure to finish. It is an excellent practical discourse upon that portion of scripture, and will be read, with peculiar satisfaction, by those who have been trained to religion in the school of adversity. The other treatise was a large letter, addressed to those in London and other parts of England, among whom he had been employed as a preacher. The drift of it was to warn them against abandoning the religion which they had embraced, or giving countenance to the idolatrous worship now erected among them. The reader of this letter cannot fail to be struck with its animated strain,

* MS. Letters, p. 70, 71, 107, 108.

* MS. Letters, p. 308, 309.

† Ib. 165—167. Admonition, p. 46—48. ut supra.

when he reflects, that it proceeded from a forlorn exile, in a strange country, without a single acquaintance, and ignorant where he would find a place of abode or the means of subsistence. I cannot refrain from quoting its conclusion, as a specimen of the most impressive eloquence, and the most elevated piety; in which he addresses their consciences, their hopes, their fears, their feelings, and adjures them by all that is sacred, and all that is dear to them, as men, as parents, and as Christians, not to start back from their good profession, and plunge themselves and their posterity into the gulph of ignorance and idolatry.

"Allace! sall we, efter so many graces that God has offerit in our dayis, for pleasure, or for vane threatnying of thame whome our hart knaweth and our mouthes have confessit to be odious idolateris, altogidder without resistance turne back to our vomit and dampnabill ydolatrie, to the perdition of us and our posteritie? O horribill to be hard! Sall Godis halie preceptis wirk no greater obedience in ws? Sall nature no otherwayis molifie our hartis? Sall not fatherlie pitie overcum this cruelnes? I speik to you, O natural fatheris. Behold your children with the eie of mercie, and considder the end of thair creatioun. Crueltie it were to saif your selves, and damp thame. But, O! more than crueltie, and madnes that can not be expressit, gif,* for the pleasure of a moment, ye depryve yourselves and your posteritie of that eternall joy that is ordanit for thame that continewis in confessioun of Christis name to the end. Gif natural lufe, fatherlie affectioun, reverence of God, feir of torment, or yit hoip of lyfe, move you, then will ye ganestand that abomnabill ydol. Whilk gif ye do not, then, allace! the sone† is gone doun, and the lyht is quyte lost, the trompet is ceissit, and ydolatrie is placeit in quietnes and rest. But gif God sall strenthin you (as unfainedlie I pray that his majestie may) then is their but ane dark clude overspred the sone for ane moment, whilk schortlie sall vanische, sa that the beames efter salbe seven fald mair bryht and amiable nor thay were befoir. Your patience and constancie salbe a louder trompet to your posteritie, than wer the voces of the prophetis that instructit you; and so is not the trompit ceissit sa lang as any baldlie resisteth ydolatrie. And, thairfoir, for the tender mercies of God, arme yourselves to stand with Christ in this his schorte battell.

"Let it be knawn to your posteritie that ye wer Christianis, and no ydolateris; that ye learnit Chryst in tyme of rest, and baldlie professit him in tyme of trubill. The preceptis, think ye, are scharpe and hard to be observit; and yet agane I affirme, that comparit with the plagis that sall assuredlie fall upon obstinat ydolateris, they salbe fund easie and lycht. For avoyding of ydolatrie ye may perchance be compellit to live your native contrie and realme; but obeyris of ydolatrie without end salbe compellit to burne in hell: for avoyding ydolatrie your substance salbe spoillit; but for obeying ydolatrie heavenlie ryches salbe lost: for avoyding of ydolatrie ye may fall in the handis of earthlie tirantis; but obeyeris, manteaneris, and consentaris to ydolatrie sall not eschaip the handis of the liveing God: for avoyding of ydolatrie your children salbe depryvit of father, friendis, ryches, and of rest; but be obeying ydolatrie thay salbe left without God, without the knawledge of his word, and without hoip of his kingdome. Considder, deir brethrene, that how mekill mair‡ dolorous and feirfull it is to be tormentit in hell than to suffer trubill in erth; to be depryvit of heavenlie joy, than to be rubbit of transitorie ryches; to fall in the handis of the liveing God, than to obey manis vane and uncertane displeasure; to leif oure childrene destitute of God, than to leif thame unprovydit befoir the world;—sa mekill mair feirful it is to obey ydolatrie, or by dissembling to consent to the same, than be avoyding and flying from the abomination, to suffer what inconvenient may follow thairupon.

"Ye feir corporall deth. Gif nature admittit any man to live ever, then had your feir sum aperance of reasone. But gif corporall deth be commoun to all, why will ye jeoparde to lois eternall lyfe, to eschaip that which nether ryche nor pure, nether wyse nor ignorant, proud of stomoke nor febill of corage, and finally, no earthlie creature, be no craft nor ingyne* of man, did ever avoid. Gif any eschaipit the uglie face and horibill feir of deth, it was thay that baldlie confessit Chryst befoir men.—Why aucht the way of lyfe [to] be so feirfull, be reasone of any pane, consiidering that a great noumber of oure brethrene hes past befoir ws, be lyke dangeris as we feir? A stout and prudent marinell, in tyme of tempest, seeing but one or two schippis, or like weschells to his, pas througout any danger, and to win a sure harberie, will have gud esperance†, be the lyke wind, to do the same. Allace! sall ye be mair feirfull to win lyfe eternall, than the natural man is to save the corporall lyfe? Hes not the maist part of the sanctis of God from the begynning enterit into thair rest, be torment and trubillis? And yit what complayntis find we in thair mouthis, except it be the lamenting of thair persecuteris? Did God comfort thame? and sall his Majestie despyse us, gif, in fichting aganis iniquitie, we will follow thair futstepis? Hie will not."‡

On the last day of February 1554,‖ he set out from Dieppe, like the Hebrew patriarch of old, "not knowing whither he went;"§ and "committing his way to God," travelled through France, and came to Switzerland. A correspondence had been kept up between some of the English reformers and the most noted divines of the Helvetic church. The latter had already heard, with the sincerest grief, of the overthrow of the Reformation, and the dispersion of its friends, in England. On making himself known, Knox was cordially received by them, and treated with the most affectionate hospitality. He spent some time in Switzerland, visiting the particular churches, and conferring with the learned men of that country; and embraced the opportunity of submitting to them certain difficult questions, which were suggested by the present conjuncture of affairs in England, and about which his mind had been greatly occupied. Their views with respect to these coinciding with his own, he was confirmed in the judgment which he had already formed for himself.¶

In the beginning of May he returned to Dieppe, to receive information from England, a journey which he repeated at intervals as long as he remained on the Continent. The kind reception which he had met with, and the agreeable company which he enjoyed, during his short residence in Switzerland, had helped to dissipate the cloud which hung upon his spirits when he landed in France, and to open his mind to more pleasing prospects as to the issue of the present

* if. † sun. ‡ much more.

* wit. † hope.

‡ *Letter to the Faythful in Londoun*, &c. apud MS. Letters, p. 149—151, 156.

‖ His exposition of the sixth psalm concludes with these words: "Upon the very point of my journey, the last of February, 1553." MS. Letters, p. 109. The reader should recollect, that in our Reformer's time, they did not begin the year until the 25th of March; so that "February, 1553," according to the old reckoning, is "February, 1554," according to the modern.

§ His Letter to the Faithful in London, &c. concludes thus: "From ane sore trubillit hart, upon my departure from Diep, 1553, *whither God knaweth*. In God is my trust through Jesus Chryst his sone; and thairfoir I feir not the tyrannie of man, nether yet what the Devill can invent against me. Rejoice ye faithfull: for in joy shall we meit, wher deth may not dissever, us." MS. Letters, p. 157, 158.

¶ In a letter, dated Dieppe, May 10, 1554, he says: "My awne estait is this. Since the 28 of Januar [counting from the time he came to France] I have travellit throughout all the congregations of Helvetia, and has reasonit with all the pastoris and many other excellentlie learnit men, upon sic matters as now I cannot comit to wrytting." MS. Letters, p. 318.

afflicting events. This appears from a letter written by him at this time, and addressed "To his afflicted Brethren." After discoursing of the situation of the disciples of Christ, during the time that he lay in the grave, and of the sudden transition which they experienced, upon the re-appearance of their Master, from the depth of sorrow to the summit of joy, he adds: "The rememberance thereof is unto my heart great matter of consolation. For yet my hope is, that one day or other, Christ Jesus, that now is crucified in England, shall rise again, in despite of his enemies, and shall appear to his weak and sore troubled disciples (for yet some he hath in that wretched and miserable realm); to whom he shall say, *Peace be unto you: it is I; be not afraid.*"*

His spirit was also refreshed, at this time, by the information that he received of the constancy with which his mother-in-law adhered to the protestant faith. Her husband, it appears, had expected that she and the rest of her family had consciences equally accommodating with his own. It was not until she had evinced, in the most determined manner, her resolution to forsake her friends and her native country, rather than sacrifice her religion, that she was released from his importunities to comply with the Roman Catholic religion.† Before he went to Switzerland, Knox had signified his intention, if his life was spared, of visiting his friends at Berwick.‡ When he returned to Dieppe, he had not relinquished the thoughts of this enterprise.‖ It is likely that his friends had, in their letters, dissuaded him from this; and, after cool consideration, he resolved to postpone an attempt, by which he must have risked his life, without the prospect of doing any good.§

Wherefore, setting out again from Dieppe, he repaired to Geneva. The celebrated CALVIN, who was then in the zenith of his reputation and usefulness, had completed the ecclesiastical establishment of that city; and, having surmounted the opposition raised by those who envied his authority, or disliked his system of doctrine and discipline, was securely seated in the affections of the citizens. His writings were already translated into the different languages of Europe; and Geneva was thronged with strangers from Germany, France, Poland, Hungary, and even from Spain and Italy, who came to consult him about the advancement of the Reformation, or to find shelter from the persecutions to which they were exposed, in their native countries. The name of Calvin was respected by none more than by the protestants of England; and at the desire of archbishop Cranmer, he had imparted to the Protector Somerset, and to Edward VI. his advice as to the best method of advancing the Reformation in that kingdom.¶ Knox was affectionately received by him as a refugee from England, and an intimate friendship was soon formed between them, which subsisted until the death of Calvin in 1564. They were nearly of the same age; and there was a striking similarity in their sentiments, and in the more prominent features of their character. The Genevan Reformer was highly pleased with the piety and talents of Knox, who, in his turn, entertained a greater esteem and deference for Calvin than for any other of the reformers. As Geneva was an eligible situation for prosecuting study, and as he approved much of the religious order established in that city, he resolved to make it the ordinary place of his residence during the continuance of his exile.

But no prospect of personal safety or accommodation could banish from his mind the thoughts of his persecuted brethren. In the month of July he undertook another journey to Dieppe, to inform himself accurately of their situation, and to learn if he could do any thing for their comfort.* The tidings he received on this occasion tore open those wounds which had begun to close. The severities used against the protestants of England daily increased; and, what was still more afflicting to him, many of those who had embraced the truth under his ministry had been induced to return to the communion of the Popish Church. In the agony of his spirit, he wrote to them, setting before them the destruction to which they exposed their immortal souls by such cowardly desertion, and earnestly calling them to repent.† Under his present impressions, he repeated his former admonitions to his mother-in-law, and to his wife; over whose religious constancy he was tenderly jealous. "By pen will I write (because the bodies are put asunder to meet again at God's pleasure) that which, by mouth, and face to face, ye have heard, That if man or angel labour to bring you back from the confession that once you have given, let them in that behalf be accursed. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation, unless they speedily repent. But now, mother, comfort you my heart, (God grant ye may) in this my great affliction and dolorous pilgrimage; continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I oft commune, yea, and, as it were comforting myself, I appear to triumph, that God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke. Sure I am that both ye would fear and eshame to commit that abomination in my presence, who am but a wretched man, subject to sin and misery like to yourself. But, O mother! though no earthly creature should be offended with you, yet fear ye the presence and offence of Him, who, present in all places, searcheth the very heart and reins, whose indignation, once kindled against the inobedient (and no sin more inflameth his wrath than idolatry doth), no creature in heaven nor in earth is able to appease."‡

He was in this state of mind when he composed the *Admonition to England*, which was published about the end of this year. Those who have censured him, as indulging in an excessive vehemence of spirit and bitterness of language, usually refer to this tract in support of the charge.‖ It is true, that he there paints the persecuting papists in the blackest colours, and holds them up as objects of human execration and divine vengeance. I do not now stop to inquire, whether he was chargeable with transgressing the bounds of moderation prescribed by reason and religion, in the expression of his indignation and zeal; or whether the censures pronounced by his accusers, and the principles upon which they proceed, do not involve a condemnation of the temper and language of the most righteous men mentioned in Scripture, and even of our Saviour himself. But I ask, Is there no apology for his severity to be found in the characters of the persons against whom he wrote, and in the state of his own feelings, lacerated, not by personal sufferings, but by sympathy with his suffering brethren, who were driven

* MS. Letters, p. 313—315. † Ib. p. 311. ‡ Ib. p. 106.
‖ Ib. p. 319. § Ib. p. 310.
¶ Strype's Cranmer, p. 413. Calvini Epist. et Respons. p. 179, 245, 248. Hanov. 1597.

* One of his letters to Mrs. Bowes, is dated "At Diep the 20 of July, 1554, after I had visitit Geneva and uther partis, and returned to Diep to learn the estait of Ingland and Scotland." MS. Letters, p. 255, 256. This is the letter which was published by Knox, along with his answer to Tyrie, in 1572, after the death of Mrs. Bowes.

† In the letter mentioned in last note, he refers his mother-in-law to "a general letter written (says he) be me in greit anguiss of hart to the congregationis of whome I heir say a greit part, under pretence that thai may keip faith secreitt in the hart, and yet do as idolaters do, beginnis now to fall before that idoll. But O alas! blindit and desavit ar thai; as thai sall knaw in the Lordis visitatioun, whilk, sa assuredlie as our God liveth, shall shortlie apprehend thai backstarteris amangis the middis of idolateris." MS. Letters, p. 252. On the margin of the printed copy is this note. "Frequent letters written by Johne Knox to decline from idolatrie."

‡ MS. Letters, p. 251—253.

‖ Collier (Eccles. History, ii. 441.), *cum multis aliis.*

into prisons by their unnatural countrymen, "as sheep for the slaughter," to be brought forth and barbarously immolated to appease the Roman Moloch! Who could suppress indignation in speaking of the conduct of men, who, having raised themselves to honour and affluence by the warmest professions of friendship to the reformed religion under the preceding reign, now abetted the most violent measures against their former brethren and benefactors! What terms were too strong for stigmatizing the execrable system of persecution coolly projected by the dissembling, vindictive GARDINER, the brutal barbarity of the bloody BONNER, or the unrelenting, insatiable cruelty of MARY, who, having extinguished the feelings of humanity, and divested herself of the tenderness which characterizes her sex, continued to issue orders for the murder of her subjects, until her own husband, bigoted and unfeeling as he was, turned with disgust from the spectacle, and to urge to fresh severities the willing instruments of her cruelty, after they were sated with blood!

> On such a theme 'tis impious to be calm;
> Passion is reason, transport temper here.—YOUNG.

"Oppression makes a wise man mad:" but (to use the words of a modern orator,* with a more just application) "the distemper is still the *madness* of the *wise*, which is better than the *sobriety* of *fools*. Their cry is the voice of sacred misery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the sanctified phrensy of prophecy and inspiration."

Knox returned to Geneva, and applied himself to study with all the ardour of youth, although his age now bordered upon fifty. It seems to have been at this time that he made himself master of the Hebrew language, which he had no opportunity of acquiring in early life.† It is natural to enquire, by what funds he was supported during his exile. However much inclined his mother-in-law was to relieve his necessities, the disposition of her husband seems to have put it greatly out of her power. Any small sum which his friends had advanced to him, before his sudden departure from England, was exhausted; and he was at this time very much straitened for money. Being unwilling to burden strangers, he looked for assistance to the voluntary contributions of those among whom he had laboured. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, he says, "My own estate I cannot well declare; but God shall guide the footsteps of him that is wilsome, and will feed him in trouble that never greatly solicited for the world. If any collection might be made among the faithful, it were no shame for me to receive that which Paul refused not in the time of his trouble. But all I remit to His providence, that ever careth for his own."‡ I find, that remittances were made to him by particular friends, both in England and in Scotland, during his residence on the Continent.‖

Meanwhile, the persecution growing hot in England, great numbers of protestants had made their escape from that kingdom. Before the close of the year 1554, there were on the Continent several hundred learned Englishmen, besides others of different ranks, who had preferred their religion to their country, and voluntarily encountered all the hardships of exile, that they might hold fast the profession of the protestant faith. The foreign reformed churches exhibited, on this occasion, an amiable proof of the spirit of their religion, and amply recompensed the kindness which many foreigners had experienced in England, during the reign of Edward. They emulated one another in exertions to accommodate the unfortunate refugees who were dispersed among them, and endeavoured with the most affectionate solicitude to supply their wants and alleviate their sufferings.§ The principal places in which they obtained settlements, were Zurich, Basle, Geneva, Arrow, Embden, Wezel, Strasburg, Duysburg, and Frankfort.

Frankfort on the Maine was a rich imperial city of Germany, which, at an early period, had embraced the Reformation, and befriended protestant refugees from all countries, as far as this could be done without coming to an open breach with the Emperor, by whom their conduct was watched with a jealous eye. There was already a church of French protestants in that city. On the 14th of July, 1554, the English exiles, who had come to Frankfort, obtained from the magistrates the joint use of the place of worship allotted to the French, with liberty to perform religious service in their own language.* This was granted upon the condition, of their conforming as nearly as possible to the mode of worship used by the French church, a prudent precaution dictated by the political situation in which they were placed. The offer was gratefully accepted by the English, who came to an unanimous agreement, that they would omit the use of the surplice, the litany, the audible responses, and some other ceremonies prescribed by the English liturgy, which, "in those reformed churches, would seem more than strange," or which were "superstitious and superfluous." Having settled this point in the most harmonious manner, elected a temporary pastor and deacons, and agreed upon some rules for discipline, they wrote a circular letter to their brethren who were scattered through different places, informing them of the agreeable settlement which they had obtained, and inviting them to participate with them in their accommodations at Frankfort, and to unite in prayers for the afflicted church of England. The exiles at Strasburg, in their reply to this letter, recommended to them certain persons as best qualified for filling the offices of superintendent and pastor; a recommendation not asked by the congregation at Frankfort, who did not think a superintendent necessary in their situation, and who intended to put themselves under the inspection of two or three pastors invested with equal authority. They, accordingly, proceeded to make choice of three persons to this office. One of these was Knox, who received information of his election by a letter written in the name of the congregation, and subscribed by its principal members.†

The deputation which waited upon him with this invitation found him engaged in the prosecution of his studies at Geneva. From aversion to interrupt these, or from the apprehension of difficulties that he might meet with at Frankfort, he would gladly have excused himself from accepting the invitation. But the deputies having employed the powerful intercession of Calvin,‡ he was induced to comply, and repairing to Frankfort in the month of November, commenced his ministry with the universal consent and approbation of the church. Previous to his arrival, however, the harmony which at first subsisted among that people had been disturbed. In reply to their circular letter, the exiles at Zurich had signified that they would not come to Frankfort, unless they obtained security that the church there would "use the same order of service concerning religion, which was, in England, last set forth by King Edward;" for they were fully

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* Burke. † MS. Letters, p. 322. Davidson's Brief Commendatioun of Uprichtnes; reprinted in the Supplement.
‡ MS. Letters, p. 256. ‖ Ibid. 344, 373.
§ It is painful to observe, that many of the *Lutherans*, at this time, disgraced themselves by their illiberal inhospitality, refusing, in different instances, to admit those who fled from England into their harbours and towns; because they differed from them in their sentiments on the sacramental controversy. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theolog. p. 20. Strype's Cranmer, p. 353, 361. Gerdes. Hist. Reform. Tom. iii. 235—7.

* The English exiles were greatly indebted for this favour to the friendly services of the French pastors. One of these, *Valerandus Polanus*, was a native of Flanders, and had been minister of a congregation in Strasburg. During the confusions produced in Germany by the Interim, he had retired along with his congregation to England, and obtained a settlement at Glastonbury. Upon the death of Edward, he went to Frankfort. Strype's Memor. of the Reformat. ii. 242.
† See Note XXI. ‡ Knox, Historie, p. 85.

determined "to admit and use no other." They alleged that, by varying from that service, they would give occasion to their adversaries to charge their religion with imperfection and mutability, and would condemn their brethren in England, who were then sealing it with their blood. To these representations the brethren at Frankfort replied, that they had obtained the liberty of a place of worship, upon condition of their accommodating themselves as much as possible to the form used by the French church; that there were a number of things in the English service-book which would be offensive to the protestants among whom they resided, and which had been occasion of scruple to conscientious persons at home; that, by the variations which they had introduced, they were very far from meaning to throw any reflection upon the regulations of their late sovereign and his council, who had themselves altered many things, and had resolved on greater alterations, without thinking that they gave any handle to their popish adversaries; and still less did they mean to detract from the credit of the martyrs, who, they were persuaded, shed their blood in confirmation of more important things than mutable ceremonies of human appointment. This reply had the effect of lowering the tone of the exiles at Zurich, but it did not satisfy them; and instead of desisting from the controversy, and contenting themselves with remaining where they were, they instigated their brethren at Strasburg to urge the same request, and, by letters and messengers, fomented dissention in the congregation at Frankfort.*

When Knox arrived, he found that the seeds of animosity had already sprung up among them. From what we already know of his sentiments respecting the English service-book, we may be sure that the eagerness manifested by those who wished to impose it was very displeasing to him. But so sensible was he of the pernicious and discreditable effects of division among brethren exiled for the same faith, that he resolved to act as a moderator between the two parties, and to avoid, as far as possible, every thing which might have a tendency to widen or continue the breach. Accordingly, when the congregation had agreed to adopt the order of the Genevan church,† and requested him to proceed to administer the communion according to it, although he approved of that order, he declined to carry it into practice, until their learned brethren in other places were consulted. At the same time, he signified that he had not freedom to dispense the sacraments agreeably to the English liturgy. If he could not be allowed to perform this service in a manner more consonant to scripture, he requested that some other person might be employed in this part of duty, and he would willingly confine himself to preaching: if neither of these could be granted, he besought them to release him altogether from his charge. To this last request they would by no means consent.

Fearing that, if these differences were not speedily accommodated, they would burst into a flame, Knox, and some other members of the congregation, drew up a summary of the Book of Common Prayer, and having translated it into Latin, sent it to Calvin for his opinion and advice. Calvin replied in a letter, dated January 20, 1555; he lamented the unseemly contentions which prevailed among them; he said that, although he had always recommended moderation respecting external ceremonies, yet he could not but condemn the obstinacy of those who would consent to no change of old customs; that in the liturgy of England he had found many *tolerable fooleries*, (tolerabiles ineptias), practices which might be tolerated at the beginning of a reformation, but which ought afterwards to be removed; he thought that the present condition of the English exiles warranted them to attempt this, and to agree upon an order more conducive to edification; and, for his part, he could not understand what those persons meant who discovered such fondness for popish dregs.*

This letter, being read to the congregation, had a great effect in repressing the keenness of such as had urged the unlimited use of the liturgy; and a committee was appointed to draw up a form which might accommodate all differences.† When this committee met, Knox told them that he was convinced it was necessary for one of the parties to relent, before they could come to an amicable settlement; and that he would therefore state what he judged most proper to be done, and having exonerated himself, would allow them, without opposition, to determine as they should answer to God and the church. They accordingly agreed upon a form of worship, in which some things were taken from the English liturgy, and others added, which were thought suitable to their circumstances. This was to continue in force until the end of April next; and if any dispute arose in the interval, it was to be referred to five of the most celebrated foreign divines. The agreement was subscribed by all the members of the congregation; thanks were publicly returned to God for the restoration of harmony; and the communion was received as a pledge of union, and the burial of all past offences.

But this agreement was soon after violated, and the peace of that unhappy congregation again broken, in the most wanton and scandalous manner. On the 13th of March, 1555, Dr. Cox, who had been preceptor to Edward VI. came from England to Frankfort, with some others in his company. The first day that they attended public worship after their arrival, they broke through the established order, by answering aloud after the minister in the time of divine service. Being admonished by some of the elders to refrain from that practice, they insolently replied, "That they would do as they had done in England; and they would have the face of an English church."‡ On the following Sabbath, one of their number having intruded himself into the pulpit, without the consent of the pastors or the congregation, read the litany, while Cox and the other accomplices echoed the responses. This offensive behaviour was aggravated by the consideration, that some of them, before leaving England, had been guilty of compliances with popery, for which they had not yet professed repentance.

Such an insult upon the whole body, and such an outrage upon all order and decency, could not be passed over in silence. It was Knox's turn to preach on the afternoon of the last mentioned Sabbath. In his ordi-

* Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the booke off Common Prayer, pp. xviii—xxiiii. Printed in 1575. This book contains a full account of the transactions of the English church at Frankfort, confirmed by original papers. The author was a non-conformist, but his narrative was allowed to be accurate by the opposite party. To save repetition, I may mention once for all, that, when no authority is referred to, my statement of these transactions is taken from this book. It was reprinted in 1642, and is also to be found in the second volume of the Phenix, or a revival of Scarce and Valuable Pieces. Lond. 1707—8. But I have made use of the first edition.

† This was the order of worship used by the church of Geneva, of which Calvin was minister: It had been lately translated into English.

* Calvini Epist. p. 28. apud Oper. tom. ix. Amstælodami. Anno 1667.

† Previous to the appointment of this committee, Knox, Whittingham, Fox, Gilby, and T. Cole, had composed (what was afterwards called) *The order of Geneva*, but it did not meet the views of all concerned. This was different from the order of the Genevan church, mentioned in the preceding page. It was so called, because first used by the English church at Geneva; and it was afterwards used in the church of Scotland, under the name of *The Book of Common Order*, and is sometimes called *Knox's Liturgy*.

‡ "The Lord grant it to have the face of *Christ's* church (says Knox, in an account which he drew up of these transactions); and therefore I would have had it agreeable, in outward rites and ceremonies, with Christian churches reformed.' Cald. MS. i. 249.

nary course of lecturing through the book of Genesis, he had occasion to discourse of the manner in which offences committed by professors of religion ought to be treated. Having mentioned that there were infirmities in their conduct over which a veil should be thrown, he proceeded to remark that offences which openly dishonoured God and disturbed the peace of the church, ought to be disclosed and publicly rebuked. He then reminded them of the contention which had existed in the congregation, and of the happy manner in which, after long and painful labour, it had been ended, to the joy of all, by the solemn agreement which had been that day flagrantly violated. This, he said, it became not the proudest of them to have attempted. Nothing which was destitute of a divine warrant ought to be obtruded upon any Christian church. In that book, for which some entertained such an overweening fondness, he would undertake to prove publicly, that there were things imperfect, impure, and superstitious; and, if any would go about to burden a free congregation with such things, he would not fail, as often as he occupied that place, (provided his text afforded occasion), to oppose their design. As he had been forced to enter upon that subject, he would say further, that, in his judgment, slackness in reforming religion, when time and opportunity were granted, was one cause of the divine displeasure against England. He adverted to the trouble which Bishop Hooper had suffered for refusing to comply with some of the ceremonies, and also to the want of discipline, and to the well known fact, that three, four, or five benefices had been occupied by one man, to the depriving of the flock of Christ of their necessary food.

This free reprimand was highly resented by those against whom it was levelled, especially by such as had held pluralities in England, who insisted that the preacher should be called to account for having slandered their mother church. A special meeting being held for the consideration of this business, the friends of the liturgy, instead of prosecuting their complaints against Knox, began with requiring that Dr. Cox and his friends should be admitted to a vote. This was resisted by the great majority; because they had not yet subscribed the discipline of the church, nor given satisfaction for their late disorderly conduct, and for their sinful compliances in England. The behaviour of our countryman, on this occasion, was more remarkable for magnanimity than for prudence. Although aware of their hostility to himself, and that they sought admission chiefly to overpower him by numbers, he was so confident of the justice of his cause, and so anxious to remove prejudices, that he entreated and prevailed with the meeting to yield to this unreasonable request, and to admit them presently to a vote. "I know," said he, "that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the congregation, is, that by the multitude of your voices ye may overthrow my cause. Howbeit, the matter is so evident, that ye shall not be able to do it. I fear not your judgment; and therefore do require that ye might be admitted."* This disinterestedness was thrown away on the opposite party; for no sooner were they admitted, and had obtained a majority of voices, than Cox (although he had no authority in the congregation) discharged Knox from preaching, and from all interference in the congregational affairs.†

The great body of the congregation were indignant at these proceedings; and there was reason to fear that their mutual animosity would break out into a disgraceful tumult. To prevent this, some of the members made a representation of the case to the senate of Frankfort, who, after in vain recommending a private accommodation, issued an order that the congregation should conform exactly to the worship used by the French church, as nothing but confusion had ensued since they departed from it; and if this was not complied with, they threatened to shut up their place of worship. To this peremptory injunction the Coxian faction pretended a cheerful submission, while they clandestinely concerted measures for obtaining its revocation, and enforcing their favourite liturgy upon their reclaiming brethren.

Perceiving the influence which our countryman had in the congregation, and despairing to carry their plan into execution, as long as he was among them, they determined in the first place to get rid of him. To accomplish this, they had recourse to one of the basest and most unchristian arts ever employed to ruin an adversary. Two of them, in concurrence with others, went privately to the magistrates, and accused Knox of High Treason against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; putting into their hands a copy of a book which he had lately published, and in which the passages containing the grounds of charge were marked! "O Lord God! (says Knox, when narrating this step) open their hearts to see their wickedness; and forgive them, for thy manifold mercies. And I forgive them, O Lord, from the bottom of mine heart. But that thy message sent by my mouth may not be slandered, I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing, and to utter their follies, to their amendment, I trust, and the example of others, who in the same banishment can have so cruel hearts as to persecute their brethren."* The book which the informers left with the magistrates was his *Admonition to England*; and the passage upon which they principally fixed, as substantiating the charge of treason against the Emperor, was the following, originally spoken to the inhabitants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire,† on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Queen Mary with Philip, the son and heir of Charles V. a match, which was at that time dreaded even by many of the English Catholics. "O England, England, if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry; such as the Emperor (who is no less enemy to Christ that ever was Nero): if for the pleasure of such princes thou return to thy old abominations before used under papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest!" The other passages related to the cruelty of the English Queen. Not to speak of the extravagance of the charge which they founded upon these passages, and of the unbrotherly spirit which they discovered, it was with little grace and consistency that the sticklers for the English forms availed themselves of the strong language which Knox had employed in the warmth of his zeal, in order to excite prejudices against him; and it would be no difficult task to extract from their writings declamations against their own Queen and against foreign princes, more intemperate by far than any thing that ever proceeded from his pen.‡

The magistrates, in consequence of this accusation,

* Cald. MS. i. 252.

† Collier (ii. 395.) says that Knox manifested in this instance, "a *surprising* compliance." But it appears, even from the account given by that historian, that in the whole of the Frankfort affair, he displayed the greatest moderation and forbearance, while the conduct of his opponents was marked throughout with violence and want of charity.

* Cald. MS. i. 254. Upon his return to Geneva, Knox committed to writing an account of the reasons of his retiring from Frankfort. This he intended to have published in his vindication; but on mature deliberation, he resolved to suppress it, and to leave his own character to suffer, rather than expose his brethren and the common cause in which they were engaged. His narrative has been preserved by Calderwood, and has furnished me with several facts. It contains the names of the persons who accused him to the senate of Frankfort, with their advisers; but I have omitted them, as Knox has also done in the notice which he has taken of the affair, in his Historie of the Reformation, p. 85.

† See above, p. 114. ‡ See Note XXII.

sent for *Whittingham*, a respectable member of the English congregation, and interrogated him concerning Knox's character. He told them that he was "a learned, grave, and godly man." They then acquainted him with the serious accusation which had been lodged against him by some of his countrymen, and giving him the book, charged him, *sub pœna pacis*, to bring them an exact Latin translation of the passages which were marked. This being done, they commanded Knox to desist from preaching, until their pleasure should be known. To this command he peaceably submitted: "Yet, (says he, in his narrative), being desirous to hear others, I went to the church next day, not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with —— and others, departed from the sermon; some of them protesting with great vehemence, that they would not tarry where I was."* The magistrates were extremely perplexed how to act in this delicate business: on the one hand, they were satisfied of the malice of Knox's accusers; on the other, they were afraid that information of the charge would be conveyed to the Emperor's Council, which sat at Augsburgh, and that they might be obliged to deliver up the accused to them, or to the Queen of England. In this dilemma, they desired Whittingham to advise his friend privately, to retire of his own accord from Frankfort. At the same time, they did not dissemble their detestation of the unnatural conduct of the informers, who, having waited upon them to know the result of their deliberations, were dismissed from their presence with signs of displeasure.

On the 25th of March, Knox delivered a very consolatory discourse to about fifty members of the congregation, who assembled at his lodgings in the evening. Next day they accompanied him some miles on his journey from Frankfort, and, with heavy hearts and many tears, committed him to God, and took their leave.

No sooner was Knox gone, than Cox, who had privately concerted the plan with Dr. Glauberg, a civilian, and nephew of the chief magistrate, procured an order from the Senate for the unlimited use of the English liturgy, by means of the false representation that it was now universally acceptable to the congregation. The next step was the abrogation of the discipline, and then the appointment of a bishop, or superintendent over the pastors. Having accomplished these important improvements, they could now boast that they had "the face of an English church." Yes! they could now raise their heads above all the reformed churches who had the honour of entertaining them; who, though they might have all the office-bearers and ordinances instituted by Christ, had neither bishop, nor litany, nor surplice! They could now lift up their faces in the presence of the church of Rome herself, and cherish the hope that she would not altogether disown them. But let me not forget, that the men of whom I write were at this time suffering exile for the protestant religion, and that they really detested the body of popery, though childishly and superstitiously attached to its attire, and gestures, and language.

The sequel of the transactions in the English congregation at Frankfort, does not properly belong to this memoir. I shall only add, that, after some ineffectual attempts to obtain satisfaction for the breach of the church's peace and the injurious treatment of their minister, a considerable number of the members left the city. Some of them, among whom was Fox the celebrated martyrologist, repaired to Basil. The greater part went to Geneva, where they obtained a place of worship, and lived in great harmony and love, until the storm of persecution in England blew over, at the death of Queen Mary; while those who remained at Frankfort, as if to expiate their offence against Knox, continued a prey to endless contention. Cox and his learned colleagues, having accomplished their favourite object, soon left them to compose the strife which they had excited, and provided themselves elsewhere with a less expensive situation for carrying on their studies.*

I have been the more minute in the detail of these transactions, not only on account of the share which the subject of this memoir had in them, but because they throw light upon the controversy between the conformists and non-conformists, which runs through the succeeding period of the ecclesiastical history of England. "The troubles at Frankfort" present, in miniature, a striking picture of that contentious scene which was afterwards exhibited on a larger scale in the mother-country. The issue of that affair augured ill as to the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the litigated points. It had been usual to urge conformity to the obnoxious ceremonies, from the respect due to the authority by which they were enjoined. But in this instance the civil authority, so far from enjoining, had rather discountenanced them. If they were urged with such intolerant importunity in a place where the laws and customs were repugnant to them, what was to be expected in England, where law and custom were on their side? The divines who were advanced in the church at the accession of Elizabeth professed, that they desired the removal of those grounds of strife, but could not obtain it from the Queen; and I am disposed to give many of them credit for the sincerity of their professions. But as they shewed themselves so stiff and unyielding when the matter was wholly in their own power; as some of them were so eager in wreathing a yoke about the consciences of their brethren, that they urged reluctant magistrates to rivet it; is it any wonder that their applications for relief were cold and ineffectual, when made to rulers who were disposed to make the yoke still more severe, and to "chastise with scorpions those whom *they* had chastised with whips?" I repeat it; when I consider the transactions at Frankfort, I am not surprised at the defeat of every subsequent attempt to advance the Reformation in England, or to procure relief to those who scrupled to yield conformity to some of the ecclesiastical laws. I know it is pleaded, that the things complained of are matters of indifference, not prohibited in scripture, not imposed as essential to religion or necessary to salvation, matters that can affect no well informed conscience; and that such as refuse them,

* Cald. MS. i. 255. Mr. Strype has not discovered his usual impartiality or accuracy in his short account of this affair. He says that Knox had "published some *dangerous principles* about *government*," and that the informers "thought it fit *for their own security* to make an open complaint against him." Memor. of the Reformat. iii. 242. Even Collier himself does not pretend such an excuse for the actors.

* Cox was afterwards made to feel a little the galling yoke which he strove to impose on his brethren. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, that stately princess, still fonder of pompous and popish equipage than her clergy, kept a *Crucifix* in her chapel, and ordered her chaplains to perform divine service before it. Dr. Cox was the only one of the refugees who complied with this, but his conscience afterwards remonstrating against it, he wrote a letter to the Queen, requesting to be excused from continuing the practice. In this letter it is observable, that he employs the great argument which Knox had used against other ceremonies, while he prostrates himself before his haughty mistress with a submission to which our Reformer would never have stooped. "I ought (says he) to do nothing touching religion, which may appear doubtful whether it pleaseth God or not; for our religion, ought to be certain, and grounded upon God's word and will.—Tender my sute, I beseech you, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, my dear Sovereign, and most gracious Queen Elizabeth." Burnet, ii. Append. 294. The *Crucifix* was removed at this time, but again introduced about 1570. Strype's Parker, p. 310. Dr. Cox afterward fell under the displeasure of his "dear Sovereign," for maintaining rather stiffly some of the revennes of his bishonrick. Strype's Annals, ii. 579. It is but justice, however, to this learned man to say, that I do not find him taking a very active part against the non-conformists, after his return to England: he even made some attempts for the removal of the obnoxious ceremonies.

when enacted by authority, are influenced by unreasonable scrupulosity, conceited, pragmatical, opinionative. This has been the usual language of a ruling party, when imposing upon the consciences of the minority. But not to urge here the danger of allowing to any class of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical, a power of enjoining indifferent things in religion; nor the undeniable fact, that the burdensome system of ceremonial observances, by which religion was corrupted under the papacy, was gradually introduced under these and similar pretexts; nor that the things in question, when complexly and formally considered, are not really matters of indifference; not to insist at present, I say, upon these topics, the answer to the above plea is short and decisive. 'These things appear matters of conscience and importance to the scruplers: you say they are matters of indifference. Why then violate the sacred peace of the church, and perpetuate division; why silence, deprive, harass, and starve men of acknowledged learning and piety, and drive from communion a sober and devout people; why torture their consciences, and endanger their souls, by the imposition of things which, in your judgment, are indifferent, not necessary, and unworthy to become subjects of contention?'

Upon retiring from Frankfort, Knox went directly to Geneva. He was cordially welcomed back by Calvin. As his advice had great weight in disposing Knox to comply with the invitation from Frankfort, he felt much hurt at the treatment which had obliged him to leave it. In reply to an apologetic epistle which he received from Dr. Cox, Calvin, although he prudently restrained himself from saying any thing which might revive or increase the flame, could not conceal his opinion, that Knox had been used in an unbrotherly and unchristian manner, and that it would have been better for his accuser to have remained at home, than to have come into a foreign country as a firebrand to inflame a peaceable society.*

It appeared from the event, that Providence had disengaged Knox from his late charge, to employ him on a more important service. From the time that he was carried prisoner into France, he had never lost sight of Scotland, nor relinquished the hope of again preaching in his native country. While he resided at Berwick and Newcastle, he had frequent opportunities of personal intercourse with his countrymen, and of learning the state of religion among them.† His unintermitted labours, during the five years which he spent in England, by occupying his time and attention, lessened the regret which he felt at seeing the object of his wishes apparently at as great a distance as ever. Upon leaving that kingdom, his thoughts were turned with much anxiety to the state of Scotland. He found means to carry on an epistolary correspondence with some of his friends in that country; one great object of his journeys to Dieppe was to receive their letters;‡ and he had the satisfaction, soon after his retreat from Frankfort, to obtain information from them, which encouraged him to execute a design that he had long entertained, of paying a visit to his native country. To prepare the reader for the account of this journey it may be of advantage to give a view of the principal ecclesiastical transactions which had taken place in that kingdom from the time that Knox was forced to leave it.

The surrender of the castle of St. Andrews seemed to have given an irrecoverable blow to the reformed interest in Scotland. Among the prisoners conveyed to France were some of the most zealous and able protestants in the kingdom; and the rest, seeing themselves at the mercy of their adversaries, were dispirited and intimidated. The clergy triumphed in the victory which they had obtained,* and flattered themselves that they would now be able with ease to stifle all opposition to their measures. The Regent, being guided entirely by his brother, the archbishop of St. Andrews, was ready to employ all the power of the state for supporting the authority of the church, and for suppressing those who refused to submit to her decisions. During the confusions produced by the invasion of the kingdom under the Duke of Somerset, and by the disastrous defeat of the Scots at Pinkie, in the year 1547, the Regent found it his interest not to irritate the protestants. But no sooner was he freed from the alarm created by these events than he began to treat them with severity. Aware that it would be extremely invidious to prosecute the barons and gentry upon a charge of heresy, and perhaps convinced that such measures in the time of his predecessor, had proved injurious to the hierarchy, the crafty Primate commenced his attack by bringing them to trial for crimes against the state.† Although they had conducted themselves in the most peaceable and loyal manner during the late invasion, and many of them had died under the standard of the Regent,‡ they were accused of being secretly favourable to the English, and of holding correspondence with them. Cockburn of Ormiston, and Crichton of Brunston were banished, and their estates forfeited.‖ Sir John Melville of Raith, a gentleman of distinguished probity, and of untainted loyalty, was accused of a traitorous connection with the enemy, and although the only evidence adduced in support of the charge was a letter written by him to one of his sons then in England, and although this letter contained nothing criminal, yet was he unjustly condemned and beheaded.§ The signing of a treaty of peace with England, in 1550, was a signal for the clergy to proceed to an act of more undisguised persecution. Adam Wallace, who had lived for some time as tutor in the family of Ormiston, was apprehended, and being tried for heresy before a convention of clergy and nobility, was committed to the flames on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh.¶ In the following year, the parliament renewed the laws in support of the church, and added a new statute against the circulation of heretical ballads and tragedies.**

By these severe measures the clergy struck terror into the minds of the nation; but they were unable to conceal the glaring corruptions by which their own order was disgraced, and they could not remain strangers to the murmurs and complaints that these had excited throughout the whole kingdom. In

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* Calvini Epistolæ, p. 98. ut supra. This letter is addressed "*Cnoxo*, (by mistake of the publisher, instead of *Coxo*,) et Gregalibus. Pridie Idus Junii, 1555." Knox was at Geneva when Calvin wrote that letter.

† See above, p. 91, 93. ‡ MS. Letters, p. 255—6.

* The following lines were commonly used at this time in Scotland:

Priestis, content you now, Priestis, content you now;
For Normand, and his companie, hes fillit the gallayis fow.

† MS. Letters, 435, 438.

‡ Knox, Historie, p. 78. Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 128. Edin. 1743. ‖ Knox, ibid. p. 80.

§ Buchanani Oper. i. 302. Knox, Historie, p. 82. The following tribute to the memory of this patriot occurs in a work of one of our Latin poets which is rarely to be met with.

JOHANNES MALVILLUS RETHIUS,

Nobilis Fifanus, Jacobo V. Regi olim familiarissimus, summa vitæ innocentia, ob puræ Relligionis studium, in suspicione falsi criminis, iniquissimo judicio sublatus est A° Christi 1548.

Quidnam ego commerui? quæ tanta injuria facti?
Hostis ut in nostrum sæviat ense caput?
Idem hostis, judexque simul. Pro crimine, Christi
Relligio, et fædo crimine pura manus.
O secla! O mores! scelerum sic tollere pœnas
Ut virtus sceleri debita damna luat.

Joh. Jonstoni Heroes, pp. 28, 29. Ludg. Bat. 1603.

¶ Knox, Historie, p. 87, 88. Spottiswood, 90, 91. Bezæ Icones, Ff. ij. ** Act. Parl. Scot. p. 488—9.

the month of November 1549, a provincial Council was held at Edinburgh "for the reformation of the church, and the extirpation of heresy."* This Council acknowledged that "corruption and profane lewdness of life, as well as gross ignorance of arts and sciences, reigned among the clergy of almost every degree,"† and they enacted no fewer than fifty-eight canons for correcting these evils. They agreed to carry into execution the decree of the General Council of Basle, which ordained that every clergyman who lived in concubinage should be deprived of the revenues of his benefice for three months, and that if, after due admonition, he did not dismiss his concubine, or if he took to himself another, he should be altogether deprived of all his benefices.‡ They exhorted the prelates and inferior clergy not to retain in their own houses their bastard children, nor to suffer them to be promoted directly or indirectly to their own benefices, nor to employ the patrimony of the church for the purpose of marrying them to barons, or of erecting baronages for them.‖ That the distinction between clergy and laity might be visibly preserved, they appointed the ordinaries to charge the priests under their care, to desist from the practice of preserving their beards which had begun to prevail, and to see that the canonical tonsure was duly observed.§ To remedy the neglect of public instruction, which was loudly complained of, they agreed to observe the act of the Council of Trent, which ordained that every bishop, "according to the grace given to him," should preach personally four times a year at least, unless lawfully hindered; and that such of them as were unfit for this duty, through want of practice, should endeavour to qualify themselves, and for that end should entertain in their houses learned divines capable of instructing them. The same injunctions were laid on rectors.¶ They determined that a benefice should be set apart in each bishoprick and monastery for supporting a preacher who might supply the want of teaching within the bounds; that, where no such benefice was set apart, pensions should be allotted; and that, where neither of these was provided, the preacher should be entitled to demand from the rector forty shillings a year, provided he had preached four times in his parish within that period.** The Council made a number of other regulations, concerning the dress and diet of the clergy, the course of study in cathedral churches and monasteries, union of benefices, pluralities, ordinations, dispensations, and the method of process in consistorial courts. But not trusting altogether to these remedies for the cure of heresy, they further ordained, that the bishop of each diocese, and the head of each monastery, should appoint "*Inquisitors* of heretical pravity, men of piety, probity, learning, good fame, and great circumspection," who should make the most diligent search after heresies, foreign opinions, condemned books, and particularly profane songs intended to defame the clergy, and to detract from the authority of the ecclesiastical constitutions.††

Another provincial Council, held in 1551 and 1552, besides ratifying the preceding canons,‡‡ adopted an additional expedient for correcting the continued neglect of public instruction. After declaring that "the inferior clergy, and the prelates for the most part, were still unqualified for instructing the people in the catholic faith and other things necessary to salvation, and for reclaiming the erroneous," they proceeded to approve of a *Catechism* which had been compiled in the Scottish language, ordered that it should be printed, and that copies of it should be sent to all rectors, vicars, and curates, who were enjoined to read a portion of it, instead of a sermon, to their parishioners, on every Sunday and holiday, when no person qualified for preaching was present. The rectors, vicars, and curates, were enjoined to practise daily in reading their Catechism, lest on ascending the pulpit, they should stammer and blunder, and thereby expose themselves to the laughter of the people. The archbishop was directed, after supplying the clergy with copies, to keep the remainder beside him "in firm custody;" and the inferior clergy were prohibited from indiscreetly communicating their copies to the people, without the permission of their bishops, who might allow this privilege to "certain honest, grave, trusty and discreet laics, who appeared to desire it for the sake of instruction, and not of gratifying curiosity."* If any of the hearers testified a disposition to call in question any part of the Catechism, the clerical reader was prohibited, under the pain of deprivation, from entering into dispute with them on the subject, and was instructed to delate them to the Inquisitors.†

Many of the regulations enacted by these two Councils were excellent;‡ but the execution of them depended upon the very persons who were interested in the support of the evils against which they were directed; and the canons of the Scottish Clergy, like those of the General Councils called for the reformation of the church, instead of correcting, served only to proclaim the abuses which prevailed. We know from the declarations of subsequent provincial Councils,‖ as well as from the complaints of the people, that the licentiousness of the clergy continued; and the Catechism which they had sanctioned seems to have been but little used. I have not found it mentioned by any writer of that age, popish or protestant; and we know of its existence only from the canon of the Council which authorized its use, and from a few copies of it which have descended to our time.§

The Council which met in 1551, boasts that, through the singular favour of the government and the vigilance of the prelates, heresy, which had formerly spread through the kingdom, was now repressed, and almost extinguished.¶ There were still, however, many protestants in the nation; but they were deprived of teachers, and they satisfied themselves with retaining their sentiments, without exposing their lives to inevitable destruction by avowing their creed, or exciting the suspicions of the clergy by holding private conventicles. In this state they seem to have remained from 1551 to 1554. While the Reformation was in this languishing condition, it experienced a sudden revival in Scotland, from two causes which appeared at first view to threaten its utter extinction in Britain. These were the elevation of the Queen Dowager to the regency of Scotland, and the accession of Mary to the throne of England.

The Queen Dowager of Scotland, who possessed a great portion of that ambition by which her brothers, the princes of Lorrain, were fired, had long formed the design of wresting the regency from the hands of Arran. After a series of political intrigue, in which she discovered the most consummate and persevering address, she at last succeeded; and, on the 10th of April 1554, the Regent resigned his office to her in the presence of parliament, and retired into private life with the title of Duke of Chastelherault. The Dowager had at an early period made her court to the protestants, whom Arran had alienated from him by persecution; and, to induce them to favour her pretensions, she had promised to screen them from the violence of the clergy. Having received their cordial support, and finding it necessary still to use them as

* This Council assembled at Linlithgow, and was tranferred to Edinburgh. Wilkins, Concilia. Tom. iv. 46. conf. p. 209.
† Proem. Concil. apud Wilkins, iv. 46.
‡ Canon. i. Ibid. p. 47. ‖ Can. 2. Ibid. p. 48.
§ Can. 5. Ibid. p. 48. ¶ Can. 15, 20. Ibid. p. 50—1.
** Can. 42. 45. Ibid. 56—7.
†† Can. 43. 44. 47. Ibid. p. 57—8. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 69—73.

* Can. 16. Ibid. p. 72—3. † Ibid. p. 73. ‡ See Note XXIII.
‖ Wilkins, p. 207, 209, 210. Keith, pref. p. xiv.
§ See Note XXIV. ¶ Wilkins, iv. 72.

a check upon the clergy, who, under the influence of the primate, favoured the interest of her rival, the Queen Regent secretly countenanced them, and the protestants were emboldened again to avow their sentiments.

In the meantime, the Queen of England was exerting all her power to crush the Reformation; and had the court of Scotland acted in concert with her for this purpose, the protestants must, according to all human probability, have been exterminated in Britain. But the English Queen having married Philip king of Spain, while the Queen Regent was indissolubly attached to France, the rival of Spain, a coldness was produced between these two princesses, which was soon afterward succeeded by an open breach. Among the protestants who fled from the cruelty of Mary, some took refuge in Scotland, where they were suffered to remain undisturbed, and even to teach in private, through the connivance of the new Regent, and in consequence of the security into which the clergy had been lulled by success. Travelling from place to place, they instructed numbers, and by their example and their exhortations fanned the latent zeal of those who had formerly received the knowledge of the truth.

William Harlow, whose zeal and acquaintance with the Scriptures compensated for the defects of his education, was the first preacher who at this time came to Scotland. Let those who do not know, or who wish to forget, that the religion which they profess was first preached by fishermen and tentmakers, labour to conceal the occupations of some of those men whom Providence raised up to spread the reformed gospel through their native country. Harlow had followed the trade of a tailor in Edinburgh;* but having imbibed the protestant doctrine, he retired to England, where he was admitted to deacon's orders, and employed as a preacher, during the reign of Edward VI.† Upon his return to Scotland he remained for some time in Ayrshire, and he continued to preach in different parts of the country, with great fervour and diligence, until the establishment of the Reformation, when he was admitted minister of St. Cuthberts, in the vicinity of Edinburgh.‡

Some time after him arrived *John Willock*. This reformer afterwards became the principal coadjutor of Knox, who never mentions him without expressions of affection and esteem. The cordiality which subsisted between them, the harmony of their sentiments, and the combination of the peculiar talents and qualities by which they were distinguished, conduced very much to the prosperity of the Reformation. Willock was scarcely inferior to Knox in learning, and though he did not equal him in eloquence and intrepidity, surpassed him in affability, in moderation, and in address,‖ and thus was sometimes able to maintain his station and to accomplish his purposes, when his colleague could not act with safety or with success. He was a native of Ayrshire, and had belonged to the order of Franciscan friars; but having embraced the reformed opinions at an early period, he threw off the monastic habit, and fled to England. During the persecution for the *Six Articles* in 1541, he was thrown into the prison of the Fleet. He afterwards became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey,§ and upon the accession of Queen Mary left England, and took up his residence at Embden. Having practised there as a physician, he was introduced to Anne, Duchess of Friesland, who patronised the Reformation,* and whose opinion of his talents and integrity induced her to send him to Scotland, in the summer of 1555, with a commission to the Queen Regent, to make some arrangements respecting the trade which was carried on between the two countries. The public character with which he was invested gave him an opportunity of cultivating acquaintance with the leading protestants, and while he resided in Edinburgh, they met with him in private, and listened to his religious exhortations.†

Knox received the news of this favourable change in the situation of his brethren with heart-felt satisfaction. He did not know what it was to fear danger, and was little accustomed to consult his own ease, when he had the prospect of being useful in advancing the Reformation; but he acknowledges that, on the present occasion, he was at first averse to a journey into Scotland, notwithstanding some encouraging circumstances in the intelligence which he had received from that quarter. He had been so much tossed about of late, that he felt a peculiar relish in the learned leisure which he at present enjoyed, and which he was desirous to prolong. His anxiety to see his wife, after an absence of nearly two years, and the importunity with which his mother-in-law, in her letters, urged him to visit them, determined him at last to undertake the journey.‡ Setting out from Geneva in the month of August, 1555, he came to Dieppe, and, sailing from that port, landed on the east coast, near the boundaries between Scotland and England, about the end of harvest.‖ He repaired immediately to Berwick, where he had the satisfaction of finding his wife and her mother in comfortable circumstances, enjoying the happiness of religious society with several individuals in that city, who like themselves, had not "bowed the knee" to the established idolatry, nor consented to "receive the mark" of antichrist.§

Having remained some time with them, he set out secretly to visit the protestants in Edinburgh, intending, after a short stay, to return to Berwick. But he found employment which detained him beyond his expectation. He lodged with James Syme, a respectable burgess of Edinburgh, to whose house the friends of the reformed doctrine repaired, to attend the instructions of Knox, as soon as they were informed of his arrival. Few of the inhabitants of the metropolis had as yet embraced the Reformation, but several protestants had repaired to it at this time to meet with Willock. Among these were John Erskine of Dun, whom we had formerly occasion to mention as an early favourer of the new opinions, and a distinguished patron of literature,¶ and whose great respectability of character, and approved loyalty and patriotism, had preserved him from the resentment of the clergy, and the jealousy of government, during successive periods of persecution.** And William Maitland of Lethington, a young gentleman of the finest parts, improved by a superior education, but inclined to subtlety in reasoning, accommodating in his religious sentiments, and extremely versatile in his political conduct. Highly gratified with Knox's discourses, which were

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* Keith, Append. p. 90. Episcopal writers have sometimes upbraided the Scottish church, as reformed by tradesmen and mechanics. They have, however, no reason to talk in this strain; for, in the first place, a sensible, pious tradesman is surely better qualified for communicating religious instruction than an ignorant, superstitious priest; and secondly, the church of England herself, after trying those of the latter class, was glad to betake herself to the former. See Strype's Annals, i. 176, 177. † Cald. MS. i. 256. ‡ Keith, History, p. 498.

‖ Smetonii Respons. ad. Arch. Hamiltoni Dialog. p. 93. Edinburgi, 1579.

§ Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, celebrates Willock, among the chaplains of the Duke, in the following lines,

Quid memorem quanta *Wilocus*, Skinerus et Haddon,
Ælmerusque tuos ornarint luce penates?
O! Deus, O! quales juvenes? Quo principe digni?
His tua luminibus splendet domus.—— ——
Strype's Annals, ii. Append. p. 46.

* Gerdes. Hist. Reform. iii. 147—8.

† Spottiswood, p. 93. Knox. 90. ‡ MS. Letters, p. 542.

‖ Discours of the Troubles at Franckford, p. lv. lix. Knox, Historie, p. 90

§ MS. Letters, p. 343. ¶ See above, p. 6, 35.

** Buchanani Oper. I. 301. Keith, Append. p. 57.

so much superior to any which they had heard, either from popish or protestant preachers, they brought their acquaintances along with them to hear him, and his audiences daily increased. Being confined to a private house, he was obliged to preach to successive assemblies; and was unremittingly employed, by night as well as by day, in communicating instruction to persons who demanded it with extraordinary avidity. The following letter written by him to Mrs. Bowes, to excuse himself for not returning as soon as he had purposed, will convey the best idea of his employment and feelings on this interesting occasion.

"The wayis of man are not in his awn power. Albeit my journey toward Scotland, belovit mother, was maist contrarious to my awn judgement, befoir I did interpryse the same; yet this day I prais God for thame wha was the cause externall of my resort to theis quarteris; that is, I prais God in yow and for yow, whome hie maid the instrument to draw me from the den of my awn eas (you allane did draw me from the rest of quyet studie,) to contemplat and behald the fervent thirst of oure brethrene, night and day sobbing and gronyng for the breide of lyfe. Gif I had not sene it with my eis, in my awn cuntry, I culd not have belevcit it! I praisit God, when I was with you, perceaving that, in the middis of Sodome, God had mo Lottis than one, and ma faithful douchteris than tua. But the fervencie heir doith fer exceid all utheris that I have seen. And thairfoir ye sall pacientlie bear, altho' I spend heir yet sum dayis; for depart I cannot unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thrist a litill. Yea, mother, thair fervencie doith sa ravische me, that I cannot but accus and condemp my sleuthfull coldnes. God grant thame thair hartis desyre; and I pray yow adverteis [me] of your estait, and of thingis that have occurit sense your last wrytting. Comfort yourself in Godis promissis, and be assureit that God steiris up mo friendis than we be war of. My commendation to all in your company. I commit you to the protectioun of the omnipotent. In great haist; the 4. of November 1555. From Scotland. Your sone, Johne Knox."*

Having executed his commission, Willock returned to Embden; and he quitted Scotland with the less regret, as he left behind him one who was so capable of promoting the cause which he had at heart. When he first arrived in Scotland, Knox found that the friends of the reformed doctrine continued, in general, to attend the popish worship, and even the celebration of mass; principally with the view of avoiding the scandal which they would otherwise incur. Highly disapproving of this practice, he laboured, in his conversation and sermons, to convince them of the great impiety of that part of the popish service, and the criminality of countenancing it by their presence. Doubts being still entertained on the subject by some, a meeting of the protestants in the city was held for the express purpose of discussing the question. Maitland defended the practice with all the ingenuity and learning for which he was distinguished; but his arguments were so satisfactorily answered by Knox, that he yielded the point as indefensible, and agreed, with the rest of his brethren, to abstain for the future from such temporizing conduct. Thus was a formal separation made from the popish church in Scotland, which may be justly regarded as an important step in the Reformation.†

Erskine of Dun prevailed on Knox to accompany him to his family-seat in the shire of Angus, where he continued a month, preaching every day. The principal persons in that neighbourhood attended his sermons. After his return to the south of the Forth, he resided at Calder-house,‡ in West Lothian, with Sir James Sandilands, commonly called Lord St. John, because he was chief in Scotland of the religious order of military knights who went by the name of Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John. This knight who was now venerable for his gray hairs as well as for his valour, sagacity, and sobriety, had long been a sincere friend to the reformed cause, and had contributed to its preservation in that part of the country.* In 1548, he had presented to the parsonage of Calder John Spottiswood,† afterwards the reformed superintendent of Lothian, who had imbibed the Protestant doctrines from Archbishop Cranmer in England, and who instilled them into the minds of his parishioners, and of the nobility and gentry that frequented the house of his patron.‡ Among those who attended Knox's sermons at Calder, were three young noblemen, who made a great figure in the public transactions which followed. *Archibald, Lord Lorn*, who, succeeding to the Earldom of Argyle at the most critical period of the Reformation, promoted, with all the ardour of youthful zeal, that cause which his fathers had espoused in extreme old age. *John, Lord Erskine*, who commanded the important fortress of Edinburgh Castle during the civil war which ensued between the Regent and the Protestants, who afterwards became Earl of Mar, and died Regent of Scotland. And *Lord James Stewart*, an illegitimate son of James V. who was subsequently created Earl of Murray, and was the first Regent of the kingdom during the minority of James VI. Being designed for the church, this nobleman was in his youth made Prior of St. Andrews (a title by which he is often mentioned in history;) but when he arrived at manhood he discovered no inclination to follow the clerical profession. He was at this time only in the twenty-second year of his age;‖ and although he had lived for the most part in retirement from the Court, yet had he already given proofs of those superior talents which he had soon a more favourable opportunity of displaying. Knox had formerly met with him in London; and the sagacity of the Reformer led him, even at that time, to form the highest hopes from the talents and spirit of the youthful Prior.§ These three noblemen were much gratified with Knox's doctrine, and his exhortations made an impression upon their minds, which remained during the succeeding part of their lives.

In the beginning of the year 1556, he was conducted by Lockhart of Bar, and Campbell of Kineancleugh, to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards, where there were a number of adherents to the reformed doctrine. He preached in the houses of Bar, Kineancleugh, Carnell, Ochiltree, and Gadgirth, and in the town of Ayr. In several of these places, he also dispensed the sacrament of our Lord's Supper. A little before Easter, he went to Finlayston, the baronial mansion of the noble family of Glencairn. William, Earl of Glencairn having been killed at the battle of Pinkey, had been succeeded by his son, Alexander, whose superior learning and ability did not escape the discerning eye of Sir Ralph Sadler, during his residence in Scotland.¶ He was an ardent and steady friend to the reformed religion, and had carefully instructed his family in its principles. Besides preaching, Knox dispensed the sacrament of the Supper in his house; the Earl himself, his Countess, and

* MS. Letters, p. 342, 343. † Knox, Historie, p. 91.
‡ On the back of a picture of our Reformer, which hangs in one of the rooms of Lord Torphichen's house at Calder, is this inscription:- "The Rev. John Knox.—The first sacrament of the super given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall." The commencement of the Reformation is here dated from the present visit of Knox to Scotland; for we have already seen that he administered the ordinance in the Castle of St. Andrews, Anno 1547. The account given by Knox in his History of the Reformation, (p. 92.) seems to imply that he performed this service in the West country, before he did it in Calder-house.
† Keith, p. 530. * Knox, Historie, p. 91, 118.
‡ Spottiswood, p. 90.
‖ Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 848. § Knox, Historie, p. 91, 331.
¶ Sadler's State Papers, i. 83. Godscroit's Hist. ii. 128.

two of their sons, with some of their friends and acquaintance, participating of the sacred feast.*

From Finlayston he returned to Calder-house, and soon after paid a second visit to Dun, during which he preached more openly than before. The greater part of the gentlemen of Mearns did at this time make profession of the reformed religion, by sitting down at the Lord's table; and entered into a solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the popish communion, and engaged to maintain and promote the pure preaching of the gospel, as Providence should favour them with opportunities.† This seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants, by which the confederation of the protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified. Although they have been often condemned as unwarranted in a religious point of view, and dangerous in a political, yet are they completely defensible upon the principles both of reason and of revelation; and by cementing union, by producing mutual confidence, and strengthening the motives to fidelity and diligence, among those who are embarked in the same cause, they have frequently proved of the greatest utility for promoting reformation in churches and nations, for maintaining a pure profession of religion after it had been attained, and for securing the religious and political privileges of men. The misapplication of them, when they are employed in a bad cause and for mischievous ends, can be no argument against them when they are used in a legitimate way, and for laudable purposes. A mutual agreement, compact, or covenant, is virtually implied in the constitution of every society, civil or religious; and the dictates of natural light conspire with the declarations of scripture in ascertaining the warrantableness and propriety of entering into explicit engagements, about any lawful and important matter, and of ratifying these even in the most solemn manner, if circumstances shall require it, by formal subscription, and by an appeal to the Searcher of hearts.

The dangers to which Knox and his friends had been accustomed, taught them to conduct matters with such secrecy, that he had preached for a considerable time, and in different places, before the clergy knew that he was in the kingdom. Concealment was, however, impracticable after his audiences became numerous. His preaching at Ayr was reported to the Court, and formed the topic of conversation in the presence of the Queen Regent. Some having affirmed that the preacher was an Englishman, "a prelate not of the least pride (probably Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow,) said, 'Nay; no Englishman, but it is *Knox*, that *knave*.' It was my Lord's pleasure (says Knox) so to baptize a poor man; the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things like uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit. For what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please."‡ Interest was at that time made by the bishops for his apprehension; but the Queen Regent discouraged the application.*

After his last journey to Angus, the friars flocked from all quarters to the bishops, and instigated them to adopt speedy and decisive measures for checking the alarming effects of his preaching. In consequence of this, Knox was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy, in the church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May. This diet he resolved to keep, and with that view came to Edinburgh, before the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun, and several other gentlemen. The clergy had never dreamed of his attendance. Being apprized of his determination, and afraid to bring matters to extremity, while unassured of the Regent's decided support, they met before hand, set aside the summons under pretence of some informality, and deserted the diet against him. On the day on which he should have appeared as a culprit, Knox preached in the bishop of Dunkeld's large lodging, to a far greater audience than had before attended him in Edinburgh. During the ten following days he preached in the same place, forenoon and afternoon; none of the clergy making the smallest attempt to disturb him. In the midst of these labours, he wrote the following hasty line to Mrs. Bowes.

"Belovit mother, with my maist hartlie commendation in the Lord Jesus, albeit I was fullie purpoisit to have visitit yow before this tyme, yet hath God laid impedimentis, whilk I culd not avoyd. Thay are suche as I dout not ar to his glorie, and to the comfort of many heir. The trumpet blew the ald sound thrie dayis together, till privat houssis of indifferent largenes could not counteane the voce of it. God, for Chryst his Sonis sake, grant me to be myndful, that the sobbis of my hart hath not been in vane, nor neglectit, in the presence of his majestie. O! sweet war the death that suld follow sic fourtie daysis in Edinburgh, as heir I have had thrie. Rejose, mother; the tyme of our deliverance approacheth: for, as Sathan rageth, sa dois the grace of the Halie Spreit abound, and daylie geveth new testimonyis of the everlasting love of oure mercifull Father. I can wryt na mair to you at this present. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. In haste—this Monunday—your sone, John Knox."†

About this time, the Earl Marishal, at the desire of the Earl of Glencairn, attended an evening exhortation delivered by Knox. He was so much pleased with the discourse, that he joined with Glencairn, in urging the preacher to write a letter to the Queen Regent, which, they thought, might have the effect of inclining her to protect the reformed preachers, if not also to give a favourable ear to their doctrine. With this request he was induced to comply.

As a specimen of the manner in which this letter was written, I shall give the following quotation, in the original language. "I dout not, that the rumouris, whilk haif comin to your Grace's earis of me haif bene such, that (yf all reportis wer trew) I wer unworthie to live in the earth. And wonder it is, that the voces of the multitude suld not so have inflamed your Grace's hart with just hatred of such a one as I am accuseit to be, that all acces to pitie suld have bene schute up. I am traducit as ane heretick, accusit as a false teacher and seducer of the pepill, besydes uther opprobries, whilk (affirmit be men of warldlie honour and estimatioun) may easlie kendill the wrath of majestratis, whair innocencie is not knawin. But blissit be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst, who, by the dew of his heavenlie grace hath so quenchet the fyre of displeasure as yit in your Grace's hart, (whilk of lait dayis I have understand) that Sathan is frustrat of his interpryse and purpois.

* The silver cups which were used on that occasion were till of late carefully preserved by the family of Glencairn at Finlayston, and the parish of Kilmalcolm was regularly favoured with the use of them at the time of dispensing the sacrament. "The people (says the Minister, in his statistical account of the parish) respect them much for their antiquity, as well as for the solemnity attending them in former and later times." Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 279. This writer thinks they had been originally candlesticks, and converted to this use on the emergent occasion; the hollow bottom reversed forming the mouth of the cup, and the middle, after the socket was screwed out, being converted into the foot. But it is not likely, that the family of Glencairn were so destitute of silver cups, as to need to have recourse to this expedient. † Knox, Historie, p. 92.

‡ Letter to the Lady Mary, Regent of Scotland, apud Historie, p. 417.

* Letter to the Lady Mary, Regent of Scotland, apud Historie, p. 416, 417. † MS. Letters, p. 343, 344.

Whilk is to my hart no small comfort; not so muche (God is witnes) for any benefit that I can resave in this miserable lyfe, by protection of any earthlie creature, (for the cupe whilk it behoveth me to drink is apoyntit by the wisdome of him whois consallis ar not changeable) as that I am for that benefit whilk I am assurit your Grace sall resave; yf that ye continew in like moderation and clemencie towardis utheris that maist unjustlie ar and sal be accusit, as that your Grace hath begun towardis me, and my most desperate cause." An orator (he continued) might justly require of her Grace a motherly pity towards her subjects, the execution of justice upon murderers and oppressors, a heart free from avarice and partiality, a mind studious of the public welfare, with other virtues which heathen as well as inspired writers required of rulers. But, in his opinion, it was vain to crave reformation of manners, when religion was so much corrupted. He could not propose, in the present letter, to lay open the sources, progress, and extent of those errors and corruptions which had overspread and inundated the church; but, if her Majesty would grant him opportunity and liberty of speech, he was ready to undertake this task. In the mean time, he could not refrain from calling her attention to this important subject, and pointing out to her the fallacy of some general prejudices, by which she was in danger of being deluded. She ought to beware of thinking, that the care of religion did not belong to magistrates, but was devolved wholly on the clergy; that it was a thing incredible that religion should be so universally depraved; or that true religion was to be judged of by the majority of voices, by custom, by the laws and determinations of men, or by any thing but the infallible dictates of inspired scripture. He knew that innovations in religion were deemed hazardous; but the urgent necessity and immense magnitude of the object ought, in the present case, to swallow up the fear of danger. He was aware that a public reformation might be thought to exceed her authority as Regent; but she could not be bound to maintain idolatry and manifest abuses, nor to suffer the fury of the clergy to rage in murdering innocent men, merely because they worshipped God according to his word.

Though Knox's pen was not the most smooth nor delicate, and though he often irritated by the plainness and severity of his language, yet is the letter to the Queen Regent very far from being uncourtly or inelegant. It seems to have been written with great care; and, in point of language, it may be compared with any composition of that period, for simplicity and forcible expression.* Its strain was well calculated for stimulating the inquiries, and confirming the resolutions of one who was impressed with a conviction of the reigning evils in the church, or who, though not resolved in judgment as to the matters in controversy, was determined to preserve moderation between the contending parties. Notwithstanding her imposing manners, the Regent was not a person of this description. The Earl of Glencairn delivered the letter into her hand; she glanced over it with a careless air, and gave it to the archbishop of Glasgow, saying, *Please you, my Lord, to read a pasquil.*† The report of this induced Knox, after he retired from Scotland, to publish the letter, with additions. The style of the additions is more spirited and sharp than that of the original letter; but there is nothing even in them which is indecorous, or which will warrant the charge which has been brought against him of being accustomed to treat crowned heads with disrespect and irreverence. "As charitie (says he, in these additions) persuadeth me to interpret thinges doubtfully spoken in the best sence, so my dutie to God, (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteme the admonition of God nor the Cardinalles do the scoffing of pasquilles, then he shall shortly send you messagers, with whome ye shall not be able on that maner to jest.—I did not speak unto you, Madame, by former lettre, neither yet do I now, as Pasquillus doth to the Pope, in behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come, in the name of Jesus Christ, affirming, that the religion which ye maintain is damnable idolatrie: the which I offre myselfe to prove by the most evident testimonies of Goddis scriptures. And, in this quarrelle, I present myself againste all the papistes within the realme, desiring none other armore but Goddis holie worde and the libertie of my tonge."*

While he was thus employed in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, stating that they had made choice of him as one of their pastors, and urging him to come and take the inspection of them.† He judged it his duty to comply with this invitation, and began immediately to prepare for the journey. His wife and mother-in-law had by this time joined him at Edinburgh; and Mrs. Bowes, being now a widow, resolved to accompany Mrs. Knox and her husband to Geneva. Having sent them before him in a vessel to Dieppe, Knox again visited and took his leave of the brethren in the different places where he had preached. Campbell of Kinecancleugh conducted him to the Earl of Argyle, and he preached for some days in his house of Castle Campbell. The aged Earl appears to have received durable impressions from his instructions. He resisted all the arts which the clergy afterwards employed to detach him from the protestant interest, and on his death-bed laid a solemn charge upon his son to use his utmost influence for its preservation and advancement. Argyle, and Glenorchy, who was also a hearer of Knox, endeavoured to detain him in Scotland, but without success. "If God so blessed their small beginnings, (he said) that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient. But once he must needs visit that little flock, which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave." Accordingly, in the month of July 1556, he left Scotland, and having joined his wife and her mother at Dieppe, proceeded with them to Geneva."‡

No sooner did the clergy understand that he had quitted the kingdom, than they, in a dastardly manner, renewed the summons against him which they had deserted during his presence, and, upon his failing to appear, passed sentence against him, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. As his person was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be ignominiously burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence, he drew up his *Appellation*, which he afterwards published, with a supplication and exhortation, directed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland. It may not be improper here to subjoin the summary which he gave in this treatise of the doctrine taught by him during his late visit to Scotland, which the clergy pronounced so execrable, and deserving of such horrible punishment. He taught, that there was no other name by which men could be saved but that of Jesus, and that all reliance on the merits of others was vain and delusive: that the Saviour having by his one sacrifice sanctified and reconciled to God those who should inherit the promised kingdom, all other sacrifices which men pretended to

* This is more evident from the letter in its original language, which is now before me in manuscript. In the copies of it which have been published along with his History, (even in the edition of 1732) freedoms have been used, and the style is not a little injured by the insertion of unnecessary and enfeebling expletives. † Historie, p. 92, 425.

* Letter, &c. apud Historie, p. 425, 426.

† This congregation (which consisted of those who had withdrawn from Frankfort), as early as September 1555, "chose Knox and Goodman for their pastors, and Gilby requested to supplie the rome till Knox returned owte off France." Troubles at Franckford, p. lix. ‡ Knox, Historie, p. 92-3, 103.

offer for sin were blasphemous; that all men ought to hate sin, which was so odious before God that no sacrifice but the death of his Son could satisfy for it; that they ought to magnify their heavenly Father, who did not spare Him who is the substance of his glory, but gave him up to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross for us; and that those who have been washed from their former sins are bound to lead a new life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying to glorify God by good works. In conformity with the certification of his Master, that he would deny and be ashamed of those who should deny and be ashamed of him and his words before a wicked generation, he further taught, that it is incumbent on those who hope for life everlasting, to make an open profession of the doctrine of Christ, and to avoid idolatry, superstition, vain religion, and, in one word, every way of worship which is destitute of authority from the word of God. This doctrine he did believe so conformable to God's holy scriptures, that he thought no creature could have been so impudent as to deny any point or article of it; yet had the false bishops and ungodly clergy condemned him as a heretic, and his doctrine as heretical, and pronounced against him the sentence of death, in testification of which they had burned his effigy: from which sentence he appealed to a lawful and general council, to be held agreeably to ancient laws and canons; humbly requesting the nobility and commons of Scotland, to take him, and others accused and persecuted, under their protection, until such time as these controversies were decided, and to regard this his plain appellation as of no less effect, than if it had been made with greater solemnity and ceremonies.*

The late visit of our Reformer (for in this light we are now to view him) was of vast consequence. By his labours on this occasion he laid the foundations of that noble edifice which he was afterwards so instrumental in completing. The friends of the reformed doctrine were separated by him from the corrupt communion to which in a certain degree they had hitherto adhered; their information in scriptural truth was greatly improved; and they were brought together in different parts of the nation, and prepared for being organized into a regular church, as soon as Providence should grant them external liberty, and furnish them with persons qualified for acting as overseers. Some may be apt to blame him for abandoning with too great precipitation the undertaking which he had so auspiciously begun. But, without pretending to ascertain the train of reflections which had occurred to his mind, we may trace, in his determination, the wise arrangements of that Providence which watched over the infant Reformation, and guided the steps of the Reformer. His absence was now no less conducive to the preservation of the cause, than his presence and personal labours had lately been to its advancement. Matters were not yet ripened for a general reformation in Scotland; and the clergy would never have suffered so zealous and so able a champion of the new doctrines to live in the country. By retiring at this time, he not only preserved his own life, and reserved his labours to a more fit opportunity, but he also averted the storm of persecution from the heads of his brethren. Deprived of teachers, they became objects of less jealousy to their adversaries; while in their private meetings, they continued to confirm one another in the doctrine which they had received, and the seed lately sown had sufficient time to take root and spread.

Before he took his departure, Knox was careful to give his brethren such directions as he judged most necessary, and most useful to them, in their present circumstances. Not satisfied with communicating these orally, he committed them to writing in a common letter, which he either left behind him, or sent from Dieppe, to be circulated in the different quarters where he had preached. In this letter, he warmly recommended to every one the frequent and careful perusal of the scriptures. He inculcated the duty of attending to religious instruction and worship in each family. He exhorted the brethren to meet together once every week, if practicable, and gave them directions for conducting their assemblies in the manner best adapted to their mutual improvement, while destitute of public teachers. They ought to begin with confession of sins and invocation of the Divine blessing. A portion of the scriptures should then be read; and they would find it of great advantage to observe a regular course in their reading, and to join a chapter of the Old and of the New Testament together. After the reading of the scriptures, if an exhortation, interpretation, or doubt, occurred to any brother, he might speak; but he ought to do it with modesty, and a desire to edify or to be edified; carefully avoiding "multiplication of words, perplexed interpretation, and wilfulness in reasoning. If, in the course of reading or conference, they met with any difficulties which they could not solve, he advised them to commit these to writing before they separated, that they might submit them to the judgment of the learned; and he signified his own readiness to give them his advice by letters, whenever it should be required. Their assemblies ought always to be closed, as well as opened, by prayer.* There is every reason to conclude, that these directions were punctually complied with; this letter may, therefore, be viewed as an important document regarding the state of the protestant church in Scotland, previous to the establishment of the Reformation, and shall be inserted at large in the notes.†

Among his letters are several answers to questions which they had transmitted to him for advice. The questions are such as might be supposed to arise in the minds of serious persons lately made acquainted with Scripture, puzzled with particular expressions, and at a loss how to apply some of its directions to their situation. They discover an inquisitive and conscientious disposition; and at the same time, illustrate the disadvantages under which ordinary Christians labour when deprived of the assistance of learned teachers. Our Reformer's answers display an intimate acquaintance with scripture, and dexterity in expounding it, with prudence in giving advice in cases of conscience, so as not to encourage a dangerous laxity on the one hand, or scrupulosity and excessive rigidness on the other.‡

PERIOD V.

From the year 1556, when he returned to Geneva, after visiting Scotland, to the year 1559, when he returned to Scotland for the last time.

Knox reached Geneva before the end of harvest, and took upon him the charge of the English congregation there,‖ among whom he laboured during the two fol-

* Appellation, &c. apud Historie, p. 428.

* MS. Letters, p. 352—359. † See Note XXV.

‡ Among the questions proposed were the following: Whether the baptism administered by the popish priests was valid, and did not require repetition? Whether all the things prohibited in the decree of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts xv.) were still unlawful? Whether the prohibition of the apostle John (2d ep. v. 10.) extended to common salutation of those who taught erroneous doctrine? How are the directions of the apostle Peter respecting dress (1st ep. chap. iii. 3.) to be obeyed? In what sense is God said to repent?

‖ The congregation seem to have delayed the final settlement of their order of worship and discipline until Knox's arrival; for the preface to *The Order of Geneva*, is dated "The 10th of February, Anno 1556." Dunlop's Collection of Confessions, ii. 401. If this date was according to the old method of reckoning, Knox must have been present at the time. But I am not sure but that the new mode of beginning the year with January was introduced in Geneva as early as 1556.

lowing years. This short period was the most quiet of his life. In the bosom of his own family, he experienced that soothing care to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and which his frequent bodily ailments now required. Two sons were born to him in Geneva. The greatest affection to him, and cordiality among themselves, subsisted in the small flock under his charge. With his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he lived as a brother; and he was happy in the friendship of Calvin and the other pastors of Geneva. So much was he pleased with the purity of religion established in that city, that he warmly recommended it to his religious acquaintances in England, as the best Christian asylum to which they could flee. "In my heart (says he, in a letter to his friend Mr. Locke) I could have wished, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where, I neither fear nor eshame to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth, since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."*

But neither the enjoyment of personal accommodations, nor the pleasures of literary society, nor the endearments of domestic happiness, could subdue our Reformer's ruling passion, or unfix his determination to revisit Scotland, as soon as an opportunity should offer for advancing the Reformation among his countrymen. In a letter written to some of his friends in Edinburgh, March 16, 1557, I find him expressing himself thus: "My own motion and daily prayer is, not only that I may visit you, but also that with joy I may end my battle among you. And assure yourself of that, that whenever a greater number among you shall call upon me than now hath bound me to serve them, by His grace it shall not be the fear of punishment, neither yet of the death temporal, that shall impede my coming to you."† A certain heroic confidence, and assurance of ultimate success, have often been displayed by those whom Providence has raised up to achieve great revolutions in the world; by which they have been borne up under discouragements which would have overwhelmed men of ordinary spirits, and emboldened to face dangers from which others would have shrunk appalled. This enthusiastic heroism (I use not the epithet in a bad sense) often blazed forth in the conduct of the great German Reformer. Knox possessed no inconsiderable portion of Luther's spirit. "Satan, I confess, rageth (says he, in a letter nearly of the same date with that last quoted); but potent is He that promiseth to be with us, in all such enterprises as we take in hand at his commandment, for the glory of his name, and for maintenance of his true religion. And therefore the less fear we any contrary power: yea, in the boldness of our God, we altogether contemn them, be they kings, emperors, men, angels, or devils. For they shall be never able to prevail against the simple truth of God which we openly profess; by the permission of God they may appear to prevail against our bodies, but our cause shall triumph in despite of Satan."‡

Within a month after he wrote the letter last quoted but one, James Syme, who had been his host at Edinburgh, and James Barron, another burgess of the same city, arrived at Geneva with a letter, and credence, from the Earl of Glencairn, Lords Lorn, Erskine, and James Stewart; informing him, that the professors of the reformed doctrine remained stedfast, that its adversaries were daily losing credit in the nation, and that those who possessed the supreme authority, although they had not yet declared themselves friendly to it, still refrained from persecution; and inviting him, in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to spend their lives and fortunes in advancing the cause which they had espoused."*

Knox laid this letter before his congregation, and also submitted it to Calvin and his colleagues. The latter delivered it as their opinion, "that he could not refuse the call, without shewing himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country." His congregation agreed to sacrifice their particular interest to the greater good of the church; and his own family silently acquiesced. Upon this, he returned an answer to the letter of the nobility, signifying, that he meant to visit them with all reasonable expedition. The congregation chose as his successor *William Whittingham*,† a learned Englishman with whom he had been long united by strict friendship, and congeniality of sentiment. Having settled his other affairs, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Geneva, and went to Dieppe, in the beginning of October. While he waited there for a vessel, he received letters from Scotland, written in a very different strain from the former. By these he was informed, that new consultations had been held among the protestants in that country; that some of them began to repent of the invitation which they had given him to return; and that the greater part seemed irresolute and faint-hearted.

This intelligence exceedingly disconcerted and embarrassed him. He instantly despatched a letter to the nobility who had invited him, upbraiding them for their timidity and inconstancy. The information, which he had just received, had (he said) confounded him, and pierced his heart with sorrow. After taking the advice of the most learned and godly in Europe, for the satisfaction of his own conscience and theirs respecting this enterprise, the abandonment of it would reflect disgrace either on him or them: it would argue either that he had been marvellously forward and vain, or that they had betrayed great imprudence and want of judgment in their invitation. To some it might appear a small matter, that he had left his poor family destitute of a head, and had committed the care of his little but dearly beloved flock to another; but, for his part, he could not name the sum that would induce him to go through the same scene a second time, and to behold so many grave men weeping at his departure. What answer could he give, on his return, to those who inquired, why he did not prosecute his journey? He could take God to witness, that the personal inconveniencies to which he had been subjected, and the mortification which he felt at the disappointment, were not the chief causes of his grief. But he was alarmed at the awful consequences which would ensue, at the bondage and misery, spiritual and temporal, which they would entail on themselves and their children, their subjects and their posterity, if they neglected the present opportunity of introducing the gospel into their native country. In his conscience, he could except from blame in this matter, none that bore the name of nobility in Scotland. His words might perhaps seem sharp and indiscreet; but charity would construe them in the best sense, and wise men would consider that a true friend cannot flatter, especially in a case which involved the salvation of the bodies and souls, not of a few persons, but of a whole realm. "What are the sobs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare. But this will I add to my former rigour and severity; to wit, if any persuade you, for fear or dangers to follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortal enemy.—I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprise; as in my former letters I did signify unto you. But, O! joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God's will revealed in his word. For how terrible that ever

* MS. Letters, p. 377. † Ib. p. 408. ‡ Ib. 378.

* Knox, Historie, p. 97, 98. † See Note XXVI.

they appear to the judgment of natural men, yet are they never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers; for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him.—No less cause have ye to enter in your former enterprise. than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh; for your subjects, yea your brethren, are oppressed; their bodies and souls holden in bondage: and God speaketh to your consciences (unless ye be dead with the blind world,) that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance. For, only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and receive honour, tribute, and homage at God's commandment, not by reason of your birth and progeny (as the most part of men falsely do suppose,) but by reason of your office and duty; which is, to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power."*

Having sent off this letter, with others, written in the same strain, to Erskine of Dun, Wishart of Pittarow, and some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, he cherished the hope that he would soon receive more favourable accounts from Scotland, and resolved in the mean time to travel into the interior of France.† The reformed doctrine had been early introduced into that kingdom; it had been watered with the blood of many martyrs; and all the violence which had been employed by its enemies, had not been able to extirpate it, or to prevent its spreading among all ranks. The Parisian protestants were at present smarting under the effects of one of those massacres, which so often disgraced the Roman Catholic religion in that country, before as well as after the commencement of the civil wars. Not satisfied with assaulting them when peaceably assembled for worship in a private house, and treating them with great barbarity, their adversaries, in imitation of their pagan predecessors, invented the most diabolical calumnies against them, and circulated the report that they were guilty of abominable practices in their religious assemblies.‡ The innocent sufferers had drawn up an apology, in which they vindicated themselves from this atrocious charge; and Knox having got a copy of this translated into English, wrote a preface and additions to it, with the intention of publishing it for the use of his countrymen.‖

Having formed an acquaintance with many of the protestants of France, and being able to speak their language, he occasionally preached to them in passing through the country. It seems to have been on this occasion, that he preached in the city of Rochelle, when, having introduced the subject of his native country, he told his audience that he expected, within a few years, to preach in the church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh.* There is nothing in our Reformer's letters from which I can learn whether he found any protestants in Dieppe, a place which he visited so often during his exile: it is probable, however, that he did; for at an early period of the following century they had a very numerous church in that town.†

Being disappointed in his expectation of letters from Scotland, he determined to relinquish his journey, and return to Geneva. This resolution does not accord with the usual firmness of our Reformer, and is not sufficiently accounted for in the common histories. The protestant nobles had not retracted their invitation; the discouraging letters which he had received were written by individuals, without any authority from the rest; and if their zeal and courage had begun to flag, his presence was the more necessary to recruit them. From the letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances, I am enabled to state more fully the motives by which he was actuated in taking this retrograde step. He was perfectly aware that a violent struggle would necessarily precede the establishment of the Reformation in his native country; he knew that his presence in Scotland would excite the rage of the clergy, who would make every effort to crush their adversaries, and to maintain the lucrative system of superstition; and he dreaded that civil discord, and tumult, and bloodshed would ensue. The prospect of these things rushed into his mind, and (regardless of public tranquillity as some have pronounced him to be) staggered his resolution in prosecuting an undertaking which his judgment approved as lawful, and laudable, and necessary. When, says he, "I heard such troubles as appeared in that realm, I began to dispute with myself as followeth: 'Shall Christ, the author of peace, concord, and quietness, be preached where war is proclaimed, sedition engendered, and tumults appear to rise? Shall not his evangel be accused as the cause of all this calamity which is like to follow? What comfort canst thou have to see the one half of the people rise up against the other, yea, to jeopard the one, to murder and destroy the other? But, above all, what joy shall it be to thy heart, to behold with thy eyes thy native country betrayed in-[to] the hands of strangers, which to no man's judgment can be avoided; because that those who ought to defend it, and the liberty thereof, are so blind, dull, and obstinate, that they will not see their own destruction?"‡ To "these and more deep cogitations," which continued to distract his mind for several months after he returned to Geneva, he principally

* Knox, Historie, p. 98—100.

† I find him, about this time, addressing a letter to one of his correspondents from Lyons. MS. Letters, p. 346. This letter is subscribed *John Sinclair*. See above, p. 2, note †.

‡ Histoire des Martyrs, p. 425, 426. Anno 1597. Folio. Beza, Vita Calvini, ad. Ann. 1557. The Cardinal of Lorrain, uncle to Mary the young Queen of Scotland, was industrious in propagating this vile calumny; a circumstance which no doubt contributed to increase Knox's bad opinion of that most determined enemy of the Reformation. This is mentioned by him in his preface to the Parisian Apology. "This was not bruited be the rude and ignorant pepil; but a Cardinall (whais ipocrisie nevertheless is not abil to cover his awn filthiness) eschamit not openlie at his tabill to affirm that maist impudent and manifest lie; adding moreover (to the further declaratioun whais sone he was) that, in the hous whair thay wer apprehendit, 8 bedis wer preparit. When in verie deid in that place whair thay did convene, (except a table for the Lord's Supper to have been ministered, a chayr for the preicher, and bankis and stullis for the easement of the auditors) no preparation nor furniture was abill to be proved, not even be the verie enemyis." MS. Letters, p. 445, 446.

‖ MS. Letters, p. 442—500. The apology of the Parisian protestants was published; but I do not think that Knox's translation and additions ever appeared in print. The writer of the Life of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History, 1732, page xxi. has fallen into several blunders in speaking of this subject. There are no letters to the French protestants in the MS. to which he refers; and the apology was written by the Parisians themselves, and only translated partly by Knox, but "the most part by another, because of his other labours."

* "Having particularly declared to me (says Row) by those who heard him say, when he was in Rochel, in France, that within two or three years, he hoped to preach the gospel publicly in St. Giles in Edinburgh. But the persons who heard him say it, being papists for the time, and yet persuaded by a nobleman to hear him preach privately, and see him baptize a bairn that was carried many miles to him for that purpose, thought that such a thing could never come to pass, and hated him for so speaking; yet, coming home to Scotland, and through stress of weather likely to perish, they began to think of his preaching, and allowed of every part of it, and vowed to God, if he would preserve their lives, that they would forsake papistry and follow the calling of God; whilk they did, and saw and heard John Knox preach openly in the kirk of Edinburgh, at the time whereof he spoke to them." Row's Historie, MS. p. 8, 9. The same fact is mentioned by Pierre de La Roque, a French author, in Recueil des Dernieres Heures Edifiantes, apud Wodrow, MSS. No. 15. Advocates' Library.

† Mr. Robert Trail, minister first at Ely, and afterwards at Edinburgh, when he was in France, between 1625 and 1630, was present in a protestant congregation at Dieppe, when 5000 people were assembled. Note of the most remarkable particulars in a MS. account of Mr. Robert Trail, written with his own hand, anno 1669, p. 4. MS. *penes me.*

‡ MS. Letters, p. 349.

imputed his abandonment of the journey to Scotland. At the same time, he was convinced that they were not sufficient to justify his desisting from an undertaking, recommended by so many powerful considerations. "But, alas! (says he) as the wounded man, be he never so expert in physick or surgery, cannot suddenly mitigate his own pain and dolour; no more can I the fear and grief of my heart, although I am not ignorant of what is to be done. It may also be, that the doubts and cold writing of some brethren did augment my dolour, and somewhat discourage me that before was more nor feeble. But nothing do I so much accuse as myself." Whatever were the secondary causes of this step, I cannot help again directing the reader's attention to the wisdom of Providence, in throwing impediments in his way, by which his return to Scotland was protracted to a period, before which it might have been injurious, and at which it was calculated to be in the highest degree beneficial to the great cause that he meant to promote.

In judging of Knox's influence in advancing the Reformation, we must take into view not only his personal labours, but also the epistolary correspondence which he maintained with his countrymen. By this he instructed them in his absence, communicated his own advice and that of the learned among whom he resided, upon every difficult case which occurred, and animated them to constancy and perseverance. Before leaving Dieppe, he transmitted to Scotland two long letters, which deserve particular attention in this view. The one, dated 1st December, is directed to the protestants in general; the other, dated the 17th of that month, is addressed to the nobility. In both of them he prudently avoids any reference to his late disappointment.

In the first letter he strongly inculcates purity of morals, and warns all who professed the reformed religion against those irregularities of life, which were improved to the disparagement of their cause, by two classes of persons; by the papists, who, although the same vices prevailed in a far higher degree among themselves, represented them as the native fruits of the protestant doctrine; and by a new sect, who were enemies to superstition, but who had deserted the protestant communion to which they had belonged, and were become scarcely less hostile to it than the papists. The principal design of this letter was to put his countrymen on their guard against the arts of this last class of persons, and to expose their leading errors.

The persons to whom he referred were those who went under the general name of *Anabaptists*, a sect which sprung up in Germany soon after the commencement of the Reformation under Luther, broke out into the greatest excesses, and produced the most violent commotions in different places. Being suppressed in Germany, it spread through other countries, and secretly made converts by high pretensions to seriousness and Christian simplicity; the spirit of turbulence and wild fanaticism, which at first characterized the sect, gradually subsiding after the first effervescence. Ebullitions of a similar kind have not unfrequently accompanied great revolutions; when the minds of men, dazzled by a sudden irradiation, and released from the galling fetters of ecclesiastical or civil despotism, of implicit faith and blind obedience, have been disposed to fly to the opposite extreme of anarchy and extravagance. Nothing proved more vexing to the original reformers than this. It was improved by the defenders of the old system as a popular argument against all change. The extravagant opinions and disorderly practices of the new sect, though disowned and opposed by all sober protestants, were artfully imputed to them by their adversaries. And many who had declared themselves friendly to reform, alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, at this hideous spectre, drew back, and sheltered themselves within the sacred pale of that Church, who, notwithstanding her notorious dissensions, errors, and corruption both in head and members, continued to arrogate to herself exclusively the properties of unity, purity, universality, and perpetual infallibility.

The radical error of this sect, according to the more improved system held by them at the time of which I write, was a fond conceit of a certain ideal spirituality and perfection, by which they considered the Christian church to be essentially, and in all respects, distinguished from the Jewish, this being, in their opinion, a mere carnal, worldly society. Entertaining such a notion, they were naturally led to abridge the rule of faith and manners, by confining themselves almost entirely to the New Testament, and to adopt their other opinions concerning the unlawfulness of infant baptism, of civil magistracy, national churches, oaths, and defensive war. But besides these tenets, the anabaptists were, at this period, generally infected with the Arian and Pelagian heresies, and united with the papists in loading the doctrines maintained by the reformers respecting predestination and grace with the most odious charges.*

Our reformer had occasion to meet with some of these sectaries, both in England and on the continent, and had ascertained their extravagant and dangerous principles. In the year 1553, one of them came to his lodging in London, and, after requiring of him great secrecy, gave him a book, written by one of his party, which he pressed him to read. Upon looking into it, Knox perceived the following proposition, "God made not the world, nor the wicked creatures in it; but these were made by the devil, who is therefore called *the God of this world*." He immediately warned the man against such gross doctrine, and began to explain to him the sense in which the devil is called "the god of this world" in scripture. "Tush for your written word! (replied the enthusiast) we have as good and as sure a word and veritie that teacheth us this doctrine, as ye have for you and your opinion."† Being apprized that persons who had imbibed these opinions were creeping into Scotland, Knox was afraid that they might insidiously instil their poison into the minds of some of his brethren. He refuted their opinion respecting church-communion, by shewing that they required such purity as was never found in the church, either before or since the completion of the canon of scripture. In opposition to their Pelagian tenets, he gave the following statement of his sentiments. "If there be any thing which God did not predestinate and appoint, then lacked he wisdom and free regimen; or, if any thing was ever done, or yet after shall be done, in heaven or in earth, which he might not have impeded (if so had been his godly pleasure), then he is not omnipotent; which three properties, to wit, wisdom, free regimen, and power, denied to be in God, I pray you what rests in his godhead? The wisdom of our God we acknowledge to be such, that it compelleth the very malice of Satan, and the horrible iniquity of such as be drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and to the profit of his elect. His power we believe and confess to be infinite, and such as no creature in heaven or earth is able to resist. And his regimen we acknowledge to be so free, that none

* The Careles by Necessitie, as reprinted in Knox's Answer to an Anabaptist, 1560. Spanhemii (Patris) Disput. Theol. Miscell. Genevæ. 1652, Spanhemii (Filii) Opera, Tom. iii. pp. 771—798.—It is scarcely necessary to state, that the great body of those who, in the present day, oppose the baptism of infants do not hold a number of the tenets specified above. They are decidedly hostile to the Arian and Pelagian errors, and friendly to the doctrine of grace. So far from denying the lawfulness of magistracy among Christians, they have in general (at least in Scotland) adopted the principle of non-resistance to civil rulers in all cases.

† Answer to the Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, p. 405, 407. Anno 1560. He adds, that he had the best opportunity of knowing, that others of that sect held the exploded heresy of the ancient Manicheans.

of his creatures dare present them in judgment, to reason or demand the question, Why hast thou done this or that? But the fountain of this their damnable error (which is, that in God they can acknowledge no justice except that which their foolish brain is able to comprehend), at more opportunity, God willing, we shall intreat."*

He assigns his reasons for warning them so particularly against the seduction of these erroneous teachers. Under the cloak of mortification, and the colour of a godly life, they "supplanted the dignity of Christ," and "were become enemies to free justification by faith in his blood." The malice of their popish adversaries was now visible to all the world; the hypocrisy of mercenary teachers and ungodly professors would soon discover itself; and seldom was open tyranny able to suppress the true religion, when it had once been earnestly embraced by the body of any nation or province. "But deceivable and false doctrine is a poison and venom, which, once drunken and received, with great difficulty can afterward be purged." Accordingly, he charged them to "try the spirits" which came to them, and to suffer no man to take the office of preacher upon him, of his own accord, without trial, or to assemble the people in privy conventions; else Satan would soon have his emissaries among them, who would "destroy the plantation of our heavenly Father."† His admonitions, on this head, were not without effect; and the protestants of Scotland, instead of being distracted with these opinions, remained united in their views, as to doctrine, worship, and discipline.

His letter to the protestant lords breathes a spirit of ardent and elevated piety. Its object was to endeavour to purify their minds from selfish and worldly principles; to raise, to sanctify, and christianize their motives, by exhibiting and recommending to them the spirit and conduct of the princes and heroes, celebrated, not in profane, but in sacred history. The glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the salvation of themselves and their brethren, the emancipation of their country from spiritual and civil thraldom; these, and not their own honour and aggrandizement, or the revenging of their petty, private feuds, were the objects which they ought to keep steadily and solely in view.

In this letter, he also communicates his advice on the delicate question of resistance to supreme rulers. They had consulted him on this question, and he had submitted it to the judgment of the most learned on the continent. Soon after they had agreed to the marriage of their young Queen to the Dauphin of France, the Scots began to be jealous of the designs of the French court against their liberties and independence. Their jealousies increased after the Regency was transferred to the Queen Dowager, who was wholly devoted to the interests of France, and had contrived, under different pretexts, to keep a body of French troops in the kingdom. It was not difficult to excite to resistance the independent and haughty barons of Scotland, accustomed to yield but a very limited and precarious obedience, even to their native princes. They had lately given a proof of this by their refusal to co-operate in the war against England, which they considered as undertaken merely for French interests. Encouraged by this circumstance, the Duke of Chastelherault began, under the direction of the archbishop of St. Andrews, to intrigue for regaining the regency which he had demitted.

Our Reformer displayed his moderation, and the soundness of his principles, in the advice which he gave at this critical period. He did not attempt to inflame the irascible minds of the nobility by aggravating the mal-administration of the Queen Regent; far less did he advise them to join with the Duke, and others who were discontented with the measures of government, and to endeavour in this way to advance their cause. On the contrary, he informed them of a rumour circulated on the continent, that a rebellion was intended in Scotland; and he solemnly charged those who professed the protestant religion to avoid all accession to it, and to beware of countenancing such as, for the sake of worldly promotion and other private ends, sought to disturb the government. He did not mean (he said) to retract the principle which he had advanced in former letters as to the lawfulness of inferior magistrates, and the body of a nation, resisting the tyrannical measures of supreme rulers. He still held, that there was "a great difference between lawful obedience, and a fearful flattering of princes, or an unjust accomplishment of their desires, in things which be required or devised for the destruction of a commonwealth." The nobility were the constituted guardians of the national liberties; and there were limits beyond which obedience was not due by subjects. But recourse ought not to be had to resistance, except when matters were tyrannically driven to an extreme. It was peculiarly incumbent on the protestants of Scotland to be circumspect in all their proceedings, and not to give their adversaries any reason to allege that they concealed a seditious and rebellious design under the cloak of zeal for religion. His advice and solemn charge to them was, that they should continue to yield dutiful and cheerful obedience to all the lawful commands of the Regent, and endeavour, by humble and repeated requests, to procure her favour, and to prevail upon her, if not to promote their cause, at least to protect it from persecution. If she refused to take any steps for reforming religion, it was their duty to provide that the gospel should be preached, and the sacraments administered in purity, to themselves and their brethren. If, while they endeavoured peaceably to accomplish this, attempts should be made to crush them by tyrannical violence, he did not think that they, considering the station which they occupied, were bound to suffer their innocent brethren to be murdered. On the contrary, it was lawful for them, nay it was their bounden duty, to stand up in their defence. But even in this case they ought to protest their readiness to obey the Regent in every thing consistent with their fidelity to God, and to avoid all association with the ambitious, the factious, and the turbulent.*

This is a specimen of the correspondence which Knox maintained with the protestant nobility, by which he enlightened their views, aroused their zeal, and restrained their impetuosity, at this important juncture. I shall afterwards have occasion to call the attention of the reader more particularly to his political principles.

Knox returned to Geneva in the end of the year 1557. During the following year, he was engaged, along with several learned men of his congregation, in making a new translation of the Bible into English; which, from the place where it was composed and first printed, has attained the name of *The Geneva Bible.*† It was at this time that he published his *Letter to the Queen Regent*, and his *Appellation and Exhortation*; both of which were transmitted to Scotland, and contributed not a little to the spread of the reformed

* This he afterwards accomplished in the book referred to in the preceding note, in which he largely explains the doctrine of predestination, as held by the reformed churches, and vindicates it against the cavils and misrepresentation of its adversaries. † MS. Letters, p. 403—424

* MS. Letters, p. 424—438.

† Strype's Mem. of Parker, p. 205. This translation was often reprinted in Britain. The freedom of remark used in the notes gave offence to Queen Elizabeth, and her successor James; the last of whom said, that it was the worst translation which he had seen. Notwithstanding this expression of disapprobation, it is evident that the translators, appointed by his authority, made great use of it; and if they had followed it still more, the version which they have given us would, upon the whole, have been improved. The late Dr. Geddes had a very different opinion of it from the Royal critic.

opinions. I have already given an account of the first of these tracts, which was chiefly intended for removing the prejudices of Roman Catholics. The last was more immediately designed for instructing and animating such as were friendly to the reformed religion. Addressing himself to the nobility and estates of the kingdom, he shews that the care and reformation of religion belonged to civil rulers, and constituted one of the primary duties of their office. This was a dictate of nature as well as revelation; and he would not insist long upon that topic, lest he should seem to suppose them "lesse careful over God's true religion, than were the Ethnickes* over their idolatrie." Inferior magistrates, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, the nobles and estates of a kingdom, as well as kings and princes, were bound to attend to this high duty. He then addresses himself to the commonalty of Scotland, and points out their duty and interest, with regard to the important controversy in agitation. They were rational creatures, formed after the image of God; they had souls to be saved; they were accountable for their conduct; they were bound to judge of the truth of religion, and to make profession of it, as well as kings, nobles, or bishops. If idolatry was maintained, if the gospel was suppressed, if the blood of the innocent was shed, and if, in these circumstances, they kept silence, and did not exert themselves to prevent such evils, how could they vindicate their conduct?†

But the most singular treatise published this year by Knox, and that which made the greatest noise, was *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment‡ of Women;* in which he attacked, with great vehemence, the practice of admitting females to the government of nations. There is some reason to think that his mind was struck with the incongruity of this practice, as early as Mary's accession to the throne of England.‖ This was probably one of the points on which he had conferred with the Swiss divines in 1554.§ That his sentiments respecting it were fixed in 1556 appears from an incidental reference to the subject in a letter which he wrote during that year.¶ Influenced, however, by deference to the opinion of others, he refrained for a considerable time from publishing them to the world. But at last, provoked by the tyranny of the Queen of England, and wearied out with her increasing cruelties, he applied the trumpet to his mouth, and uttered a terrible blast. "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and, finally, it is the subversion of all equity and justice." Such is the first sentence and principal proposition of the work. The arguments by which he endeavours to establish it are, that nature intended the female sex for subjection, not superiority to the male, as appears from their infirmities, corporal and mental (he excepts, however, such as God, "by singular privilege, and for certain causes, exempted from the common rank of women;") that the divine law, announced at the creation of the first pair, had expressly assigned to man the dominion over woman, and commanded her to be subject to him; that female government was not permitted among the Jews; is contrary to apostolical injunctions; and leads to the perversion of government, and other pernicious consequences.

Knox's theory on this subject was far from being novel. In confirmation of his opinion, he could appeal to the constitutions of the free states of antiquity, and to the authority of their most celebrated legislators and philosphers.* In the kingdom of France, females were, by an express law, excluded from succeeding to the crown. Edward VI. some time before his death, had proposed to the Privy Council the adoption of this law in England; but the motion, not suiting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland, was overruled.† Though his opinion was sanctioned by such high authorities, he was by no means sanguine in his expectations as to the reception of his performance. He tells us, in his preface, that he laid his account not only with the indignation of those who were interested in the support of the reprobated practice, but also with the disapprobation of such gentle spirits among the learned, as would be alarmed at the boldness of the attack. He did not doubt, that he would be called "curious, despiteful, a sower of sedition, and one day perchance be attainted for treason;" but, in uttering a truth of which he was deeply convinced, he was determined to "cover his eyes, and shut his ears," from these dangers and obloquies. He was not disappointed in his apprehensions. It exposed him to the resentment of two queens, during whose reign it was his lot to live; the one his native princess, and the other exerting a sway over Scotland scarcely inferior to that of any of its monarchs. Several of the English exiles approved of his opinion,‡ and few of them would have been displeased at seeing it reduced to practice, at the time when the Blast was published. But Queen Mary dying soon after it appeared, and her sister Elizabeth succeeding her, they raised a great outcry against it. John Fox wrote a letter to the author, in which he expostulated with him, in a very friendly manner, as to the impropriety of the publication, and the severity of its language. Knox, in his reply, did not excuse his "rude vehemency and inconsiderate affirmations, which might appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason;" but signified, that he was still persuaded of the principal proposition which he had maintained.‖

His original intention was to blow his Trumpet thrice, and to publish his name with the last Blast, to prevent the odium from falling on any other person. But, finding that it gave offence to many of his brethren, and being desirous to strengthen rather than invalidate the authority of Elizabeth, he relinquished his design of prosecuting the subject.§ He retained his sentiments to the last, but abstained from any farther declaration of them, and from replying to his opponents; although he was provoked by their censures and triumph, and sometimes hinted, in his private letters, that he would break silence, if they did not study greater moderation.

In the course of the following year, an answer to the Blast appeared, under the title of *An Harborow for Faithful Subjects.*¶ Though anonymous, like the book

* *i. e.* Heathen.
† Appellation, apud Historie. p. 434—440, 453, 454.
‡ *i. e.* regimen, or government.
‖ First Blast, apud Historie, p. 478.
§ MS. Letters, p, 318, 319. ¶ Ibid. p. 322, 323.

* Tacitus has expressed his contempt of those who submit to female government, with his usual emphatic brevity, in the account which he gives of the *Sitones*, a German tribe. "Cætera similes, uno differunt, quod fœmina dominatur; in tantum, non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant." De Mor. Germ. c. 45.
† Warner's Eccles. History of England, ii. 308.
‡ Christopher Goodman adopted the sentiment, and commended the publication of his colleague, in his book on *Obedience to Superior Powers.* Whittingham and Gilby declared themselves on the same side of the question. I might also mention countrymen of his own, who agreed with Knox on this subject; as James Kennedy, the celebrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Sir David Lindsay. Buchanani Hist. lib. xii. tom. i. 221—24. Rudim. Chalmers's Lindsay, iii. 175.
‖ Strype's Annals, i. 127. Strype promised to insert Knox's letter at large in the Appendix, but did not find room for it. Fox's letter was written before the death of Queen Mary.
§ He, however, added the heads of the intended *Second* Blast to his *Appellation*, which was published some months after the First Blast.
¶ "An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Wemen, &c. Anno MD. lix. At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill." The

to which it was a reply, it was soon declared to be the production of *John Aylmer*, one of the English refugees on the continent, who had been archdeacon of Stowe, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey. It was not undertaken until the accession of Elizabeth, and was written (as Aylmer's biographer informs us) "upon a consultation holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new queen, and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them, and of the religion which they professed."* Aylmer himself says, that, if the author of the Blast "had not swerved from the particular question to the general," but had confined himself to the queen who filled the throne when he wrote, "he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as to have offended any indifferent man;" and he allows with Knox that Mary's government was "unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful."† From these and some other considerations, Knox was induced to express a suspicion, that his opponent had accommodated his doctrine to the times, and courted the favour of the reigning princess, by flattering her vanity and love of power.‡ It is certain, that, if Knox is entitled to the praise of boldness and disinterestedness, Aylmer carried away the palm for prudence; the latter was advanced to the bishoprick of London; the former could not, without great difficulty, obtain leave to set his foot again upon English ground. Knox's Trumpet would never have sounded its alarm, had it not been for the tyranny of Mary, and there is reason to think that Aylmer's "Harborow" would never have been opened "for faithful subjects," but for the auspicious succession of Elizabeth.

This, however, is independent of the merits of the question, which I do not feel inclined to examine minutely. The change which has taken place in the mode of administering government in modern times, renders it of less practical importance than it was formerly, when so much depended upon the personal talents and activity of the reigning prince. It may be added, that the evils incident to a female reign will be less felt under such a constitution as that of Britain, than under a pure and absolute monarchy. This last consideration is urged by Aylmer; and here his reasoning is most satisfactory.‖ The Blast bears the marks of hasty composition.§ The Harborow has evidently been written with great care; it contains a good collection of historical facts bearing on the question; and though more distinguished for rhetorical exaggeration than logical precision, the reasoning is ingeniously conducted, and occasionally enlivened by strokes of humour.¶ It is, upon the whole, a curious as well as a rare work.

After all, it is easier to vindicate the expediency of continuing the practice, where it has been established by laws and usage, than to support the affirmative, when the question is propounded as a general thesis on government. It may fairly be questioned, if Aylmer has refuted the principal arguments of his opponent; and had Knox deemed it prudent to rejoin, he might have exposed the fallacy of his reasoning in different instances. In replying to the argument from the apostolical canon,* the archdeacon is not a little puzzled. Distrusting his distinction between the greater office, "the ecclesiastical function," and the less, "extern policy;" he argues, that the apostle's prohibition may be considered as temporary, and peculiarly applicable to the women of his own time; and he insists that his clients shall not, *in toto*, be excluded from teaching and ruling in the church, any more than in the state. "Me thinke, (says he, very seriously) even in this poynte, we must use επιεικια, a certain moderacion, not absolutely, and in every wise, to debar them herein (as it shall please God) to serve Christ. Are there not, in England, women, think you, that for their learninge and wisdom, could tell their housholde and neighbouris as good a tale as the best Sir Jhone there?"† Beyond all question! Who can doubt that the learned Lady Elizabeth, who could direct the Dean of her chapel to "keep to his text," was able to make as good a sermon as any of her clergy? or, that she was better qualified for other parts of the duty, when she composed a book of prayers for herself, while they were obliged to use one made to their hands? In fact, the view which the archdeacon gave of the text was necessary to vindicate the authority of his queen, who was head, or supreme governor of the church as well as of the state. She who, by law, had supreme authority over all the reverend and right reverend divines in the land, with power to superintend, suspend, and control them in all their ecclesiastical functions; who, by her injunctions, could direct the primate himself when to preach, and how to preach; and who could license and silence ministers at her pleasure, must have been bound very moderately indeed by the apostolical prohibition, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." Reason would also say, that she had an equal right to assume the exercise of the office in her own person, if she chose to avail herself of that right; and had she issued a congé d'elire, accompanied with her royal recommendation to elect some learned *Sister* to a vacant See, the archdeacon at least would not have felt so squeamish at complying with it, as the Italian University did at conferring the degree of Doctor in Divinity upon the learned *Helen Lucrecia Piscopia Cornaca*.‡

There are some things in the Harborow which might have been unpalatable to the Queen, if the author had not taken care to sweeten them with that personal flattery, which was as agreeable to Elizabeth as to others of her sex and rank, and which he administered in sufficient quantities before concluding his work. The ladies will be ready to excuse a slight slip of the pen in the good archdeacon, in consideration of the handsome manner in which he has defended their right to rule; but they will scarcely believe that the following description of the sex could proceed from him. "Some women (says he) be wiser, better learned, discreater, constanter, than a number of men." But others, (his biographer says, "the most part") he describes‖ as "fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tatlers, trifling, wavering, witles, without counsel, feable, carles, rashe, proud, daintie, nise, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and, in every wise, doltified with the dregges of the devil's doungehill!!!" The rude author of the mon-

Blast drew forth several defences of female government besides this; two of which were written by natives of Scotland. Bishop Lesley's tract on this subject was printed along with his defence of Queen Mary's honour. David Chalmers, one of the Lords of Session, published his "Discours de la legitime succession des Femmes," after he retired from Scotland. Lord Hailes's Catal. of the Lords of Session, note 23. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 388. 392.

* Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

† Harborowe, B. Strype says, contrary to the plain meaning of the passage, that Aylmer speaks here of "the *Scotch* Queen Mary." Life of Aylmer, p. 230.

‡ The same suspicion seems to have been entertained by some of Elizabeth's courtiers. Strype's Aylmer, p. 20.

‖ See Note XXVII.

§ The copies of the Blast printed along with Knox's History, are all extremely incorrect: whole sentences are often omitted.

¶ In his answer to Knox's argument from Isaiah iii. 12. he concludes thus: "Therefore the argumente ariseth from wrong understandinge. As the vicar of Trumpenton understode *Eli, Eli, lama-zabatani*, when he read the Passion on Palme Sonday. When he came to that place, he stopped, and calling the churchwardens, saide, 'Neighbours! this gear must be amended. Heare is *Eli* twice in the book: I assure you, if my L. [the Bishop] of *Elie* come this waye, and see it, he will have the book. Therefore, by mine advice, we shall scrape it out, and put in our own towne's name, *Trumpington, Trumpington, lamah zabactani*.' They consented, and he did so, because he understode no grewe." Harborowe, G. 3. G. 4.

* 1 Tim. ii. 11—14. † Harborowe, G. 4. H.

† See Note XXVIII.

‖ Harborowe, G. 3. Life of Aylmer, p. 279.

strous Blast never spoke of the sex in terms half so disrespectful as these. One would suppose that Aylmer had already renounced the character of Advocate of the fair sex, and recanted his principles on that head; as he did respecting the titles and revenues of bishops, which he inveighed against before his return from exile, but afterwards accepted with little scruple; and, when reminded of the language which he had formerly used, apologized for himself, by saying, "When I was a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things."*—But it is time to return to the narrative.

Our Reformer's letter to the protestant Lords in Scotland produced its intended effect, in re-animating their drooping courage. At a consultative meeting held at Edinburgh, in December 1557, they unanimously resolved to adhere to one another, and exert themselves for the advancement of the Reformation. Having subscribed a solemn bond of mutual assurance, they renewed their invitation to Knox; and being afraid that he might hesitate on account of their former irresolution, they wrote to Calvin, to employ his influence to induce him to comply. Their letters did not reach Geneva, until November 1558.† By the same conveyance Knox received letters of a later date, communicating the most agreeable intelligence respecting the progress which the reformed cause had made, and the flourishing appearance which it continued to wear in Scotland.

Through the exertions of our Reformer, during his residence among them in the beginning of the year 1556, and in pursuance of the instructions which he left behind him, the protestants had formed themselves into congregations, which met in different parts of the country with greater or less privacy, according to the opportunities which they enjoyed. Having come to the resolution of withdrawing from the popish worship, they endeavoured to provide for their religious instruction and mutual edification, in the best manner that their circumstances permitted. As there were no ministers among them, they continued for some time to be deprived of the dispensation of the sacraments;‡ but certain intelligent and pious men of their number were chosen, to read the scriptures, to exhort, and offer up prayers in their assemblies. Convinced of the necessity of order and discipline in their societies, and desirous to have them organized, as far as was in their power, agreeably to the institution of Christ, they next proceeded to choose elders for the inspection of their manners; to whom they promised subjection, and deacons for the collection and distribution of alms to the poor.‖ Edinburgh was the first place in which this order was established; Dundee the first town in which a reformed church was completely organized, provided with a regular minister, and favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments.

During the war with England, which began in autumn 1556, and continued through the following year, the protestants enjoyed considerable liberty; and they improved it with great zeal and success. The clergy were not indifferent to the progress which the reformed opinions were daily making, and they prevailed with the Regent to summon such as had presumed to preach without their authority; but she was obliged to abandon the process against them, in consequence of the arrival of certain gentlemen from the west country, who demanded their release in a tone which declared that they were resolved not to be refused.*

At a meeting of the nobles and barons attached to the Reformation, held at Edinburgh in December 1557, two resolutions were adopted for regulating their conduct in the present delicate juncture. It was agreed, in the first place, that they should rest satisfied for the present with requiring that prayers, and the lessons of the Old and New Testament, should be read in English, according to the book of Common Prayer,† in every parish, on Sundays and festival days, by the curates of the respective parishes, or, if they were unable or unwilling, by such persons as were best qualified in the bounds. And, secondly, that the reformed preachers should teach in private houses only, till the government should allow preaching in public.‡ The first resolution has been represented as an unwarrantable assumption of authority by this reforming assembly to dictate to the whole nation, by setting aside the established worship, and imposing a new form. This construction is, however, irreconcilable with the situation in which they were then placed, and with the moderate and submissive manner in which they continued to urge their claims at a subsequent period. It is rather to be viewed as expressing the opinion of that meeting respecting the degree of reformation which individuals of their body might introduce, in places to which their authority and influence extended. And accordingly it was reduced to practice in many parishes where the protestant barons resided, and where the people were disposed to imitate their example.‖

In pursuance of the second resolution agreed on at the general meeting, the earl of Argyle undertook the protection of John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, who had embraced the reformed sentiments;§ and the rest of the preachers were received into the houses of other barons, and employed to preach as their chaplains. This measure alarmed the clergy no less than the former practice of itinerant preaching had done. They saw that it would be vain to commence prosecutions against preachers who were entertained in the families of the principal men in the kingdom; and they resolved to exert all their influence to deprive them of such powerful patronage. Presuming upon the easy temper of the aged earl of Argyle, and upon the friendship which had long subsisted between his family and the Hamiltons, the archbishop of St. Andrews wrote a letter to him in a very insinuating strain, and at the same time sent a relation of his own, Sir David Hamilton, with instructions to represent the danger to which he exposed his noble house by countenancing Douglas, and to intreat him in the most earnest manner to withdraw his protection from the pestilent heretic. Argyle's reply was temperate and respectful, but at the same time firm and spirited; he not only vindicated the doctrine taught by his chaplain, and refused to dismiss him, but made several shrewd and pointed remarks, which the archbishop could not fail to apply to himself. The bishop having written, that he felt himself bound in "honour and conscience" to inquire into the heresies of which Douglas was accused, the Earl replies: "He preiches against idolatrie; I remitt to your lordschip's conscience gif it be heresie or not: he preiches against adulterie and fornicatioun; I referre that to your lordschip's conscience;¶ he

* Life of Aylmer, p. 269. † Knox, Historie, p. 101.

‡ Ninian Winget says, that "sum Lordis and gentilmen" ministered the sacrament of the supper "to their awn houshald servandis and tenantis." If only one instance of this kind occurred, the papists would exaggerate it. The same writer adds, that Knox blamed the persons who did it, saying, that they had "gretumlie failzeit." Winzet's Buke of Fourscoir Three Questionis, apud Keith, Append. p. 239. Comp. Knox, p. 217.

‖ Cald. MS. i. 257. "The Electioun of Eldaris and Deaconis in the church of Edinburgh," apud Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 635, 636. Calderwood places his account of this under the year 1555, but I think that date too early. It was rather in the end of 1556, or in the course of 1557. The names of the first elders in Edinburgh were George Smail, Michael Robertson, Adam Craig, John Cairns, and Alexander Hope. There were at first two assemblies in Edinburgh; but Erskine of Dun persuaded them to unite, and they met sometimes in the houses of Robert Watson and James Barron, and sometimes in the abbey

* Knox, Historie, p. 94—5. † See Note XXIX.

‡ Knox, 101. ‖ Spottiswood, p. 117. § Ibid, Knox, p. 102.

¶ How the bishop's conscience stood affected as to these points we know not; but it is certain that his practice was very

preiches against hypocrisie: I referre that to your lordschip's conscience: he preiches against all manner of abuses and corruptioun of Christis sincere religioun; I referre that to your lordschip's conscience. My lord, I exhort yow, in Christis name, to wey all thir affairis in your conscience, and considder if it be your dewtie also not onlie to thole* this, bot in like maner to do the same. This is all, my lord, that I varie in my age, and na uther thing not that I knew not befoir these offences to be abhominable to God, and now, knawing his will be manifestatioun of his word, abhorres thame." Referring to the bishop's offer to send him a learned and catholic teacher, the Earl replies, "God Almichtie send us mony of that sorte, that will preiche trewlie, and nathing but ane catholic universall Christian fayth; and we Hieland rude pepill hes mister† of thame. And if your lordschip wald get and provyde me sick a man, I sould provyde him a corporal leving, as to myself, with grit thankis to your lordschip: for trewlie, I and many ma hes grit mister of sick men. And becaus I am abill to sustein ma nor ane of thame, I will requeist your lordschip earnestlie to provyde me sick a man as ye wrait; *for the harvest is grit, and thair ar few labouraris.*"‡

Foiled in his attempts to prevail on the nobility to withdraw their protection from the preachers, the archbishop determined to wreak his vengeance upon such of them as were still within his power, and proceeded to revive those cruel measures which had been suspended for several years, by the political circumstances of the country, rather than the clemency and moderation of the clergy. *Walter Mill*, parish-priest of Lunan in Angus, having been condemned as a heretic in the time of Cardinal Beatoun, had escaped from execution, and continued to preach, sometimes in private and at other times openly, in different quarters of the kingdom. Being lately discovered by one of the archbishop's spies, he was brought to trial at St. Andrews. He appeared before the court so worn out with age, and the hardships which he had endured, that it was not expected he would be able to answer the questions which might be put to him; but to the surprise of all, he conducted his defence with great spirit. Such was the compassion excited by his appearance, and the horror which was now felt at the punishment to which he was doomed, that the clergy, after pronouncing him guilty, could not procure a secular judge to pass sentence of death upon him, and the archbishop was at last obliged to employ a worthless servant of his own to perform the odious task. On the 28th of August 1558, Mill expired amidst the flames, uttering these words: *As for me, I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God, I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause.*‖

This barbarous and illegal execution produced effects of the greatest importance. It raised the horror of the nation to an incredible pitch; and as it was believed, at that time, that the Regent was not accessory to the deed, their indignation was directed wholly against the clergy. Throwing aside all fear, and those restraints which prudence, or a regard to established order, had hitherto imposed on them, the people now assembled openly to join in the reformed worship, and avowed their determination to adhere to it at all hazards. Harlow, Douglas, Paul Methven, and some others, were emboldened to break through the restraint to which they had submitted, and began to preach, and administer the sacraments, with greater publicity than formerly.* In the month of October,† they were joined by John Willock, who returned a second time from Embden. Meanwhile, the protestant barons, having assembled at Edinburgh in the month of July,‡ resolved to lay their complaints in a formal manner before the Regent. They renewed the request which they had formerly made, that she would, by her authority, and in concurrence with the Parliament, restrain the tyrannical proceedings of the clergy, correct the flagrant and insufferable abuses which prevailed in the church, and grant to them and their brethren the liberty of religious instruction and worship, at least according to a restricted plan which they laid before her, and to which they were willing to submit, till their grievances should be deliberately examined and legally redressed.‖ Their petition was presented to the Regent, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, in the presence of a number of the nobility and bishops. Her reply was such as to persuade them that she was friendly to their proposals: she promised, that she would take measures for carrying them legally into effect, as soon as it was in her power; and assured them that, in the meantime, they might depend on her protection.§

It did not require many arguments to persuade Knox to comply with an invitation, which was accompanied with such gratifying intelligence; and he began immediately to prepare for his journey to Scotland. The future settlement of the congregation under his charge occupied him for some time. Information being received of the death of Mary queen of England,¶ and the accession of Elizabeth, the protestant refugees hastened to return to their native country. The congregation at Geneva, having met to return thanks to God for this deliverance, agreed to send one of their number with letters to their brethren in different places of the continent, particularly at Frankfort; congratulating them on the late happy change, and requesting a confirmation of the mutual reconciliation which had already been effected, the burial of all past offences, and a brotherly co-operation, in endeavouring to obtain such a settlement of religion in England as would be agreeable to all the sincere well-wishers of the Reformation. A favourable return to their letters being obtained,** they took leave of the hospitable city, and set out for their native country. By them Knox sent

far from being immaculate. Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 200. Knox, Historie, p. 104. Keith, p. 208.

* endure † need. ‡ Knox, Historie, p. 106–7.

‖ Lindsay of Pitscottie's History, p. 200-1. Knox. 122. Spottiswood, 95–7. Petrie, Part. ii. 191.

* Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 216. Besides the persons above named, the Council mention (in the place here referred to) "Johannes Patritz, et alii complures, catholicæ fidei et ecclesiasticæ unitatis desertores." Who this *Patritz* was I do not know. The reformed preachers were obliged to assume feigned names on particular occasions to escape apprehension. Thus Douglas went by the name of *Grant*. Comp. Knox, Historie, p. 103, 106.

† Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566, p. 1. MS. belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq. Advocate. This MS. which I had not seen when I published the first edition of this work, contains a number of minute particulars not mentioned in other histories. It would have been extremely valuable if it had been complete, but the copy which I have used stops short in the middle of the year 1560.

‡ Ibid. ‖ See Note XXX.

§ Knox, Historie, p. 122. Bishop Bale, who was then at Basle, inserted, in a work which he was just publishing, a letter sent him at this time by Thomas Cole, an English refugee residing at Geneva, communicating this information. "Heri enim (says Cole) D. Knoxus ex Scotia nova certissima de immutata religione accepit: Christum publice per totum illud regnum doceri; et ita demum hominum corda occupasse, ut omni metu posito audeant publicis precibus interesse sua lingua celebratis, et sacramenta quoque habeant rite administrata, impuris antichristi ceremoniis abjectis.—Nunc regina cogitat Reformationem religionis, indicto die quo conventus fiat totius regni, &c." Scriptor. Illustr. Major. Britanniæ Poster. Pars. Art. *Knoxus*. Basil. 1559.

¶ "God would not suffer her to reign long (says a Catholic writer); either on account of the sins of her father, or on account of the sins of her people, who were unworthy of a princess so holy, so pious, and endued with such divine and rare dispositions!" Laing. de Vita Hæretic. fol. 28.

** Troubles at Franckford, p. 189, 190.

letters to some of his former acquaintances, who were now in the court of Elizabeth, requesting permission to travel through England, on his way to Scotland.

In the month of January 1559, our Reformer took his leave of Geneva, for the last time.* In addition to former marks of respect, the republic, before his departure, conferred on him the freedom of the city.† He left his wife and family behind him, until he should ascertain that they could live with safety in Scotland. Upon his arrival at Dieppe, in the middle of March, he received information, that the English government had refused to grant him liberty to pass through their dominions. The request had appeared so reasonable to his own mind, considering the station which he had held in that country, and the object of his present journey, that he had once thought of proceeding to London without waiting for a formal permission; yet it was with some difficulty that those who presented his letters escaped imprisonment.‡

This impolitic severity was occasioned by the informations of some of the exiles, who had not forgotten the old quarrel at Frankfort, and had accused of disloyalty and disaffection to the queen, not only Knox, but all those who had been under his charge at Geneva, whom they represented as proselytes to the opinion which he had published against female government.‖ There was not an individual who could believe that Knox had the most distant eye to Elizabeth in publishing the obnoxious book; nor a person of judgment who could seriously think that her government was exposed to the slightest danger from him or his associates, who felt no less joy at her auspicious accession than the rest of their brethren.§ If he had been imprudent in that publication, if he had "swerved from the particular question to the general," his error (to use the words of his respondent) "rose not of malice, but of zeal, and by looking more to the present cruelty, than to the inconveniencies that after might follow;" and it was the part of generosity and of good policy to overlook the fault. Instead of this, Elizabeth and her counsellors took up the charge in a serious light; and the accused were treated with such harshness and disdain, that they repented of leaving their late asylum to return to their native country. One cannot help feeling indignant at this weak revenge, when it is considered that Elizabeth had admitted to favour, and retained at court, persons who had endeavoured to prevent her succession, and who had thirsted for her blood;* and that those who, under the preceding reign, had advised and practised the greatest severities against the protestants were treated with the utmost lenity. Even the infamous Bonner was allowed to appear at Court, and although the Queen shuddered at the thought of a man, who was polluted with so much blood, kissing her hand, yet was he at this time going about London without the smallest molestation.† In the first parliament of Elizabeth, one Dr. Story made a speech, in which he had the effrontery to justify the cruelties of Mary, to boast of his own activity in carrying her orders into execution, and to regret that measures still more violent and effectual had not been adopted for the utter extirpation of heresy.‡ Nor does it appear that this speech was resented either by the House or by the Queen.

> De nobis, post hæc, tristis sententia fertur:
> Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.
> Juvenal. Sat. ii.

The refusal of his request, and the harsh treatment of his flock, touched to the quick the irritable temper of our Reformer; and it was with some difficulty that he suppressed the desire, which he felt rising in his breast, to prosecute a controversy which he had resolved to abandon. "My *first Blast* (says he, in a letter dated Dieppe, 6th April, 1559) hath blown from me all my friends in England. My conscience bears record, that yet I seek the favour of my God, and so I am in the less fear. The *second* Blast, I fear, shall sound somewhat more sharp, except that men be more moderate than I hear they are.—England hath refused me; but because, before, it did refuse Jesus Christ, the less do I regard the loss of this familiarity. And yet have I been a secret and assured friend to thee, O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied."‖ But greater designs occupied his mind, and engrossed his attention. It was not for the sake of personal safety, nor from the vanity of appearing at Court, that he desired to pass through England. He felt the natural wish to visit his old anquaintances in that country, and was anxious for an opportunity of once more addressing those to whom he had preached, especially at Newcastle and Berwick. But there was another object which he had still more at heart, and in which the welfare of both England and Scotland were concerned.

Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which he had received of the favourable disposition of the queen

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* Cald. MS. i. 380.

† Histoire Litteraire de Geneve par Jean Senebier, tome i. 375. Genev. 1786. It is somewhat singular, that Calvin did not obtain this honour until December 1559. "Il n'y a cependant point de citoyen (says Senebier) qui ait achete ce titre honorable aussi cherement que lui par ses services, et je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup qui l'aient autant merite, et qui le rendrent aussi celebre." Ibid. p. 230, 231.

Our Reformer obtained another public testimony of esteem at this time, from Bishop Bale, who dedicated his work on Scottish Writers to him and Alexander Aless. The praise which he bestows on him deserves the more notice, because the bishop had been one of his opponents at Frankfort. "Te vero, Knoxe, frater amantissime, conjunxit mihi Anglia et Germania, imprimit autem doctrinæ nostræ in Christo Domino fraterna consensio. Nemo est enim qui tuam fidem, constantiam, patientiam, tot erumnis, tanta persecutione, exilioque diuturno et gravi testatum, non collaudet, et non admiretur, non amplectatur." Balei Script. Illus. Maj. Brit. poster. pars. p. 175, 176. Basiliæ, ex officina Joan. Operini, 1559. Mense Februario. ‡ Knox, Historie, p. 205. ‖ Ib. p. 206, 210.

§ In February 1559, the English exiles at Geneva published a *prose* translation of the book of *Psalms*, which they dedicated to Elizabeth; and in this dedication, their congratulations on her accession to the throne, and their professions of loyalty, are as warm as those of any of her subjects were. It is inscribed "To the most Vertuous and Noble Queene Elizabeth, Queene of Englande, France and Irelande, &c. your humble subjects of the English church at Geneva, wyth grace, &c." After mentioning that they had employed the time of their exile, in revising the English translation of the Bible, and endeavouring to bring it as near as they could to the pure simplicity and true meaning of the Hebrew tongue, they add: "When we heard that the almightie and most mercyfull God had no less myraculously preferred you to that excellent dignitie, then he had aboue all mens expectations preserued you from the furie of such as sought your blood: with most joyfull myndes and great diligence we endeauoured our selves, to set foorth and dedicate this most excellent booke of the Psalmes vnto your grace as a speciall token of our seruice and good will, till the rest of the Byble, which, praysed be God, is in good readinesse, may be accomplished and presented." Epistle, p. 3. prefixed to the Booke of Psalmes, Geneva, 1559, 16mo.

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* Haynes, State Papers, p. 295. Knox, Historie, p. 210.

† Burnet, ii. 374, 396. Stow, Annals, p. 635. edit. 1631. When he was afterwards committed to the Marshalsea, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, he was kept "under a very easy restraint." Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 251. edit. 1616. Stapleton, a popish writer, says that Tonstal was "cast into prison, as most of the bishops were, where he made a glorious end of a confessor, and satisfied for his former crime of schism."—"A *prison!*" exclaims Dr. Jortin. "Lambeth palace, and the archbishop's table, was a dreadful dungeon, to be sure; and as bad as those into which the righteous Bonner, and other saints of the same class, used to thrust the poor heretics! Will men never be ashamed of these godly tricks and disingenuous prevarications?" Life of Erasmus, i. 101.

‡ He said, "that he saw nothing to be ashamed of, or sorry for; wished that he had done more, and that he and others had been more vehement in executing the laws; and said that it grieved him, that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root;" by which he was understood to mean Queen Elizabeth. Strype's Annals, i. 79, 536.

‖ Cald. MS. i. 384. See also Knox's Historie, p. 204—207.

regent towards the protestants, and the directions which he sent them to cultivate this, he seems to have always entertained suspicions of the sincerity of her professions. Since he left Geneva, these suspicions had been confirmed; and the information which he had procured, in travelling through France, conspired with intelligence which he had lately received from Scotland, in convincing him, that the immediate suppression of the Reformation in his native country, and its consequent suppression in the neighbouring kingdom. were intended. The plan projected by the gigantic ambition of the princes of Lorrain, brothers of the queen regent of Scotland, has been developed, and described with great accuracy and ability, by a celebrated modern historian.* Suffice it to say here, that their counsels had determined the French court to set up the claim of the young queen of Scots to the crown of England; to attack Elizabeth, and wrest the sceptre from her hands, under the pretext that she was a bastard and a heretic; and to commence their operations by suppressing the Reformation, and establishing the French influence, in Scotland, as the best preparative to an attack upon the dominions of the English queen. Knox, in the course of his journeys through France, had formed an acquaintance with certain persons about the court; and, by their means, had gained some knowledge of this plan.† He was convinced that the Scottish reformers were unable to resist the power which France might bring against them; and that it was no less the interest than the duty of the English court to afford them the most effectual support. But he was afraid that a selfish and narrow policy might prevent them from doing this, until it was too late; and was therefore anxious to call their attention to this subject at an early period, and to put them in possession of the facts that had come to his knowledge. The assistance which Elizabeth granted to the Scottish protestants, in the year 1560, was dictated by the soundest policy. It baffled and defeated the designs of her enemies at the very outset; it gave her an influence over Scotland, which all her predecessors could not obtain by the terror of their arms, nor the influence of their money; and it secured the stability of her government, by extending and strengthening the protestant interest, the principal pillar on which it rested. And it reflects not a little credit on our Reformer's sagacity, that he had conceived this plan at so early a period, was the first person who proposed it, and persisted, in spite of great discouragements, to urge its adoption, until his endeavours were ultimately crowned with success.

Deeply impressed with these considerations, he resolved, although he had already been twice repulsed, to brook the mortification, and make another attempt to obtain an interview with some confidential agent of the English government. With this view, he, on the 10th of April, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, with whom he had been personally acquainted during his residence in London. Adverting to the treatment of the exiles who had returned from Geneva, he exculpated them from all responsibility as to the offensive book which he had published, and assured him that he had not consulted with one of them previous to its publication. As for himself, he did not mean to deny that he was the author, nor was he yet prepared to retract the leading sentiment which it contained. But he was not, on that account, less friendly to the person and government of Elizabeth, in whose exaltation he cordially rejoiced; although he rested the defence of her authority upon grounds different from the common. This was the third time that he had craved liberty to pass through England. He had no desire to visit the court, nor to remain long in the country; but he was anxious to communicate to him, or to some other trusty person, matters of great importance, which it was not prudent to commit to writing, or intrust to an ordinary messenger. If his request was refused, it would turn out to the disadvantage of England.*

The situation in which he stood at this time with the court of England was so well known, that it was not without great difficulty that he could find a messenger to carry his letter;† and, either despairing of the success of his application, or urged by intelligence received from Scotland, he sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of April, and landed safely at Leith on the 2d of May 1559.‡

PERIOD VI.

From May 1559, when he finally returned to Scotland, till August 1560, when he was settled as Minister of Edinburgh, at the establishment of the Reformation.

On his arrival, Knox found matters in the most critical state in Scotland. The Queen Regent had thrown off the mask which she had long worn, and avowed her determination forcibly to suppress the Reformation. As long as she stood in need of the assistance of the protestants, to support her authority against the Hamiltons, and to procure the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the Dauphin of France, she courted their friendship, listened to their plans of reform, professed her dissatisfaction with the corruption and tyranny of the ecclesiastical order, and her desire of correcting these as soon as a fit opportunity offered, and flattered them, if not with the hopes of her joining their party, at least with assurances that she would shield them from the fury of the clergy. So completely were they duped by her consummate address and dissimulation, that they complied with all her requests, restrained some of their preachers from teaching in public, and desisted from presenting to the late Parliament a petition which they had prepared; nor would they believe her to be insincere, even after different parts of her conduct had afforded strong grounds for suspicion. But, having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, she at last adopted measures which completely undeceived them, and discovered the gulph into which they were almost precipitated.

As this discovery of the Regent's duplicity produced consequences of the greatest importance; as it completely alienated from her the minds of the reformers, and aroused that spirit of determined and united opposition to her insidious policy, and her violent measures, which ultimately led to the establishment of the Re-

* Robertson's History of Scotland, B. ii. ad. An. 1559.

† Knox, Historie, p. 206. 214. 260. He had an opportunity of receiving a confirmation of this intelligence, during his voyage to Scotland. In the same ship in which he sailed, there was sent by the French court, to the Queen Regent, a staff of state, with a great seal, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and *England*. This was shewn to him in great secrecy. The English court, after they were awakened from their lethargy, and convinced of the hostile designs of France, applied to Knox for the information which they might have had from him six months before. Cotton MSS. Caligula, B. ix. f. 38, 74. Sadler's State Papers, i. 463, 688. Keith, Ap. p. 38, 42. The English certainly suffered themselves to be amused at the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, while the courts of France and Spain concerted measures dangerous to England, and to the whole protestant interest. Dr. Wotton, one of the commissioners, complains, in a letter to Cecil, of want of intelligence, and that the English had no spies on the continent. Forbes's State Papers, i. 23.

* Knox, Historie, p. 204, 206.

† The person whom he at last persuaded to take his letter was Richard Harrison. But the honest spy, (for such was his employment at that time) dreading that Knox had made him the bearer of another *Blast*, which, if it did not endanger the throne of Elizabeth, might blow up his credit with the court, prudently communicated the suspicious packet to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, the English ambassador to the court of France, and obtained his sanction and safe conduct before conveying it to London. Letter from Throkmorton to Cecil, 15th of May, 1559. Forbes's State Papers, i. 90, 91.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 392, 393. Knox, Historie, p. 127, 207.

formation; and as the facts connected with it have not been accurately or fully stated in our common histories,* the reader may not be displeased at having the following more circumstantial detail laid before him.

A mutual jealousy had long subsisted between the Queen Regent and that able but unprincipled prelate, Archbishop Hamilton, whose zeal for the church was uniformly subordinated to his personal ambition, and the desire of aggrandizing his family. While he exerted the influence which his station gave him over the clergy to embarrass the administration of the Regent, she employed the protestants as a counterbalance to his power. But amidst the jarring excited by rival interests, both parties beheld the rapid progress of the reformed sentiments with equal concern; and intelligent persons early foresaw, that their differences would be finally compromised, and a coalition formed between them, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of the protestants.† It does not appear that the primate ever entertained the slightest suspicion that the Regent was friendly to the cause of the Reformers. Independently of her own sentiments, he was well acquainted with the influence which her brothers possessed over her, and with their devoted attachment to the Roman Catholic church. Had he not had good reasons for presuming upon her connivance and secret approbation, his known prudence would not have allowed him to venture upon the invidious measure of putting Mill to death. As early as July 1558, she had consulted with him on the measures which should be adopted for checking the Reformation.‡ And immediately after the parliament which met in November, and at which the Regent accomplished, by the assistance of the protestants, all the objects which she wished to carry, the primate received positive assurances of her support in his exertions for maintaining the authority of the church. For, in the end of December, he summoned the reformed preachers to appear before him in St. Andrews on the 2d of February following, to answer for their conduct in usurping the sacred office and disseminating heretical doctrines.‖

Upon this a deputation of the protestants waited on the Regent, and informed her, that, after what had recently taken place in the instance of Mill, they were determined to attend and see justice done to their preachers; and that, if the prosecution went forward, there would be a greater convocation at St. Andrews than had been seen at any trial in Scotland for a long period. Dreading the consequences of a concourse of people in a place adjacent to counties in which the protestants were numerous, the Queen wrote to the archbishop to prorogue the trial. She, at the same time, summoned a convention of the nobility, to be held at Edinburgh on the 7th of March, to advise upon the most proper measures for settling the religious differences which had so long agitated the nation.§ And the primate, at her request, called a provincial council of the clergy to meet in the same place on the first day of March.¶

When our Saviour was condemned to be crucified, it was observed, that, "on the same day, Pilate and Herod were made friends together, for before they were at enmity between themselves." The determination which was at this time formed to crush the protestant interest in Scotland seems to have brought about the reconciliation of more than the Queen Regent and the Primate. A rivalship had long subsisted between those who occupied the two Scottish archbishopricks; the bishops of Glasgow insisting on the independence of their See, and boasting of the priority of its erection, while the bishops of St. Andrews claimed an authoritative primacy over all the clergy in the kingdom, as belonging to that See from the time of its foundation.* Hamilton, in the mandate issued for assembling this Council, had asserted his primacy in very formal terms, founding upon it, as well as upon the legantine authority with which he was invested by the Pope, his right to convocate the clergy.† Beatoun, archbishop of Glasgow, seems to have resented this claim of superiority, and he declined for some time to countenance the Council by his presence, or to cite his suffragans and the clergy of his diocese to attend. This dissention might have proved highly injurious to the church at this critical period; but it was got accommodated, and Beatoun with the western clergy at length joined the Council.‡

In the mean time, the protestants, having assembled at Edinburgh, appointed commissioners to lay their representations before the convention of the nobility, and the council of the clergy.‖ The commissioners gave in to the latter certain preliminary articles of reformation, in which they craved, that the religious service should be performed in the vulgar tongue; that such as were unfit for the pastoral office should be removed from their benefices; and that, in time coming, bishops should be admitted with the assent of the barons of the diocese, and parish-priests with the assent of the parishioners, and measures adopted for preventing immoral and ignorant persons from being employed in ecclesiastical functions.§ But there was another paper laid before the Council, which, it is probable, gave them more uneasiness than the representation of the protestants. This was a remonstrance by certain persons attached to the Roman Catholic faith, "craving redress of several grievances complained of in the ecclesiastical administration of Scotland." It consisted of thirteen articles, in which, among other points of reformation, they required that the exacting of corps-presents and easter-offerings should be abolished; that, for the more effectual instruction of those who partook of the sacraments, "there should be an godlie and faithful declaration set forth in Inglis toung, to be first shewin to the pepil at all times," when any of the sacraments were administered; and that the common prayers and litanies should also be read in the vulgar language. At the same time, they desired that none should speak irreverently of the mass, make innovations upon the received ceremonies of the church, or assume the administration of divine ordinances without authority from the bishops.¶

The Council were not disposed to agree to the proposals either of the protestant or of the popish reformers. After making certain partial regulations relating to some of the grievances complained of by the latter,** and renewing the canons of former councils respecting the lives of the clergy and public instruction,†† they

* Some remarks on the representation which Dr. Robertson has given of the Regent's conduct will be found in Note XXXI.

† Knox, Historie, p. 125.

‡ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, from 1559 to 1566. p. 1. ‖ MS. Historie, ut sup. p. 2. § Ib. p. 2, 3.

¶ Ib. p. 3. Wilkins, Concilia. tom. iv. p. 205.

* Act. Parl. Scot. p. 342. Knox, p. 51. Spottiswood, 24. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils, 39, 40.

† Wilkins, ut sup. p. 204—5.

‡ The Primate's letter summoning the archbishop of Glasgow to the Council is dated the last day of January. Wilkins, ut supra. The Council met on March 1. Ibid. p. 208. But the archbishop of Glasgow's letter, calling his clergy to the Council, is dated as late as March 18. and he requires them to attend on the 6th of April. Ibid. p. 206. It is also observable that Beatoun, in his citation, takes no notice of the Primate's mandate. Ibid. It is likely that the matter was settled by the good offices of the Queen Regent, whose favourable inclination towards the church is warmly commended by this Council. Ibid. p. 209.

‖ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut sup. p. 3.

§ Lesley, Hist. p. 546. Lord Hailes, Provincial Councils, p. 38.

¶ Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 207—8. Wilkins has inserted the Remonstrance at large, which he procured from the Records in the Scots College at Paris. It is surprising that this curious document should have escaped the eye of Lord Hailes, who has not taken the slightest notice of it in his account of the Scottish Councils.

** Can. 21, 22, 24, 32. apud Wilkins, ut sup. p. 214—16.

†† Can. 2—20. Ibid. p. 210—14.

refused to allow any part of the public service to be performed in the vulgar language;* they ratified in the strongest terms all the popish doctrines which were controverted by the protestants;† and they ordained, that strict inquisition should be made after such as absented themselves from the celebration of mass,‡ and that excommunications should be fulminated against those who administered or received the sacraments after the protestant forms, and against parents and sponsors who had presented children for baptism to the reformed preachers, and did not bring them to the priests to be re-baptized.‖

The Council were emboldened to take these decisive steps in consequence of a secret treaty which they had concluded with the Regent, and in which they had stipulated to raise a large sum of money to enable her to suppress the reformers.§ This arrangement could not be long concealed from the protestant deputies, who, perceiving that they were mocked by the clergy, and abandoned by the court, broke off the fruitless negociations in which they had been engaged, and left Edinburgh. They were no sooner gone than a proclamation was made at the market-cross, by order of the Regent, prohibiting any person from preaching or administering the sacraments without authority from the bishops, and commanding all the subjects to prepare to celebrate the ensuing feast of Easter according to the rites of the Catholic church. Understanding that her proclamation was not complied with, she summoned the preachers to answer for their disobedience.¶ The Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, sheriff of Ayr, waited on her, and remonstrated against these proceedings; but she told them haughtily, that, "in spite of them, all their preachers should be banished from Scotland." They reminded her of the promises which she had repeatedly made to protect them, upon which she unblushingly replied, that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than they pleased to keep them." Surprised, but not intimidated at this language, Glencairn and Loudon told her, that, if she violated the engagements which she had come under to her subjects, they would consider themselves as absolved from their allegiance to her. Having remonstrated with her very freely, and pointed out the dangerous consequences that might result from adopting such a line of conduct, she began to speak to them in a milder tone, and promised to suspend the trial, and take the whole affair into serious consideration.** But receiving intelligence soon after that peace was concluded between France and Spain, and that these two powers had agreed to unite their endeavours for the extirpation of heresy, and irritated by the introduction of the reformed worship into the town of Perth, she revived the process against the preachers, and summoned them peremptorily to stand their trial at Stirling on the 10th of May.††

The state of our Reformer's mind, upon receiving this information, will appear from the following letter, hastily written by him on the day after he landed in Scotland.

"The perpetual comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation.

"These few lines are to signify unto you, dear sister, that it hath pleased the merciful providence of my heavenly Father to conduct me to Edinburgh, where I arrived the 2 of May: uncertain as yet what God shall further work in this country, except that I see the battle shall be great. For Satan rageth even to the uttermost, and I am come, I praise my God, even in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow preachers have a day appointed to answer before the Queen Regent, the 10th of this instant, when I intend (if God impede not) also to be present; by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify his godly name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries. Assist me, sister, with your prayers, that now I shrink not, when the battle approacheth. Other things I have to communicate with you, but travel after travel doth so occupy me, that no time is granted me to write. Advertise my brother, Mr. Goodman, of my estate; as in my other letter sent unto you from Dieppe, I willed you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you. From Edinburgh, in haste, the 3d of May."*

His arrival in Scotland was not long concealed from the clergy. On the morning after he landed at Leith, one came to the monastery of the Grey-friars, where the Provincial Council was still sitting,† and informed them that John Knox was come from France, and had slept last night in Edinburgh. The clergy were panic-struck with the intelligence, and foreboding the ruin of all the plans which they had formed with so much care, they dismissed the Council in great haste and confusion. A messenger was instantly despatched by them with the information to the Queen Regent who was at Glasgow; and within a few days Knox was publicly declared an outlaw and rebel, in virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him by the clergy.‡

Although his own cause was prejudged, and he knew that he was liable to be apprehended as a condemned heretic, he did not hesitate a moment in resolving to present himself voluntarily at Stirling, to assist his brethren in their defence, and share in their danger. Having resided only a single day at Edinburgh, he hurried to Dundee, where he found the principal protestants in Angus and Mearns already assembled, and determined to attend their ministers to the place of trial, and to avow their adherence to the doctrines for which they were accused. The providential arrival of such an able champion of the cause, at this crisis, must have been very encouraging to the assembly; and the liberty of accompanying them which he requested, was readily granted.

Lest the unexpected approach of such a multitude, though unarmed, should alarm or offend the Regent, the assembled protestants agreed to stop at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling, to acquaint her with the peaceable object and manner of their coming. Apprehensive that their presence would disconcert her measures, the Regent had again recourse to dissimulation. She persuaded Erskine to request his brethren to desist from their intended journey, and authorized him to promise, in her name, that she would put a stop to the trial. The protesants testified their

* Lesley, Hist. p. 546. Lord Hailes, Prov. Coun. p. 38—9.
† Can. 16. apud Wilkins, ut sup. p. 212—13,
‡ Can. 30. Ibid. p. 216.
‖ Can. 33, 34. Ibid. p. 216—17. The form of words appointed by the Council to be used by the priest in re-baptization is curious. "Si tu es baptizatus, ego non te baptizo; sed si non es baptizatus, ego te baptizo, in nomine Patris," &c. *i. e.* "If thou hast been baptized, I do not baptize thee; but if thou hast not been baptized, I do baptize thee, in the name of the Father," &c.
§ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut supra. p. 3. Knox, Historie, p. 122. According to the first of these authorities the sum promised by the clergy was 15,000*l.*; but according to a Chronicle written by the laird of Erleshall, referred to by Knox, it was 40,000*l.*
¶ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut sup.
** Knox, 126.
†† Knox ut sup. Spottiswood, 120—1. Buchanani. Oper. i. 312—3.

* Letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, apud Cald. MS. i. 393.
† MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut sup. p. 3, 4. Knox. Historie, p. 109. In the preamble to the acts of this Council, it is said to have been "nnitum 10. die mensis Aprilis," But in the conclusion of the acts there is an expression which leads to a reconciliation of this with the two preceding authorities; "*finiendo seu finito* die 10. mensis Aprilis:" from which it appears that, though the acts were concluded, it was not yet agreed to close the Council on that day. Wilkins, iv. 209, 217.
‡ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut sup.

pacific intentions by a cheerful compliance with this request, and the greater part, confiding in the royal promise, returned to their homes. But when the day of trial came, the summons was called by the orders of the Queen, the preachers were outlawed for not appearing, and all persons were prohibited, under the pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them.*

Escaping from Stirling, Erskine brought to Perth the intelligence of this disgraceful transaction, which could not fail to incense the protestants. It happened that, on the same day on which the news came, Knox, who remained at Perth, preached a sermon, in which he exposed the idolatry of the mass, and of image-worship. Sermon being concluded, the audience quietly dismissed; a few idle persons only loitered in the church; when an imprudent priest, wishing either to try the disposition of the people, or to shew his contempt of the doctrine which had been delivered by the preacher, uncovered a rich altar-piece, decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy, having uttered some expressions of disapprobation, was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the altar, broke one of the images. This operated like a signal upon the people present, who had taken part with the boy; and, in the course of a few minutes, the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church were torn down, and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob, who, finding no employment in the church, by a sudden and irresistible impulse flew upon the monasteries; and although the magistrates of the town and the preachers assembled as soon as they heard of the riot, yet neither the persuasions of the one nor the authority of the other could restrain the mob, until the houses of the grey and black friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins. None of the gentlemen or sober part of the congregation were concerned in this unpremeditated tumult; it was wholly confined to the baser inhabitants, or (as Knox designs them) "the rascal multitude."†

The demolition of the monasteries having been represented as the first-fruits of our Reformer's labours on this occasion, it was necessary to give this minute account of the causes which produced that event. Whatever his sentiments were as to the destruction of the instruments and monuments of idolatry, he wished this to be accomplished in a regular manner; he was sensible that, in the present circumstances, such tumultuary proceedings were prejudicial to the cause of the reformers; and, instead of instigating, he exerted himself in putting a stop to the ravages of the mob. But if this disorderly conduct must be traced to a remote cause, we can impute it only to the wanton and dishonourable perfidy of the Queen.

In fact, nothing could be more favourable to the designs of the Regent than this riot. By her recent conduct she had forfeited the confidence of the protestants, and even exposed herself in the eyes of the sober and moderate of her own party. This occurrence afforded her an opportunity of turning the public indignation from herself, and directing it against the protestants. She did not fail to improve it with her usual address. She magnified the accidental tumult into a dangerous and designed rebellion. Having called the nobility to Stirling, she in her interviews with them insisted upon such topics as were best calculated to persuade the parties into which they were divided. In conversing with the Catholics, she dwelt upon the sacrilegious overthrow of those venerable structures which their ancestors had dedicated to the service of God. To the Protestants who had not joined their brethren at Perth, she complained of the destruction of the Royal foundation of the Charter-house, and, protesting that she had no intention of offering violence to their consciences, she promised to protect them, on the condition that they assisted her in punishing those who had been guilty of this violation of public order.* Having inflamed the minds of all against them, and collected an army from the adjacent counties,† she advanced to Perth, threatening to lay waste the town with fire and sword, and to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been instrumental in producing the riot.‡

The protestants of the North were not insensible to their danger, and did all in their power to avert the storm which threatened them. They wrote to the Queen Regent, to the commanders of the French troops, to the popish nobles, and to those of their own persuasion; they solemnly disclaimed all rebellious intentions; they protested their readiness to yield due obedience to the government; they intreated all to refrain from offering violence to peaceable subjects, who sought only the liberty of their consciences and the reformation of religion. But finding all their endeavours fruitless, they resolved not to suffer themselves and their brethren to be massacred, and prepared for a defence of the town against an illegal and furious assault. And so prompt and vigorous were they in the measures which they adopted, that the Regent, when she approached, deemed it imprudent to attack them, and proposed overtures of accommodation, to which they readily acceded.‖

While the two armies lay before Perth, and negociations were going on between them, our Reformer obtained an interview with the Prior of St. Andrews and the young Earl of Argyle, who adhered to the Regent. He reminded them of the solemn engagements which they had contracted, and charged them with violating these, by abetting measures which tended to suppress the reformed religion, and to enslave their native country. The noblemen replied, that they had been induced, by the representations of the regent and the clergy, to believe that their brethren intended to swerve from their former loyalty, and, although they were now convinced that this charge was unfounded, yet they were anxious to fulfil the promise which they had made to the Queen, by bringing the present difference to an amicable termination; but, if she should violate the present treaty, they would withdraw their countenance from her, and openly take part with their brethren, to whom they considered themselves as bound by the most sacred ties of religion. The Regent was not long in affording them the opportunity of verifying their promise. No sooner had she taken possession of Perth, and perceived that the forces of the protestants were disbanded, than she began to disregard the conditions to which she had agreed. And Argyle and the Prior, having remonstrated against the infractions of a treaty which they had concluded at her earnest request, were answered in such an unsat-

* Knox, Historie, p. 127. Spottiswood, 121. Buchanani Oper. i. 313.

† Knox, Historie, p. 128. Buchanani Oper. i. 313.

* Knox, Historie, p. 128—9, 135, 137.

† MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut supra, p. 5.

‡ Buchanani Oper. i. 313. Knox, 128. A writer has given the name of "bellum *imaginarium*" to this war, undertaken by the Regent to avenge the destruction of the *images*, and the crimes charged upon the protestants he denominates "mere *imaginaria* seditio et rebellio." Historie of the Church of Scotland to 1566. MS. Adv. Lib. A. 5. 43.

‖ When the overtures were proposed to the protestants, they exclaimed with one voice; "Cursit be they that seik effusioun of blude, weir, or dissentioun. Let us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefite of his evangell, and nane within Scotland sall be mair obedient subjectis than we sall be." Knox, Historie, p. 137. The Regent's army consisted of 8000, that of the protestants amounted to 5000 men. This seems to have been the number of the latter previous to the arrival of the Earl of Glencairn, with a reinforcement from the West. Glencairn had joined them, before the conclusion of the treaty, with 2500 men, a circumstance which did not alter their pacific wishes. Cald. MS. i. 426. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 5. Knox, Historie, 136.

isfactory manner, that they deserted the court, and could never afterwards be persuaded to place confidence in her promises.*

From the time that the leading protestants discovered the hostile intentions of the Regent, they had used great industry to ascertain the numbers of their friends, to establish means of correspondence among them, and to have them united by the strictest bonds. For this purpose, copies of their religious covenant were committed to persons who procured subscriptions to it in the different districts where they resided.† From the designation which they gave themselves in this covenant, or from the union which subsisted among them, the protestants began at this time to be distinguished by the name of THE CONGREGATION. The nobles who had joined the association were the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Monteith and Rothes, Lords Ochiltree, Boyd, Ruthven, and the Prior of St. Andrews. The Earl Marishal and Lord Erskine, with some others who were friendly to the reformed religion, either supported the Regent, or remained neutral. A large proportion of the lesser barons belonged to the Congregation, particularly those of Mearns, Angus, Strathearn, Monteith, Fyfe, Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway.‡

In the beginning of June the Lords of the Congregation held a consultation on the measures which they should adopt for their own security, and for the advancement of the Reformation. They had repeatedly applied to the clergy to rectify the abuses which prevailed in the church, and to release them from those unjust and oppressive laws by which their consciences had long been enslaved; but their petitions had been treated with neglect and disdain. "To abandon usurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are sacrifices which the virtue of individuals has, on some occasions, offered to truth; but from any society of men no such effort can be expected. The corruptions of a society, recommended by common utility, and justified by universal practice, are viewed by its members without shame or horror; and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand."‖ Convinced of this, the protestant leaders had next addressed themselves to the Regent, and requested her to employ her authority to bring about a reformation which could not be much longer deferred, without interrupting the peace of the kingdom. As long as they had any reason to think that she was disposed to listen to their petitions, they had waited with exemplary patience, and restrained the ardour of such of their friends as were inclined, without further delay, to use the right which nature and Christianity gave them; but the Regent had disappointed their expectations, and from being a professed friend was become a declared enemy; they could no longer place the smallest dependance on her promises; and they were satisfied that she had formed a systematic plan for suppressing the Reformation, and enforcing the existing ecclesiastical laws in all their rigour. It behoved them now either to submit to have their chains riveted, or by a bold and vigorous effort to shake them off altogether. They determined upon the latter. The scandalous lives of the established clergy, their total neglect of the religious instruction of the people, and the profanation of Christian worship by gross idolatry, were the most glaring abuses. The Lords of the Congregation resolved to take immediate steps for removing these, by abolishing the popish service, and setting up the reformed worship in all those places to which their authority or influence extended, and in which the greater part of the inhabitants were friendly to the design. This step is justified in part by the feudal ideas respecting the jurisdiction of the nobility, which at that time prevailed in Scotland; the urgent and extreme necessity of the case, however, forms its best vindication. A great part of the nation loudly demanded such a reformation, and had not regular measures been adopted for its introduction, the popular indignation would have effected the work in a more exceptionable way.

St. Andrews was the place fixed on for commencing these operations. With this view, the Earl of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, who was Prior of the abbey of St. Andrews, made an appointment with Knox to meet them, on a certain day, in that city. Travelling along the east coast of Fife, he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and, on the 9th of June, joined them at St. Andrews. The archbishop, apprized of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent information to him, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would give orders to the soldiers to fire upon him. The noblemen, having met to consult what ought to be done, agreed that Knox should desist from preaching at that time, and strongly urged upon him the reasons of their opinion. Their retinue was very slender; they had not yet ascertained the disposition of the inhabitants of the town; the Queen lay at a small distance with an army, ready to come to the bishop's assistance; and his appearance in the pulpit might lead to the sacrifice of his own life, and the lives of those who were determined to defend him from violence.

There are occasions on which it is a proof of superior wisdom to disregard the ordinary dictates of prudence; on which, to face danger is to avoid it, to flee from it is to invite it. Had the reformers, after announcing their intentions, suffered themselves to be intimidated by the bravading attitude and threats of the archbishop, their cause would, at the very outset, have received a blow, from which it would not easily have recovered. This was prevented by the firmness and intrepidity of Knox. Fired with the recollection of the part which he had formerly acted on that spot, and with the near prospect of realizing the sanguine hopes which he had so long cherished in his breast, he resisted all the importunities of his friends. He could take God to witness, (he said) that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day (unless forcibly hindered), he could not in conscience agree: In that town, and in that church, had God first raised him to the dignity of a preacher, and from it he had been *reft* by French tyranny, at the instigation of the Scots bishops: The length of his imprisonment, and the tortures which he had endured, he would not at present recite; but one thing he could not conceal, that, in the hearing of many yet alive, he had expressed his confident hope of again preaching in St. Andrews: Now, therefore, when Providence, beyond all men's expectation, had brought him to that place, he besought them not to hinder him. "As for the fear of danger, that may come to me (continued he), let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

This intrepid reply silenced all further remonstrances; and next day Knox appeared in the pulpit, and preached to a numerous assembly, including many of the clergy, without experiencing the slightest interruption. He discoursed on the subject of our Saviour's ejecting the profane traffickers from the temple of Jerusalem, from which he took occasion to expose the enormous corruptions which had been introduced into the church under the papacy, and to point out what was incumbent upon Christians, in their different spheres, for removing them. On the three following

* MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, ut sup. p. 6. Knox, 135—9. Buchanani Oper. i. 314—5. Spottiswood, 123.

† Buchanani Oper. i. 311.

‡ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 8. Knox, Historie, 136, 138, 144.

‖ Dr. Robertson.

days he preached in the same place; and such was the influence of his doctrine, that the provost, bailies, and inhabitants, harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town: the church was stripped of all images and pictures, and the monasteries were pulled down.

Understanding that the lords at St. Andrews were accompanied by a slender retinue, the Queen Regent, who lay at Falkland, attempted to surprise them. But the protestants in Angus, having received information of the critical situation of their brethren, came to their assistance with such celerity and in such numbers, that they were able to face the royal army at Cuparmoor; and the Regent, afraid to risk a battle, consented to a truce, by which she engaged to remove her French troops from Fife, and to send commissioners to St. Andrews for the purpose of settling all differences between her and the Congregation. The troops were removed, but no commissioners appeared; and the Lords of the Congregation, being apprized that the Queen intended to fortify the passage of the Forth at Stirling, and to cut off their communication with the protestants in the south, proceeded to Perth, and having expelled the garrison from that town, by a rapid march seized upon Stirling, and, advancing, took possession of the capital of the kingdom; the Regent, as they approached, retiring with her forces to Dunbar.*

The example of St. Andrews in abolishing the Popish worship was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and, in the course of a few weeks, at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments, which had been employed to foster idolatry and superstition, destroyed.†

These proceedings were celebrated in the singular lays, which were at that time circulated among the reformers.

His cardinalles hes cause to mourne,
His bishops are borne a backe;
His abbots gat an uncouth turne,
When shavellinges went to sacke.
With burges wifes they led their lives,
And fare better than wee.
Hay trix, trim goe trix, under the greene wod-tree.

His Carmelites and Jacobinis,
His Dominikes had great adoe;
His Cordeilier and Augustines,
Sanct Francis's ordour to;
The sillie friers, mony yeiris
With babling bleerit our ee.
Hay trix, &c.

Had not your self begun the weirris,
Your Stepillis had been standand yit;
It was the flattering of your friers
That ever gart Sanct Francis flit:
Ye grew sa superstitious
In wickednesse,
It gart us grow malicious
Contrair your messe.‡

Scarcely any thing in the progress of the Scottish Reformation has been more frequently or more loudly condemned than the demolition of those edifices, upon which superstition had lavished all the ornaments of the chisel and the pencil. To the Roman Catholics, who anathematized all who were engaged in this work of inexpiable sacrilege, and represented it as involving the overthrow of all religion,‖ have succeeded another race of writers, who, although they do not, in general, make high pretensions to devotion, have not scrupled at all times to borrow the language of their predecessors, and have bewailed the wreck of so many precious monuments, in as bitter strains as ever idolater did the loss of his gods. These are the warm admirers of Gothic architecture, and other reliques of ancient art; some of whom, if we may judge from their language, would welcome back the reign of superstition, with all its ignorance and bigotry, if they could recover the objects of their adoration.* Writers of this stamp depict the devastation and ravages, which marked the progress of the Reformation, in colours as dark as ever were employed by the historian in describing the overthrow of ancient learning, by the irruptions of the barbarous Huns and Vandals. Our Reformer cannot be mentioned by them but with symptoms of horror, and in terms of detestation, as a barbarian, a savage, and a ring-leader of mobs, for overthrowing whatever was venerable in antiquity, or sacred in religion. It is unnecessary to produce instances.

Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.

To remind such persons of the divine mandate to destroy all monuments of idolatry in the land of Canaan would be altogether insufferable, and might provoke, from some of them, a profane attack upon the authority from which it proceeded. To plead the example of the early Christians, in demolishing the temples and statues dedicated to pagan polytheism, would only awaken the keen regrets which are felt for the irreparable loss.† It would be still worse to refer to the apocalyptic predictions, which some have been so fanatical as to think were fulfilled in the miserable spoliation of that "Great City," which, under all its revolutions, has so eminently proved the nurse of the arts, and given encouragement to painters, statuaries, and sculptors, to "harpers, and musicians, and pipers, and trumpeters, and craftsmen of whatsoever craft;" who, to this day have not forgotten their obligations to it, nor ceased to bewail its destruction. In any apology which I make for the Reformers, I would rather alleviate than aggravate the distress which is felt for the loss of such valuable memorials of antiquity. It has been observed by high authority, that there are certain commodities which derive their principal value from their great rarity, and which, if found in great quantities, would cease to be sought after or prized.‡ A nobleman of great literary reputation has, indeed, questioned the justness of this observation, as far as respects precious stones and metals.‖ But I

* Knox, Historie, 141—146. Buchanani Oper. i. 315—6. Spottiswood, 142—6.

† Letter written by Knox from St. Andrews, 23d June, 1559. apud Cald. MS. i. 426, 428. Knox, Historie, p. 140, 141. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 6. The demolition of the monasteries at St. Andrews began on the 14th of June.

‡ Gude and godly Ballates, apud Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th century, ii. 192, 198.

‖ The tolbooth of Musselburgh was built out of the ruins of the chapel of Loretto: on which account the good people of that town were, till lately, annually excommunicated at Rome. Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, iii. 19. Those who wish to see a specimen of Catholic declamation on this subject, will find it in Note XXXII.

* The reader may take one example, which I adduce, not because it is the strongest, but because it happens to be at hand. "This abbey [Kelso] was demolished 1569, in consequence of the enthusiastic Reformation, which, in its violence, was a *greater* disgrace to religion than *all the errors* it was intended to subvert. Reformation has hitherto always appeared in the form of a zealot, full of fanatic fury, with violence subduing, but through madness creating, almost as many mischiefs in its oversights, as it overthrows errors in its pursuit. Religion has received a *greater* shock from the present struggle to repress *some formularies* and save *some scruples*, than it *ever* did by the growth of superstition." Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, and of an Excursion to the Abbey of Melrose, i. 265.

† "Alas! how little of its former splendour have time and the *fanatic rage* of the early Christians left to the Roman forum! The covered passage, with a flight of steps, founded by Tarquin the elder, is no more here to shelter us from bad weather, or to serve for the spectators to entertain themselves with *mountebanks* in the market-place." A most deplorable loss, truly! This writer adds, that the statues of the twelve gods are yet standing: no great proof, one would imagine, of the fanatic rage of the Christians. Kotzebue's Travels through Italy, vol. i. p. 200. Lond. 1807.

‡ Edinburgh Review, vol. iv. p. 348.

‖ Lord Lauderdale's Observations on Edinburgh Review.

flatter myself, that the noble author and the learned critic, however much they differ as to public wealth, will agree that the observation is perfectly just, as applied to those commodities which constitute the wealth and engage the researches of the antiquary. With him *rarity* is always an essential requisite and primary recommendation. His property, like that of the possessor of the famous Sibylline books, does not decrease in value by the reduction of its quantity, but, after the greater part has been destroyed, becomes still more precious. If the matter be viewed in this light, antiquarians have no reason to complain of the ravages of the reformers, who have left them such valuable remains, and placed them in that very state which awakens in their minds the most lively sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, by reducing them to—*Ruins.*

But to speak seriously, I would not be thought so great an enemy to any of the fine arts, as to rejoice at the wanton destruction of their models, ancient or modern, or to vindicate those who, from ignorance or fanatical rage, may have excited the mob to such violence. I am satisfied, however, that the charges usually brought against our Reformers on this head are highly exaggerated, and in some instances altogether groundless. The demolition of the monasteries is, in fact, almost the only thing of which they can be accused. Cathedral and parochial churches, and, in several places, the chapels attached to monasteries, were appropriated to the protestant worship; and in the orders issued for stripping them of images, idolatrous pictures, and superstitious utensils, particular directions were given to avoid whatever might injure the buildings, or deface any of their ordinary decorations. It is true, that some churches suffered from popular violence during the ferment of the Reformation; and that others were dilapidated, in consequence of their most valuable materials being sold to defray the expences of the war in which the protestants were involved; but the former will not be matter of surprise to those who have attended to the conduct of other nations in similar circumstances, and the latter will be censured by such persons only as are incapable of entering into the feelings of a people who were engaged in a struggle for their lives, their liberties, and their religion. Of all the charges thrown out against our Reformers, the most ridiculous is, that, in their zeal against popery, they waged war against literature, by destroying the valuable books and records which had been deposited in the monasteries. The state of learning among the monks, at the era of the Reformation, was wretched, and their libraries poor; the only persons who patronized or cultivated literature in Scotland were protestants; and so far from sweeping away any literary monuments which remained, the Reformers were disposed to search for them among the rubbish, and to preserve them with the utmost care. In this respect we have no reason to deprecate a comparison between our Reformation and that of England, notwithstanding the flattering accounts which have been given of the orderly and temperate manner in which the latter was conducted under the superintending control of the supreme powers.*

But, even although the irregularities committed in the progress of that work had been greater than have been represented, I must still reprobate the spirit which disposes persons to dwell with unceasing lamentations upon losses, which, in the view of an enlightened and liberal mind, will sink and disappear, in the magnitude of the incalculable good which rose from the wreck of the revolution. What! do we celebrate, with public rejoicings, victories over the enemies of our country, in the gaining of which the lives of thousands of our fellow-creatures have been sacrificed? and shall solemn masses and sad dirges, accompanied with direful execrations, be everlastingly sung, for the mangled members of statues, torn pictures, and ruined towers? Shall those who, by a display of the horrors of war, would persuade their countrymen to repent of a contest which had been distinguished with uncommon feats of valour, and crowned with the most brilliant success, be accused of a desire to tarnish the national glory; and shall the arguments on which they insist, however just and strong, the effusion of human blood, the sacking of cities, the devastation of fertile provinces, the ruin of arts and manufactures, and the intolerable burdens entailed even upon the victors themselves, be represented as mere common-place topics, employed as a covert to disloyalty? and do not those who, at the distance of nearly three centuries, continue to wail evils of a far inferior kind which attended the Reformation, justly expose themselves to the suspicion of indifference and disaffection to a cause, in comparison with which all contests between rival kingdoms and sovereigns dwindle into insignificance? I will go farther, and say, that I look upon the destruction of these monuments as a piece of good policy, which contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the prevention of its re-establishment. It was chiefly by the magnificence of its temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the popish church fascinated the senses and imaginations of the people. A more successful method of attacking it therefore could not be adopted, than the demolition of what thus contributed so much to uphold and extend its influence. There is more wisdom than many seem to perceive, in the maxim which Knox is said to have inculcated, "that the best way to keep the *rooks* from returning, was to pull down their *nests*." In demolishing, or rendering uninhabitable all those buildings which had served for the maintenance of the ancient superstition (except what were requisite for the protestant worship), the reformers only acted upon the principles of a prudent general, who dismantles or razes the fortifications which he is unable to keep, and which might afterwards be seized, and employed against him, by the enemy. Had they been allowed to remain in their former splendor, the popish clergy would not have ceased to indulge hopes, and to make efforts to be restored to them; occasions would have been taken to tamper with the credulous, and to inflame the minds of the superstitious; and the reformers might soon have found reason to repent their ill-judged forbearance.

> ——— When we had quelled
> The strength of Aztlan, we should have thrown down
> Her altars, cast her idols to the fire.
> ——— The priests combined to save their craft;
> And soon the rumour ran of evil signs
> And tokens; in the temple had been heard
> Wailings and loud lament; the eternal fire
> Gave dismally a dim and doubtful flame;
> And from the censer, which at morn should steam
> Sweet odours to the sun, a fœtid cloud,
> Black and portentous rose.
>
> Southey's Madoc. p. i. b. ii.

Our Reformer was along with the forces of the Congregation when they faced the army of the Regent in Cupar-moor;* he accompanied them on their expedition to Perth,† and in the end of June arrived with them at Edinburgh.‡ On the same day he preached in St. Giles's, and next day in the Abbey church.‖ On the 7th of July, the protestant inhabitants met in the Tolbooth, and made choice of him as their Minister.§ With this choice, which was approved of by his brethren, he judged it his duty to comply, and immediately began his labours in the city. Meanwhile, the Regent, who lay at Dunbar with her army, neglected

* See Note XXXIII.

* Knox, Historie, p. 332. † Ib. p. 145. ‡ Ib. p. 146.
‖ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland. § Ib. p. 9.

no means for disuniting the Lords of the Congregation. Having spun out the negociations which they had opened with her until she understood that the greater part of their forces had left them, she advanced suddenly to Edinburgh. The protestants took up a position on the east side of Craigingate,* and resolved to defend the capital and Leith against the superior forces of the Regent,† but the inhabitants of Leith having opened their gates to her, and Lord Erskine, who commanded the Castle, threatening to fire upon them, they were forced to conclude a treaty, by which they agreed to leave Edinburgh. They stipulated, however, that the inhabitants should be left at liberty to use that form of worship which was most acceptable to them.‡ Knox would have remained with his congregation after the Regent took possession of the city; but the nobles, knowing the value of his life, and the hostility with which the court and clergy were inflamed against him, would not consent to this.‖ Willock, who was less obnoxious to them, was therefore substituted in his place; and the prudence and firmness which this preacher displayed in that difficult situation proved that he was not unworthy of their choice. The Regent was extremely anxious to have the Roman Catholic service re-established in the church of St. Giles, and she employed the Earl of Huntly to persuade the citizens to declare that this was their wish; but neither the authority of the Queen, nor the entreaties which Huntly employed, both in private and in a public meeting called with that view, could prevail with them to swerve from their profession of the reformed religion, or to relinquish the right which was secured to them by the late treaty.§ Although the French soldiers paraded the city, and often disturbed the protestant service,¶ Willock maintained his place; and in the month of August he administered the sacrament of the supper after the reformed manner, for the first time at Edinburgh, in St. Giles's church.** The celebration of the popish worship was confined to the royal chapel and the church of Holyroodhouse, during the time that the capital was in the possession of the Queen Regent.††

In the month of August, a singular phenomenon was seen in the Abbey church. The Archbishop of St. Andrews appeared in the pulpit, and preached. If his Grace did not acquit himself with great ability on the occasion, he at least behaved with becoming modesty. After discoursing for a short space of time, he requested the audience to excuse the defects of his sermon, as he had not really been accustomed to the employment, and told them that he had provided a very skilful preacher to succeed him; upon which he concluded, and gave way to friar Black.‡‡

On retiring from Edinburgh, Knox undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom. The wide field which was before him, the interesting situation in which he was placed, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the hopes which he cherished, increased the ardour of his zeal, and stimulated him to extraordinary exertions both of body and mind. Within less than two months, he travelled over the greater part of Scotland. He visited Kelso, and Jedburgh, and Dumfries, and Ayr, and Stirling, and Perth, and Brechin, and Montrose, and Dundee, and returned again to St. Andrews. This itinerancy had great influence in diffusing the knowledge of the truth, and in strengthening the protestant interest. The attention of the nation was aroused; their eyes were opened to the errors by which they had been deluded; and they panted for a continued and more copious supply of the word of life, which they had once been permitted to taste, and had felt so refreshing to their souls.* I cannot better describe the emotions which this success excited in Knox's breast, than by quoting from the familiar letters which he wrote at intervals snatched from his constant employment.

"Thus far (says he, in a letter from St. Andrews, June 23d) hath God advanced the glory of his dear Son among us. O! that my heart could be thankful for the superexcellent benefit of my God. The long thirst of my wretched heart is satisfied in abundance that is above my expectation; for now forty days and more hath my God used my tongue, in my native country, to the manifestation of his glory. Whatsoever now shall follow as touching my own carcase, his holy name be praised. The thirst of the poor people, as well as of the nobility here is wondrous great; which putteth me in comfort, that Christ Jesus shall triumph here in the north and extreme parts of the earth for a space." In another letter, dated September 2d, he says, "Time to me is so precious, that with great difficulty can I steal one hour in eight days, either to satisfy myself, or to gratify my friends. I have been in continual travel since the day of appointment;† and, notwithstanding the fevers have vexed me, yet have I travelled through the most part of this realm, where (all praise to His blessed Majesty!) men of all sorts and conditions embrace the truth. Enemies we have many, by reason of the Frenchmen who lately arrived, of whom our papists hope golden hills. As we be not able to resist, we do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping victory by his power alone."‡

Soon after his arrival in Scotland, he wrote for his wife and family, whom he had left behind him at Geneva. On the 13th of June Mrs. Knox and her mother were at Paris, and applied to Sir Nicolas Throkmorton, the English ambassador, for a safe conduct to pass into England. Throkmorton, who by this time had begun to penetrate the counsels of the French court, not only granted this, but wrote a letter to the Queen, in which he urged the propriety of overlooking the offence which Knox had given by his publication, and of conciliating him by the kind treatment of his wife; seeing he was in great credit with the Lords of the Congregation, had been the principal instrument in producing the late change in that kingdom, and was capable of doing essential service to her majesty.‖ Accordingly, Mrs. Knox came into England, and, being conveyed to the borders by the directions of the court, reached her husband in safety, on the 20th of September.§ Mrs Bowes, after remaining a short time in her native country, followed her daughter into Scotland, where she remained until her death.¶

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* Probably a part of the Caltonhill.

† The army of the Regent consisted of 5000 men, the Congregation could not muster above 1500. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 9.

‡ Ibid. p. 10. Knox, Historie, 151—5.

‖ Knox, Historie, p. 153.

§ MS. Historie of the Estate, &c. p. 11. ¶ Knox, 159.

** MS. Historie, p. 12. †† Ibid. Knox, 159.

‡‡ MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 12.

* Cald. MS. i. 472, 473. Forbes, i. 131, 155. Sadler, i. 431, 432.

† This refers to the agreement between the Regent and Lords of the Congregation, by which the latter gave up Edinburgh. The Lords left Edinburgh on the 25th of July. MS. Historie of the Estate, &c. p. 10. comp. Knox, Historie, p. 154.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 428, 471.

‖ Forbes, i. 129, 130. Throkmorton wrote to the same effect to Cecil, in letters dated 7th June, and 19th July. Ibid. p. 119, 167. The ambassador was probably moved to more earnestness in this matter by the influence of *Alexander Whitlaw* of Greenrig, a particular friend of our Reformer, who was at this time in France. He returned soon after to Scotland, and Throkmorton recommended him to Cecil, as "a very honest, sober, and godly man."—"You must let him se as littel sin in England as yowe maye."—He "is greatly estemyd of Jhone Knokes, and he doth allso favour hym above other: nevertheless, he is sory for his boke rashly written." Ibid. 137, 147—149.

§ Cald. MS. i. 491.

¶ Knox applied to the English court for a safe-conduct for Mrs. Bowes to come into Scotland, which was granted about the month of October, 1559. Sadler, i. 456, 479, 509. I have already noticed, (p. 57.) that Mrs. Bowes's husband was dead.

The arrival of his family was the more gratifying to our Reformer, that they were accompanied by Christopher Goodman, his late colleague at Geneva. He had repeatedly written, in the most pressing manner, for him to come to his assistance, and expressed much uneasiness at the delay of his arrival.* Goodman became minister of St. Andrews. The settlement of protestant ministers began to take place at an earlier period than is mentioned in our common histories. Previous to September, 1559, eight towns were provided with pastors; and other places remained unprovided owing to the scarcity of preachers, which was severely felt.†

In the mean time, it became daily more apparent that the Lords of the Congregation would be unable, without foreign aid, to maintain the struggle in which they were involved. Had the contest been merely between them and the domestic party of the Regent, they would soon have brought it to a successful termination; but they could not withstand the veteran troops which France had already sent to her assistance, and was preparing to send in still more formidable numbers.‡ As far back as the middle of June, our Reformer had renewed his exertions for obtaining assistance from England; and persuaded William Kircaldy of Grange, first to write, and afterwards to pay a visit to Sir Henry Percy, who held a public situation on the English marches. Percy immediately transmitted his representations to London, and an answer was returned from Secretary Cecil, encouraging the correspondence.‖

Knox himself wrote to Cecil, requesting permission to visit England,§ and inclosed a letter to queen Elizabeth in which he attempted to apologize for his rude attack upon female government.

When a man has been "overtaken in a fault," it is his glory to confess it; but those who have been so unfortunate as to incur the resentment of princes, must, if they expect to appease them, condescend to very ample and humiliating apologies. Luther involved himself more than once by attempting this task, and, had not the lustre of his talents protected him, his reputation must have suffered materially from his ill success. He was prevailed on to write submissive apologies to Leo X. and Henry VIII. for the abuse with which he had treated them in his writings, and, in both instances, his apologies were rejected with contempt, and he found himself under the necessity of retracting his retractations.¶ Knox was in no danger of committing himself in this way. He was less violent in his temper than the German Reformer, but he was also less flexible and accommodating. There was nothing at which he was more awkward than apologies, condescensions, and civilities; and on the present occasion he was placed in a very embarrassing predicament, as his judgment would not permit him to retract the sentiment which had given offence to the English Queen. In his letter to Elizabeth he expresses deep distress at having incurred her displeasure, and warm attachment to her government; but the grounds on which he advises her to found her title to the crown, and indeed the whole strain in which the letter is written, are such as must have aggravated instead of extenuating his offence in the opinion of that high-minded princess.* But although his apology had been more ample and humble, I question if he would have succeeded better with Elizabeth than Luther did with her father. Christopher Goodman, after his return to England, was obliged, at two several periods, to subscribe a recantation of the opinion which he had given against the lawfulness of female government, nor could all his condescensions procure for him the favour of his sovereign.† In fact, Elizabeth was all along extremely tender on the subject of her right to the crown; she never failed to resent every attack that was made upon this, from whatever quarter it came; and although several historians have amused their readers with accounts of her ambition to be thought more beautiful and accomplished than the Queen of Scots,‡ I am persuaded that she was always more jealous of Mary as a competitor for the crown, than as a rival in personal charms.

I do not, however, suppose that Elizabeth ever saw Knox's letter, and have little doubt that it was suppressed by the sagacious Secretary.‖ Cecil was himself friendly to the measure of assisting the Scottish Congregation, and exerted all his influence to bring over the Queen and her Council to his opinion. A message was, accordingly, sent to Knox, desiring him to meet Sir Henry Percy at Alnwick, on the 2d of August, upon business which required the utmost secrecy and despatch; and Cecil came down to Stamford to hold an interview with the Reformer.¶ The confusion produced by the advance of the Regent's army upon Edinburgh, retarded his journey; but no sooner was this settled, than he sailed from Pittenweem to Holy Island. Finding that Percy was recalled from the borders, he applied to Sir James Croft, the governor of Berwick. Croft, who was not unapprized of the design on which he came, dissuaded him from proceeding farther into England, and undertook to despatch his communications to London, and to procure a speedy return. Alexander Whitlaw of Greenrig, who had been banished from Scotland, having come to London on his way from France, was entrusted by the English court with their answers to the letters of the Congregation. Arriving at Berwick, he delivered the despatches to Knox, who hastened with them to Stirling, where a meeting of the protestant Lords was to be held. He prudently returned by sea to Fife; for the

The particular time of his death I have not ascertained, but it seems to have been between 1554 and 1556. She is designed a *widow*, in the correspondence between Cecil and Sadler.

* Cald. MS. i. 429, 473.

† Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth, Brechin, Montrose, Stirling, Ayr, were the towns provided with ministers. Letter, Knox to Locke, 2d Sept. 1559, apud Cald. MS. i. 472.

‡ Sadler, i. 403, 411. Forbes, vol. i. passim. Dr. Robertson complains that, from the carelessness of the contemporary historians, it is impossible to ascertain the number of French soldiers in Scotland, or at what times, and under what pretexts, they had returned, after having left the kingdom in 1550. History of Scotland, p. 108. Lond. 1791. In September, 1559, when the Queen Regent retired within the fortifications of Leith, her forces amounted to 3000 soldiers, of whom 500 only were Scots. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566. p. 13. In August, 1000 of these had arrived from France, and it does not appear that any other arrival had taken place since the commencement of the late commotions. It seems pretty evident that the other 1500 had been sent from France during the war between Scotland and England, in 1556 and 1557. The Lords of the Congregation mustered 3000 men in September; but only 1000 of these were trained to arms. Ibid.

‖ Knox, Historie, p. 207.

§ Ibid. p. 209. Forbes, i. 155, 167.

¶ Reausobre, Hist. Reform. i. 355—377. Macaulay's translation. Milner's History of the Church, iv. 948—9. This last historian, in speaking of Luther's apology to Henry, says, that he went "quite far enough, either for the dignity of a leading Reformer, or the simplicity of a follower of Christ." Luther himself, after receiving Henry's reply, seems to have been abundantly sensible of the ridicule to which he had exposed himself, and, with a facetiousness which seldom forsook him, asked his friends, if they would not now advise him to write penitential epistles to the archbishop of Mentz, the archduke Ferdinand, and other princes whom he had offended. Milner, ut sup. p. 956.

* Knox, Historie, p. 210—2.

† Strype, Annals, i. 126. ii. 95—6. Life of Grindal, 170 and of Parker, 325—6.

‡ See Sir James Melvil's account of his interview with Elizabeth, Memoirs, p. 49—51, which has been adopted, and detailed by Mr. Hume, Dr. Robertson, and other historians.

‖ Cecil was accustomed to keep back intelligence which he knew would be disagreeable to his mistress. A curious instance of this occurs with respect to the misfortune which happened to Cockburn of Ormiston, while conveying a subsidy which she had sent to the Congregation. Sadler, i. 573. We learn, from one of his letters, that he did not usually communicate the epistles of our Reformer, whom he knew to be no favourite with Elizabeth. Ibid. p. 535. § Knox, Historie, p. 212.

Queen Regent had come to the knowledge of his journey to England, and Whitlaw, in travelling through East Lothian, being mistaken for Knox, was hotly pursued, and escaped with great difficulty.* The irresolution or the caution of Elizabeth's cabinet led them to express themselves in such general and unsatisfactory terms, that the Lords of the Congregation, when the letters were laid before them, were both disappointed and displeased; and it was with some difficulty that our Reformer obtained permission from them to write again to London in his own name. The representation which he gave of the urgency of the case, and the danger of further hesitation or delay, produced a speedy reply, desiring them to send a confidential messenger to Berwick, who would receive a sum of money, to assist them in prosecuting the war. About the same time, Sir Ralph Sadler was sent down to Berwick, to act as accredited but secret agent, and the correspondence between the court of London and the Lords of the Congregation continued afterwards to be carried on through him and Sir James Croft, until the English auxiliary army entered Scotland.†

If we reflect upon the connection which the religious and civil liberties of the nation had with the contest in which the protestants were engaged, and upon our Reformer's zeal in that cause, we shall not be greatly surprised to find him at this time acting in the character of a politician. Extraordinary cases cannot be measured by ordinary rules. In a great emergency, like that under consideration, when all that is valuable and dear to a people is at stake, it becomes the duty of every individual to step forward, and exert all his talents for the public good. Learning was at this time rare among the nobility; and though there were men of distinguished abilities among the protestant leaders, few of them had been accustomed to transact public business. Accordingly, the management of the correspondence with England was for a time devolved chiefly on Knox and Balnaves. But our Reformer submitted to this merely from a sense of duty and regard to the common cause; and when the younger Maitland acceded to their party, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect which this gave him of being relieved from the burden.‡

It was not without reason that he longed for this deliverance. He now felt that it was as difficult to preserve Christian integrity and simplicity amidst the crooked wiles of political intrigue, as he had formerly found it to pursue truth through the perplexing mazes of scholastic sophistry. In performing a task foreign to his habits, and repugnant to his disposition, he met with a good deal of vexation, and several unpleasant rubs. These were owing partly to his own impetuosity, partly to the grudge entertained against him by the English court, but chiefly to the particular line of policy which the latter had resolved to pursue. They were convinced of the danger of suffering the Scottish protestants to be suppressed; but they wished to confine themselves to pecuniary aid, believing that by such assistance the Lords of the Congregation would be enabled to expel the French, and bring the contest to a successful issue, while, by the secrecy with which it could be conveyed, an open breach between France and England would be more easily prevented. This plan, which originated in the personal disinclination of Elizabeth to the Scottish war,* rather than in the judgment of her wisest counsellors, protracted the contest, and gave occasion to some angry disputes between the English agents and those of the Congregation. The former were continually urging the associated Lords to attack the Regent, before she received fresh succours from France, and blaming their slow operations; they complained of the want of secrecy in the correspondence with England; and even insinuated that the money, intended for the common cause, was partially applied to private purposes. The latter were irritated by this insinuation, and urged the necessity of military as well as pecuniary assistance.†

In a letter to Sir James Croft, Knox represented the great importance of their being speedily assisted with troops, without which they would be in much hazard of miscarrying in an attack upon the fortifications of Leith. The court of England, he said, ought not to hesitate at offending France, of whose hostile intentions against them they had the most satisfactory evidence. But "if ye list to craft with thame (continued he), the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can breake no league nor point of peace contracted betwixt you and France: For it is free for your subjects to serve in warr anie prince or nation for their wages; and if yee fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare thame rebelles to your realme when ye shall be assured that thei be in our companye." No doubt such things have been often done; and such *political casuistry* (as Keith very properly styles it) is not unknown at courts. But it must be confessed, that the measure recommended by Knox (the morality of which must stand on the same grounds with the assistance which the English were at that time affording) was too glaring to be concealed by the excuses which he suggested. Croft laid hold of this opportunity to check the impetuosity of his correspondent, and wrote him, that he wondered how he, "being a wise man," would require from them such aid as they could not give "without breach of treaty, and dishonour;" and that "the world was not so blind but that it could soon espy" the "devices" by which he proposed "to colour their doings." Knox, in his reply, apologized for his "unreasonable request;" but, at the same time, reminded Croft of the common practice of courts in such matters, and particularly of the French court towards themselves in a recent instance.† He was not ignorant, he said, of the inconveniences which might attend an open declaration in their favour, but feared that they would have cause to "repent the drift of time, when the remedy would not be so easy."‡

This is the only instance in which I have found our Reformer recommending dissimulation, which was very foreign to the openness of his natural temper, and the blunt and rigid honesty that marked his general conduct. His own opinion was, that the English court ought from the first to have done what they found themselves obliged to do at last, to avow their resolution to support the Congregation. Keith praises Croft's "just reprimand on Mr. Knox's double fac'd proposi-

* Knox, Historie, 159, 213.

† Knox, Historie, p. 212—214. The State Papers of Sir Ralph Sadler have been lately published in 2 vols. 4to. The 1st volume contains the greater part of the letters that passed between him and the agents of the Congregation. These throw much light upon this interesting period of our national history, and ought to be consulted, in addition to the histories which appeared previous to their publication.

‡ Keith, Append. 42. || See Note XXXIV.

* Sadler, i. 520, 524. Randolph mentions in one of his letters, that both Knox and Balnaves were discontented. Keith has inserted a letter in which Balnaves complained of, and vindicated himself from the charges brought against him. Sadler afterwards endeavoured to pacify them. Keith, Ap. 43, 44. Sadler, i. p. 537, 548. Notwithstanding the complaints against the Congregation for being too "open," there is some reason to think that Sir James Croft's own secretary had informed the Queen Regent of the correspondence between England and the Congregation. Forbes, i. p. 137.

† "See how Mr. Knox still presses his under-hand management!" says Keith. *Quære:* Did the honest Bishop never find any occasion, in the course of his history to reprimand such management in his own friends? or, did he think that intrigue was criminal, only when it was employed by protestant cabinets and ministers?

‡ Keith, Ap. 40—42. Sadler, i. p. 523. In fact, if a storm had not dispersed and shattered the French fleet, which had on board the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and a large body of French troops, destined for the reinforcement of the Queen Regent the English, after so long delay, would have found it very difficult to expel the French from Scotland.

tion," and Cecil says, that his "audacite was well tamed." We must not, however, imagine that these statesmen had any scruple of conscience, or nice feeling of honour on this point. For, on the very day on which Croft answered Knox's letter, he wrote to Cecil that he thought the Queen ought openly to take part with the Congregation. And in the same letter in which Cecil speaks of Knox's audacity, he advises Croft to adopt in substance the very measure which Knox had recommended, by sending five or six officers, who should "steal from thence with appearance of displeasure for lack of interteynment;" and in a subsequent letter, he gives directions to send three or four, fit for being captains, who should give out that they left Berwick, "as men desyrous to be exercised in the warres, rather than to lye idely in that towne."*

Notwithstanding the prejudice which existed in the English court against our Reformer,† on account of his "audacity" in attacking female prerogative, they were too well acquainted with his integrity and influence to decline his services. Cecil kept up a correspondence with him; and in the directions sent from London for the management of the subsidy, it was expressly provided, that he should be one of the council for examining the receipts and payments, to see that it was applied to "the common action," and not to any private use.‡

In the mean time, his zeal and activity, in the cause of the Congregation, exposed him to the deadly resentment of the Queen Regent and the papists. A reward was publicly offered to any one who should apprehend or kill him; and not a few, actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait to seize his person. But this did not deter him from appearing in public, nor from travelling through the country, in the discharge of his duty. His exertions at this period were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching, by night in writing letters on public business. He was the soul of the Congregation; was always found at the post of danger; and by his presence, his public discourses, and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and disunite them.‖

The Congregation had lately received a considerable increase of strength by the accession of the former regent, the Duke of Chastelherault. His oldest son, the Earl of Arran, who commanded the Scots guard in France, had embraced the principles of the Reformation. Understanding that the French court, which was entirely under the direction of the princes of Lorrain, intended to throw him into prison, he secretly retired to Geneva, from which he was conveyed by the assistance of Elizabeth's ministers to London. In the month of August he came to his father at Hamilton. The representation of his son, joined with those of the English cabinet and with his own jealousy of the designs of the Queen Regent, easily gained over the vacillating Duke, who met with the Lords of the Congregation, and subscribed their bond of confederation.*

Our Reformer was now called to take a share in a very delicate and important measure. When they first had recourse to arms in their own defence, the Lords of the Congregation had no intention of making any alteration in the government, or of assuming the exercise of the supreme authority.† Even after they had adopted a more regular and permanent system of resistance to the measures of the Queen Regent, they continued to recognise the station which she held, presented petitions to her, and listened respectfully to the proposals which she made for removing the grounds of variance. But finding that she was fully bent upon the execution of her plan for subverting the national liberties, and that her official situation gave her great advantages in carrying on this design, they began to deliberate upon the propriety of adopting a different line of conduct. Their sovereigns were minors, in a foreign country, and under the management of persons to whose influence the evils of which they complained were principally to be ascribed. The queen dowager held the regency by the authority of Parliament; and might she not be deprived of it by the same authority? In the present state of the country, it was impossible for a free and regular Parliament to meet; but the majority of the nation had declared their dissatisfaction with her administration; and was it not competent for them to provide for the public safety, which was exposed to such imminent danger? These were questions which formed the topic of frequent conversation at this time.

After much deliberation on this important point, a numerous assembly of nobles, barons, and representatives of boroughs met at Edinburgh, on the 21st of October, to bring it to a solemn issue. To this assembly Knox and Willock were called; and the question being stated to them, they were required to deliver their opinions as to the lawfulness of the proposed measure. Willock, who officiated as minister of Edinburgh, being first asked, declared it to be his judgment, founded on reason and scripture, that the power of rulers was limited; that they might be deprived of it upon valid grounds; and that the Queen Regent, having, by the fortification of Leith, and the introduction of foreign troops, evinced a fixed determination to oppress and enslave the kingdom, might justly be divested of her authority, by the nobles and barons, the native counsellors of the realm, whose petitions and remonstrances she had repeatedly rejected. Knox assented to the opinion delivered by his brother, and added, that the assembly might, with safe consciences, act upon it, provided they attended to the three following things: first, that they did not suffer the misconduct of the Queen Regent to alienate their affections from due allegiance to their sovereigns, Francis and Mary; second, that they were not actuated in the measure by private hatred or envy of the queen dowager, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth; and, third, that any sentence which they might pronounce

* Sadler, i. 522, 534, 568.

† The Lords of the Congregation having proposed to send our Reformer to London as one of their commissioners, Cecil found it necessary to discourage the proposal. "Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odiose here; and therefore, I wish no mention of him [coming] hither." And in another letter he says; "his writings [*i. e.* Knox's letters] doo no good here; and therefore I doo rather suppress them, and yet I meane not but that ye should contynue in sending of them." Sadler, i. 532, 535. The editor of Sadler supposes, without any reason, that Knox and Goodman were obnoxious to the court on account of their Geneva discipline, and republican tenets. The unpardonable offence of which both had been guilty was different from either of these: they had attacked [illegible]he Regiment of Women."

‡ Sadler, i. [illegible]10. Keith, Ap. 40.

‖ "In twenty-four hours, I have not four free to natural rest, and easce of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr. George [Mr. George Bowes, his brother-in-law] that I have need of a good and an assured horse; for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promissed till any that shall kyll me.——And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to trouble you, being troubled myself in body and spirit, for the troubles that be present, and appear to grow.—At mydnicht.

"Many things I have to writ, which now tym suffereth not, but after, if ye mak haste with this messinger, ye shall undirstand more. R ryt I write with sleaping eis." Knox's Letter to Raylton, 23d October, 1559. Keith, Ap. 38. Sadler, i. 681, 682.

This letter, written with the Reformer's own hand, is in the British Museum. Cotton MS. Calig. B. ix. f. 38. The conclusion of the letter, which is here printed in imitation of the original, is very descriptive of the state of the writer at the time.—It appears from the same letter, that, amidst his other employments, he had already begun and made considerable progress in his History of the Reformation.

* Forbes, i. 117, 144, 163, 166. Sadler, i. 404, 417, 447

† See Note XXXV.

at this time should not preclude her re-admission to the office, if she afterwards discovered sorrow for her conduct, and a disposition to submit to the advice of the counsellors of the kingdom. After this, the whole assembly, having severally delivered their opinions, did, by a solemn deed, suspend the queen dowager from her authority as Regent of the kingdom, until the meeting of a free parliament;* and, at the same time, elected a counsel for the management of public affairs during the interval.† When the council had occasion to treat of matters connected with religion, four of the ministers were appointed to assist in their deliberations. These were Knox, Willock, Goodman, and Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, who had embraced the Reformation.‡

It has been alleged by some writers, that the question respecting the suspension of the Queen Regent was altogether incompetent for ministers of the gospel to determine, and that Knox and Willock, by the advice which they gave on this occasion, unnecessarily exposed themselves to odium.‖ But it is not easy to see how they could have been excused in refusing to deliver their opinion, when required by those who had submitted to their ministry, upon a measure which involved a case of conscience, as well as a question of law and political right. The advice which was actually given and followed is a matter of greater consequence, than the quarter from which it came. And as this proceeded upon principles very different from those which produced resistance to princes, and the limitation of their authority, under feudal governments, and as our Reformer has been the object of much animadversion for inculcating these principles, I shall embrace the present opportunity of offering a few remarks for the elucidation of this important subject.

Among the various causes which affected the general state of society and government in Europe, during the middle ages, the influence of religion cannot be overlooked. Debased by ignorance, and fettered by superstition, the minds of men were prepared to acquiesce without examination in the claims of authority, and tamely to submit to every yoke. In whatever light we view popery, the genius of that singular system of religion will be found to be adverse to liberty. The Romish court, while it aimed directly at the establishment of a spiritual despotism in the hands of ecclesiastics, contributed to rivet the chains of political servitude upon the people. In return for the support which princes yielded to its arrogant claims, it was content to invest them with an absolute authority over the bodies of their subjects. By the priestly unction, performed at the coronation of kings in the name of the Holy See, a sacred character was understood to be communicated, which raised them to a superiority over their nobility which they did not possess according to feudal ideas, rendered their persons inviolable, and their office divine. Although the sovereign pontiffs claimed, and, on different occasions, exercised the power of dethroning kings, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, yet any attempt of this kind, when it proceeded from the people themselves, was denounced as a crime deserving the severest punishment in this world, and damnation in the next. Hence sprung the divine right of kings to rule independently of their people, and of passive obedience and non-resistance to their will; under the sanction of which they were encouraged to sport with the lives and happiness of their subjects, and to indulge in the most tyrannical and wanton acts of oppression, without the dread of resistance, or of being called to an account by any power on earth. Even in countries where the people were understood to enjoy certain political privileges, transmitted from remote ages, or wrested from their princes on some favourable occasions, these principles were generally prevalent; and it was easy for an ambitious and powerful monarch to avail himself of them, to violate the rights of the people with impunity, and upon a constitution, the forms of which were friendly to popular liberty, to establish an administration completely despotic and arbitrary.

The contest between Papal sovereignty and the authority of General Councils, which was carried on during the fifteenth century, elicited some of the essential principles of liberty, which were afterwards applied to political government. The revival of learning, by unfolding the principles of legislation and modes of government in the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, gradually led to more liberal notions on this subject. But these were confined to a few, and had no influence upon the general state of society. The spirit infused by philosophy and literature is too feeble and contracted to produce a radical reform of established abuses; and learned men, satisfied with their own superior illumination, and the liberty of indulging their speculations, have generally been too indifferent or too timid to attempt the improvement of the multitude. It is to the religious spirit excited during the sixteenth century, which spread rapidly through Europe, and diffused itself among all classes of men, that we are chiefly indebted for the propagation of the genuine principles of rational liberty, and the consequent amelioration of government.

Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were so closely combined, that it was impossible for men to emancipate themselves from the latter without throwing off the former; and from arguments which established their religious rights, the transition was easy, and almost unavoidable, to disquisitions about their civil privileges. In those kingdoms in which the rulers threw off the Romish yoke, and introduced the Reformation by their authority, the influence was more imperceptible and slow; and in some of them, as in England, the power taken from the ecclesiastical was thrown into the regal scale, which proved so far prejudicial to popular liberty. But where the Reformation was embraced by the great body of a nation, while the ruling powers continued to oppose it, the effect was visible and immediate. The interested and obstinate support which rulers gave to the old system of error and ecclesiastical tyranny, and their cruel persecution of all who favoured the new opinions, drove their subjects to inquire into the just limits of authority and obedience. Their judgments once informed as to the rights to which they were entitled, and their consciences satisfied respecting the means which they might employ to acquire them, the immense importance of the immediate object in view, their emancipation from religious bondage, and the salvation of themselves and their posterity, impelled them to make the attempt with an enthusiasm and perseverance which the mere love of civil liberty could not have inspired.

In effecting that memorable revolution, which terminated in favour of religious and political liberty in so many nations of Europe, the public teachers of the protestant doctrine had a principal influence. By their instructions and exhortations, they roused the people to consider their rights and exert their power; they stimulated timid and wary politicians; they encouraged and animated princes, nobles, and confederated states, with their armies, against the most formidable opposi-

* Dr. Robertson says, "It was the work but of one day to examine and resolve this nice problem, concerning the behaviour of subjects towards a ruler who abuses his power." But it may be observed, that this was the *formal* determination of the question. It had been discussed among the protestants frequently before this meeting, and, as early as the beginning of September, they were nearly unanimous about it. Sadler, i. 433. It should also be noticed, that the queen was only *suspended* from, not absolutely "deprived of her office."

† Knox, 182—187. ‡ Sadler, i. 510, 511.

‖ Spottiswood, p. 137. Keith, p. 104.

tion, and under the most overwhelming difficulties, until their exertions were ultimately crowned with success. These facts are now admitted, and this honour at last, through the force of truth, conceded to the religious leaders of the protestant Reformation, by philosophical writers, who had too long branded them as ignorant and fanatical.*

Our national Reformer had caught a large portion of the spirit of civil liberty. We have already adverted to the circumstance in his education which directed his attention, at an early period, to some of its principles.† His subsequent studies introduced him to an acquaintance with the maxims and modes of government in the free states of antiquity; and it is reasonable to suppose that his intercourse with the republics of Switzerland and Geneva had some influence on his political creed. Having formed his sentiments independently of the prejudices arising from established laws, long usage, and commonly received opinions, his zeal and intrepidity prompted him to avow and to propagate them, when others, less sanguine and resolute, would have been restrained by fear, or by despair of success.‡ Extensive observation had convinced him of the glaring perversion of government in most of the European kingdoms. But his principles led him to desire their reform, not their subversion. His admiration of the policy of republics, ancient or modern, was not so great or indiscriminate as to prevent him from separating the essential principles of equity and freedom which they contained, from others which were incompatible with monarchy. He was perfectly sensible of the necessity of regular government to the maintenance of justice and order among mankind, and aware of the danger of setting men loose from its salutary control. He uniformly inculcated a conscientious obedience to the lawful commands of rulers, and respect to their persons as well as to their authority, even when they were chargeable with various mismanagements; as long as they did not break through all the restraints of law and justice, and cease to perform the essential duties of their office.

But he held, that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good; that obedience was not due to them in any thing contrary to the divine law; that, in every free and well-constituted government, the law of the land was superior to the will of the prince, and that inferior magistrates and subjects might restrain the supreme magistrate from particular illegal acts, without throwing off their allegiance, or being guilty of rebellion; that no class of men have an original, inherent, and indefeasible right to rule over a people, independently of their will and consent; that every nation is entitled to provide and require that they be ruled by laws which are agreeable to the divine law, and calculated to promote their welfare; that there is a mutual compact, tacit and implied, if not formal and explicit, between rulers and their subjects; and, if the former shall flagrantly violate this, employ that power for the destruction of a commonwealth which was committed to them for its preservation and benefit, in one word, if they shall become habitual tyrants and notorious oppressors, that the people are absolved from allegiance, and have a right to resist them, formally to depose them from their place, and to elect others in their room.

The real power of the Scottish kings was, indeed, always limited, and there are in our history, previous to the era of the Reformation, many instances of resistance to their authority. But, though these were pleaded as precedents on this occasion, it must be confessed that we cannot trace them to the principles of genuine liberty. They were the effects of sudden resentment on account of some extraordinary act of mal-administration, or of the ambition of some powerful baron, or of the jealousy with which the feudal aristocracy watched over the privileges of their order. The people who followed the standards of their chiefs had little interest in the struggle, and derived no benefit from the limitations which were imposed upon their sovereign. But, at this time, more just and enlarged sentiments were diffused through the nation, and the idea of a commonwealth, including the mass of the people as well as the privileged orders, began to be entertained. Our Reformer, whose notions of hereditary right, whether in kings or nobles, were not exalted, studied to repress the insolence and oppression of the nobles. He reminded them of the original equality of men, and the ends for which some were raised above others; and he taught the people that they had rights to preserve, as well as duties to perform.* With respect to female government, he never moved any question among his countrymen, nor attempted to gain proselytes to his opinion.

Such, in substance, were the political sentiments which were inculcated by our Reformer, and which were more than once acted upon in Scotland during his life. That in an age when the principles of political liberty were only beginning to be understood, such sentiments should have been regarded with a suspicious eye by some of the learned who had not yet thrown off common prejudices, and that they should have exposed those who maintained them to a charge of treason from despotical rulers and their numerous satellites, is far from being matter of wonder. But it must excite both surprise and indignation, to find writers, in the present enlightened age, and under the sunshine of British liberty (if our sun is not fast going down), expressing their abhorrence of these principles, and exhausting upon their authors all the invective and virulence of the former Anti-monarcho-machi, and advocates of passive obedience. They are *essentially* the principles upon which the free constitution of Britain rests; and the most obnoxious of them were reduced to practice at the memorable era of the Revolution, when the necessity of employing them was not more urgent or unquestionable, than it was at the suspension of the Queen Regent of Scotland, and the subsequent sequestration of her daughter.

I have said *essentially*: for I would not be understood as meaning, that every proposition advanced by Knox, on this subject, is expressed in the most guarded and unexceptionable manner, or that all the cases in which he was led to vindicate forcible resistance to rulers, were such as rendered it necessary, and may be pleaded as precedents in modern times. The political doctrines maintained at that time received a tincture from the spirit of the age, and were accommodated to a state of society and government comparatively rude and unsettled. The checks which have since been introduced into the constitution, and the influence which public opinion, expressed by the organ of a free press, has upon the conduct of rulers, are sufficient, in ordinary cases, to restrain dangerous encroachments, or to afford the means of correcting them in a peaceable way; and have thus happily superseded the necessity of having recourse to those desperate but decisive remedies which were formerly applied by an oppressed and indignant people. But if ever the time come when these principles shall be generally abjured or forgotten, the extinction of the boasted liberty of Britain will not be far off.

There are objections against our Reformer's political principles which demand consideration, from the authority to which they appeal, and the influence which they may have on pious minds. 'The doctrine of re-

* Villiers's Essay on the Spirit and influence of the Reformation of Luther, Mill's Translation, p. 183, 186, 321, 327.

† See above, p. 7—9.

‡ "I prais my God (said he) I have not learned to cry conjuration and treasoun at every thing that the godles multitude does condem, neither yet to fear the things that they fear." Conference with Murray and Maitland, Historie, p. 339.

* The authorities for this statement of Knox's political opinions will be found in Note XXXVI.

sistance to civil rulers,' it is alleged, 'is repugnant to the express directions of the New Testament, which repeatedly enjoin Christians to be subject to "the powers that be," and denounce damnation against such as disobey or resist them on any pretext whatever. With the literal and strict import of these precepts the example of the primitive Christians agreed; for even after they became very numerous, so as to be capable of opposing the government under which they lived, they never attempted to shake off the authority of the Roman emperors, or to employ force to protect themselves from the tyrannical persecutions to which they were exposed. Besides, granting that it is lawful for subjects to vindicate their *civil* rights and privileges by resisting arbitrary rulers, to have recourse to forcible measures for promoting Christianity, is diametrically opposite to the genius of that religion, which was propagated at first, and is still to be defended, not by arms and violence, but by teaching and suffering.'

These objections are more specious than solid. The directions and precepts on this subject, which are contained in the New Testament, must not be stretched beyond their evident scope and proper import. They do not give greater power to Magistrates than they formerly possessed, nor do they supersede any of the rights or privileges to which subjects were entitled, by the common law of nature, or by the particular statutes of any country. The New Testament does not give directions to communities respecting the original formation or subsequent improvement of their civil constitutions, nor prescribe the course which ought to be pursued in certain extraordinary cases, when rulers abuse the power with which they are invested, and convert their legitimate authority into an engine of despotism and oppression.* It supposes magistrates to be acting within the proper line of their office, and discharging its duties to the advantage of the society over which they are placed. And it teaches Christians, that the liberty which Christ purchased, and to the enjoyment of which they are called by the gospel, does not exempt them from subjection and obedience to civil authority, which is a divine ordinance for the good of mankind; that they are bound to obey existing rulers, although they should be of a different religion from themselves; and that Christianity, so far from setting them free from obligations to this or any other relative duty, strengthens these obligations, and requires them to discharge their duties for conscience-sake, with fidelity, cheerfulness, patience, long-suffering, and singleness of heart. Viewed in this light, nothing can be more reasonable in its own nature, or more honourable to the Gospel, than the directions which it gives on this subject; and we must perceive a peculiar propriety in the frequency and earnestness with which they are urged, when we consider the danger in which the primitive Christians were of supposing, that they were liberated from the ordinary restraints of the rest of mankind. But if we shall go beyond this, and assert that the Scriptures have prohibited resistance to rulers in every case, and that if the great body of a nation consisting of Christians shall attempt to curb the fury of their rulers, or deprive them of the power which they have grossly abused, they are guilty of that crime against which the apostle denounces damnation, we represent the beneficent religion of Jesus as sanctioning despotism, and entailing upon mankind all the evils of political bondage; and we tread in the steps of those enemies to Christianity, who, under the colour of paying a compliment to its pacific, submissive, tolerating, and self-denying maxims, have represented it as calculated to produce a passive, servile spirit, and to extinguish courage, patriotism, the love of civil liberty, the desire of self-preservation, and every kind of disposition to repel injuries, or to obtain the redress of the most intolerable grievances.

The example of the primitive Christians is not binding upon others any farther than it is conformable to the Scriptures; and the circumstances in which they were placed were totally different from those of the protestants in Scotland, and in other countries, at the time of the Reformation. The Fathers often indulge in oratorical exaggerations when speaking of the numbers of the Christians, nor is there any satisfactory evidence that they ever approached near to a majority of the Roman empire, during the time that they were exposed to persecution.

"If thou mayest be made free, use it rather," says the Apostle; a maxim which is applicable by just analogy to political, as well as to domestic freedom. The Christian religion natively tends to cherish and diffuse a spirit favourable to civil liberty, and this in its turn has the most happy influence upon Christianity, which never flourished extensively, and for a long period, in any country where despotism prevailed. It must therefore be the duty of every Christian to exert himself for the acquisition and defence of this invaluable blessing. Although Christianity ought not to be propagated by force of arms; yet the external liberty of professing it may be vindicated in that way both against foreign invaders and against domestic tyrants; and if the free exercise of their religion, or their right to remove religious abuses, enter into the grounds of the struggle which a nation maintains against oppressive rulers, the cause becomes of vastly more importance, its justice is more unquestionable, and it is still more worthy not only of their prayers and petitions, but of their blood and treasure, than if it had been maintained solely for the purpose of securing their fortunes, or of acquiring some mere worldly privilege. And to those whose minds are not warped by prejudice, and who do not labour under a confusion of ideas on the subject, it must surely appear paradoxical to assert, that, while God has granted to subjects a right to take the sword of just defence for securing objects of a temporary and inferior nature, he has prohibited them from using this remedy, and left them at the mercy of every lawless despot, with respect to a concern the most important of all, whether it be viewed as relating to His own honour, or to the welfare of mankind.

Those who judge of the propriety of any measure from the success with which it is accompanied, will be disposed to condemn the suspension of the Queen Regent. Soon after this step was taken, the affairs of the Congregation began to wear a gloomy aspect. The messenger whom they had sent to Berwick to receive a remittance from the English court, was intercepted on his return, and rifled of the treasure; their soldiers mutinied for want of pay; they were repulsed in a premature assault upon the fortifications of Leith, and worsted in a skirmish with the French troops; the secret emissaries of the Regent were too successful among them; their numbers daily decreased; and the remainder, disunited, dispirited, and dismayed, came to the resolution of abandoning Edinburgh on the evening of the 5th of November, and retreated with precipitation and disgrace to Stirling.

Amidst the universal dejection produced by these

* "Concedit autem (says Melanchthon) Evangelium uti legibus politicis cum ratione congruentibus. Imo si talis defensio non esset concessa, transformaretur Evangelium in doctrinam politicam, et stabiliret infinitam tyrannidem." Comment. in Prov. xxiv. 21, 22. And again: "Non constituit Evangelium novas politias, quare nec infinitam servitutem præcepit." 2. Artic. Symbol. Nicen. sub quæst. *Utrum armis reprimendi sunt Tyranni?* This argument influenced Luther to retract the unlimited condemnation of resistance which he had formerly published, and to approve of the League of Smalcald. Sleidan, Comment. lib. 8. Dean Milner seems to have overlooked this fact in his statement of the political principles of that Reformer.

disasters, the spirit of Knox remained unsubdued. On the day after their arrival at Stirling, he mounted the pulpit, and delivered a discourse, which had a wonderful effect in rekindling the zeal and courage of the Congregation. Their faces (he said) were confounded, their enemies triumphed, their hearts had quaked for fear, and still remained oppressed with sorrow and shame. What was the cause for which God had thus dejected them? The situation of their affairs required plain language, and he would use it. In the present distressed state of their minds, they were in danger of attributing these misfortunes to a wrong cause, and of imagining that they had offended in taking the sword of self-defence into their hands; just as the tribes of Israel did, when twice discomfited in the war which they undertook, by divine direction, against their brethren the Benjamites. Having divided the Congregation into two classes, those who had been embarked in this cause from the beginning, and those who had lately acceded to it, he proceeded to point out what he considered as blameable in the conduct of each. The former (he said) had laid aside that humility and dependence upon divine providence which they had discovered when their number was small, and, since they were joined by the Hamiltons, had become elated, secure, and self-confident. "But wherein had my Lord Duke and his friends offended? I am uncertain if my Lord's Grace has unfeignedly repented of his assistance to these murderers, unjustly pursuing us. Yea, I am uncertain if he has repented of that innocent blood of Christ's blessed martyrs, which was shed in his default. But let it be that so he has done, (as I hear that he has confessed his fault before the Lords and brethren of the Congregation); yet I am assured that neither he, nor yet his friends did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt, when in their blind fury they pursued us. And therefore God hath justly permitted both them and us to fall in this fearful confusion at once; us, for that we put our trust and confidence in man, and them, because they should feel in their own hearts how bitter was the cup which they made others drink before them." After exhorting all to amendment of life, to prayers, and works of charity, he concluded with an animating address. God (he said) often suffered the wicked to triumph for a while, and exposed his chosen congregation to mockery, dangers, and apparent destruction, in order to abase their self-confidence, and induce them to look to Him for deliverance and victory. If they turned unfeignedly to the Eternal, he no more doubted that their present distress would be converted into joy, and followed by success, than he doubted that Israel was finally victorious over the Benjamites, after being twice repulsed with ignominy. The cause in which they were engaged would, in spite of all opposition, prevail in Scotland. It was the eternal truth of the eternal God which they maintained; it might be oppressed for a time, but would ultimately triumph.*

The audience, who had entered the church in deep despondency, left it with renovated courage. In the afternoon the council met, and, after prayer by the Reformer, unanimously agreed to despatch William Maitland of Lethington to London, to supplicate more effectual assistance from Elizabeth. In the mean time, as they were unable to keep the field, it was agreed that they should divide, and that the one half of the council should remain at Glasgow, and the other at St. Andrews. Knox was appointed to attend the latter in the double capacity of preacher and secretary. The French having, in the beginning the year 1560, penetrated into Fife, he encouraged that small band, which, under the Earl of Arran and the Prior of St. Andrews, bravely resisted their progress, until the appearance of the English fleet obliged them to retreat with precipitation.*

The disaster which obliged the protestant army to raise the siege of Leith, and to evacuate Edinburgh, turned out eventually to the advantage of their cause. It induced the English court to abandon the line of cautious policy which they had hitherto pursued. Maitland's embassy to London was successful; and, on the 27th of February 1560, Elizabeth concluded a formal treaty with the Lords of the Congregation, by which she engaged to send an army into Scotland, to assist them in expelling the French forces. Being informed of this treaty, the Queen Regent resolved to disperse the troops which were collected at Glasgow under the Duke of Chastelherault, before the English army could arrive. On the 7th of March, the French, to the number of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, issued from Leith, and, proceeding by Linlithgow and Kirkintilloch, suddenly appeared before Glasgow. The Duke having retired with his retinue at their approach, they reduced the episcopal Castle, and prepared to advance to Hamilton. But having received a message from the Queen Regent that the English auxiliary army had begun its march into Scotland, they relinquished their design, and returned to Leith, carrying along with them a number of prisoners, and a considerable booty.† In the beginning of April, the English army joined the forces of the Congregation. The French shut themselves up within the fortifications of Leith, which were invested both by sea and land. And the Queen Regent, who was in a declining state of health, was received by Lord Erskine into the Castle of Edinburgh, where she died during the siege of Leith.

These proceedings were viewed with deep interest by the court of France. Henry II. having died in July 1559, was succeeded by Francis II. the husband of the young Queen of Scots, and the administration of affairs consequently fell wholly into the hands of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain. They employed every art of political intrigue to prevent Elizabeth from giving assistance to the Scottish Congregation, and to prevail on her to desert them, after she had undertaken their protection. Nor were they altogether unsuccessful in their attempts. For the English Queen, partly from her extreme caution and parsimony, and partly from the influence of some of her counsellors, was induced to listen to their plausible proposals; she delayed the march of her army into Scotland, and even after they had undertaken the siege of Leith, she suspended the military operations, and engaged in premature negociations for peace. This last step justly alarmed the Congregation, and while they neglected no means to persuade the English court to perform the stipulations of the late treaty, they prepared for the worst, by renewing their covenant among themselves. Elizabeth at last listened to the advice of her ablest counsellors, and resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. No sooner did she evince this determination than the French court yielded to all her demands. The armament which they had formerly fitted out at great expence for Scotland had been dispersed by a storm; the Frith of Forth was blocked up by an English fleet; and a confederacy had been formed among a number of the French nobility, to remove the princes of Lorrain from the administration of public affairs, and to free the protestants in that kingdom from the severe persecutions to which

* Knox has preserved in his history, (p. 194—197.) the principal topics on which he insisted in this sermon, which have been highly praised both by Buchanan and Robertson.

* Knox, Historie, p. 197, 201, 215. Spottiswood, p. 140. MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland, p. 19—22.

† A particular account of this expedition is given in MS. Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566, p. 25—7. Lesley (p. 519.) refers to it obscurely. Spottiswood (p. 140.) and Keith (p. 110.) have confounded it with a different expedition which was undertaken in November preceding.

they had been hitherto exposed.* Influenced by these circumstances, France sent plenipotentiaries to Edinburgh, who concluded a treaty with England, by which the Scottish differences were also adjusted. By this treaty it was provided, that the French troops should immediately be removed from Scotland; that an amnesty should be granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the Queen Regent; that the principal grievances of which they complained in the civil administration should be redressed; that a free parliament should be held to settle the other affairs of the kingdom; and that, during the absence of their sovereigns, the government should be administered by a council to be chosen partly by Francis and Mary, and partly by the estates of the nation. The treaty was signed on the 7th of July; on the 16th, the French troops were embarked at Leith, and the English army began their march into their own country; and on the 19th, the Congregation assembled in St. Giles's church, and returned solemn thanks to God for the restoration of peace, and the success which had crowned their exertions.† In this manner terminated the civil war which attended the Scottish Reformation, after it had continued for twelve months, with less rancour and bloodshed than have distinguished any other contest of a similar kind.

During the continuance of the war, the protestant preachers had been assiduous in disseminating the knowledge of the truth through all parts of the kingdom. They had lately received a considerable accession to their number. While we venerate those men who enlisted under the banners of truth when her friends were few, and who boldly took the field in her defence when the victory was dubious and distant, and while we cheerfully award to them the highest meed of praise, let us not load with heavy censure, or even deprive of all praise, such as, less enlightened or less courageous, were more tardy in their appearances in behalf of this cause, in the dawn of light, and in perilous times. He who "knew what is in man" did not reject such disciples. Nicodemus, who at first "came to Jesus by night," and Joseph of Arimathea, who was his disciple, "but secretly for fear of the Jews," afterwards avouched their faith in him, and obtained the honour of embalming and interring his body, when all his early followers had forsaken him and fled. Several of the Scottish clergy who were favourable to the protestant doctrine had contrived to retain their places in the church, by concealing their sentiments, or through the favour of some powerful patron. Of this number were John Winram, sub-prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, Adam Herriot, a friar of that Abbey, John Spottiswood, parson of Calder, and John Carsewell, rector of Kilmartine. In the gradual diffusion of knowledge through the nation, the minds of many who were attending the schools had been also enlightened; among whom were David Lindsay, William Christison, Andrew Hay, Robert Montgomery, Patrick Adamson, and Archibald Hamilton. During the year 1559, these men came forward as auxiliaries to the first protestant preachers; and so successful were they in instructing the people, that even though the French had proved victorious in the military contest, they would have found it extremely difficult to support the ancient superstition.

On the other hand, the exertions of the popish clergy had been feeble in the extreme. Too corrupt to think of reforming their manners, too illiterate to be capable of defending their errors, they placed their forlorn hope on the success of the French arms, and looked forward to the issue of the war as involving the establishment or the ruin of their religion. The bishop of Amiens, who came into Scotland in the double capacity of ambassador from the French court and of papal legate, was accompanied by three doctors of the Sorbonne, who gave out that they would confound the reformed ministers, and bring back the people whom they had misled to the bosom of the church, by the force of argument and persuasion. Lesley boasts of the success which attended their exertions; but there is good reason for thinking, that these foreign divines confined themselves to the easier task of instructing the Scottish clergy to perform the religious service with greater solemnity, and to purify the churches, in a canonical manner, from the pollution which they had contracted from the profane worship of heretics.* One attempt, however, was made by the popish clergy to support their sinking cause, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more to retrieve their reputation than all the arguments of the Sorbonists. As this was the last attempt of the kind that ever was made in Scotland, the reader may be gratified with the following account of it.

In the neighbourhood of Musselburgh was a chapel dedicated to our Lady of Loretto, the sanctity of which was increased from its having been the favourite abode of the celebrated Thomas the Hermit. To this sacred place the inhabitants of Scotland, from time immemorial, had repaired in pilgrimage, to present their offerings to the Virgin, and to experience the virtue of her prayers; and the healing power of the wonder-working "Hermit of Lareit."† In the course of the year 1559, public notice was given by the friars, that they intended to put the truth of their religion to the proof, by performing a miracle at the chapel of Loretto upon a young man who had been born blind. On the day appointed, a vast concourse of people assembled from the three Lothians. The young man, accompanied with a solemn procession of monks, was conducted to a scaffold, erected on the outside of the chapel, and was exhibited to the multitude. Many of them knew him to be the blind man whom they had often seen begging, and whose necessities they had relieved: all looked on him, and pronounced him stone blind. The friars then proceeded to their devotions with great fervency, invoking the assistance of the Virgin, at whose shrine they stood, and of all the saints whom they honoured; and after some time spent in prayers and religious ceremonies, the blind man *opened his eyes*, to the astonishment of the spectators. Having returned thanks to the friars and their saintly patrons for this wonderful cure, he was allowed to go down from the scaffold, to gratify the curiosity of the people, and to receive their alms.

It happened that there was among the crowd a gentleman of Fife, Robert Colville of Cleish,‡ who, from his romantic bravery, was usually called Squire Meldrum, in allusion to a person of that name who had been celebrated by Sir David Lindsay. He was of protestant principles, but his wife was a Roman Catholic, and, being pregnant at this time, had sent a servant with a present to the chapel of Loretto, to procure the assistance of the Virgin in her labour. The Squire was too gallant to hurt his lady's feelings by prohibiting the present from being sent off, but he resolved to prevent the superstitious offering, and with that view, had come to Musselburgh. He had witnessed the miracle of curing the blind man with the

* Those who wish to see a particular account of the negociations between France and England, and of the motives which influenced both courts in their conduct towards Scotland, may consult the Letters published by Forbes and Haynes, particularly from November 1559 to July 1560.

† Buchanani Oper. i. 313. Knox, 229—234. Spottiswood, p. 147—9. Keith, p. 130—145.

* Lesley, p. 516—7. Spottiswood, 133—4. Keith, 102. Sadler says, that the bishop of Amiens came "to curse, and also to dispute with the protestants, and to reconcile them, if it wolbe." State Papers, i. 470.

† The Earl of Glencairn's satirical poem against the friars is written in the form of an epistle from this hermit. Knox Historie, p. 25.

‡ He was the ancestor of Lord Colville of Ochiltree (Douglas's Peerage, p. 147); and was killed at the siege of Leith, on the 7th of May 1560. Knox, Historie, p. 227.

distrust natural to a protestant, and he determined, if possible, to detect the imposition before he left the place. Wherefore, having sought out the young man from the crowd, he put a piece of money of considerable value into his hand, and persuaded him to accompany him to his lodgings in Edinburgh. Taking him along with him into a private room, and locking the door, he told him plainly that he was convinced he had engaged in a wicked conspiracy with the friars to impose on the credulity of the people, and at last drew from him the secret of the story. When a boy, he had been employed to tend the cattle belonging to the nuns of Sciennes, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and had attracted their attention by a peculiar faculty which he had of turning up the white of his eyes, and of keeping them in this position, so as to appear quite blind. This being reported to some of the friars in the city, they immediately conceived the design of making him subservient to their purposes; and having prevailed on the sisters of Sciennes to part with the poor boy, lodged him in one of their cells. By daily practising, he became an adept in the art of counterfeiting blindness; and after he had remained so long in concealment as not to be recognized by his former acquaintances, he was sent forth to beg as a blind pauper; the friars having previously bound him, by a solemn vow, not to reveal the secret. To confirm his narrative, he "played his pavie" before Cleish, by "flyping up the lid of his eyes and casting up the white," so as to appear as blind as he did on the scaffold at Loretto. The gentleman laid before him the iniquity of his conduct, and told him that he must next day repeat the whole story publicly at the Cross of Edinburgh; and as this would expose him to the vengeance of the friars, he engaged to become his protector, and to retain him as a servant in his house. The young man complied with his directions, and Cleish, with his drawn sword in his hand, having stood by him till he had finished his confession, placed him on the same horse with himself, and carried him off to Fife. The detection of this imposture was quickly published through the country, and covered the friars with confusion. My author does not say whether it cured Lady Cleish of her superstition, but I shall afterwards have occasion to notice its influence in opening the eyes of one who became a distinguished promoter of the Reformation.*

The treaty which put an end to the civil war in Scotland, made no particular settlement respecting the religious differences,† but it was, on that very account, the more fatal to popery. The protestants were left in the possession of authority; and they were now by far the most powerful party in the nation, both in rank and in numbers. Excepting those places which had been occupied by the Queen Regent and her foreign auxiliaries, the Roman Catholic worship was almost universally deserted throughout the kingdom, and no provision was made in the treaty for its restoration. The firm hold which it once had of the opinions and affections of the people was completely loosened; it was supported by force alone; and the moment that the French troops embarked, that fabric, which had stood for ages in Scotland, fell to the ground. Its feeble and dismayed priests ceased, of their own accord, from the celebration of its rites: and the reformed service was peaceably set up, wherever ministers could be found to perform it. The parliament, when it met in August, entered upon the consideration of the state of religion, as one of the points, undecided by the commissioners, which had been left to them;* and they had little else to do but to sanction what the nation had previously done, by legally abolishing the popish, and establishing the protestant religion.

When the circumstances in which they were assembled, and the affairs on which they were called to deliberate are taken into consideration, this must be regarded as the most important meeting of the Estates that had been ever held in Scotland. It engrossed the attention of the nation, and the eyes of all Europe were fixed on its proceedings. The parliament met on the 10th of July, but, agreeably to the terms of the treaty, it was prorogued, without entering on business, until the first day of August. Although a great concourse of people resorted to Edinburgh on that occasion, yet no tumult or disturbance of the public peace occurred. Many of the lords, both spiritual and temporal, who were attached to popery, absented themselves; but the chief patrons of the old religion, as the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the bishops of Dunblane and Dunkeld, countenanced the assembly by their presence, and were allowed to act with freedom as lords of parliament. There is one fact in the constitution and proceedings of this parliament which strikingly illustrates the influence of the Reformation upon political liberty. In the reign of James I. the lesser barons had been exempted from personal attendance on parliament, and permitted to elect representatives in their different shires. But a privilege which in modern times is so eagerly coveted was then so little prized, that, except in a few instances, no representatives from the shires had appeared in parliament,† and the lesser barons had almost forfeited their right by neglecting to exercise it. At this time, however, they assembled at Edinburgh, and agreed upon a petition to the parliament, claiming to be restored to their ancient privilege of sitting and voting in that assembly. The petition was granted, and in consequence of it about a hundred gentlemen took their seats.‡

The business of religion was brought under the consideration of parliament in consequence of a petition presented by a number of protestants of different ranks, in which, after rehearsing their former endeavours to procure the reformation of the corruptions which had infected the church, they requested them to use the power which Providence had now put into their hands for effecting this great and urgent work. They craved three things in general, that the antichristian doctrine maintained in the popish church should be discarded; that means should be used to restore purity of worship, and of primitive discipline; and that the ecclesiastical revenues which had been engrossed by a corrupt and indolent hierarchy, should be applied to the support of an useful ministry, to the promotion of learning, and the relief of the poor. They declared, that they were ready to substantiate the justice of all these demands; and, in particular, to prove, that those who arrogated to themselves the name of clergy were destitute of all right to be accounted

* Row's MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 356. of a copy transcribed in 1726. An account of this pretended miracle and its detection, probably taken from the above MS. will be found in the Weekly Magazine for June 1772, and also in Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 159.

† The English ambassadors, in a letter to Elizabeth, say: "Two things have bene to whott [too hot] for the French too meddle withal; and therefore they be passed, and *left as they found them*. The first is the matter of *religion*, which is here as freely, and rather more earnestly (as I the Secretary thynk) receaved than in England: a hard thing now to alter, as it is planted." Haynes, p. 352. Dr. Wotton, Dean of Windsor, and Secretary Cecil are the subscribers of this letter; but as it would rather have been too much for the Dean to say that religion was *more* earnestly received in Scotland than in England, the Secretary alone vouches for that fact.

* By one of the articles of the treaty, the Parliament, after agreeing upon such things as they thought necessary to be done for the reformation of religion, were to send deputies into France to represent them to their Majesties. Knox, Historie, p. 234. Spottiswood, p. 149.

† Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, B. i. Keith, p. 147—8.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. p. 525—6. Keith, 146—7. Robertson, i. Append. No. iv. In the list of members in this parliament, the names of the lesser barons, or gentlemen of the shire, are inserted after those of the commissioners of boroughs; the roll having been made up previous to the admission of the former. Act. Parl. Scot. ut sup.

ministers of religion, and that, from the tyranny which they had exercised, and their vassalage to the court of Rome, they could not be safely tolerated, and far less intrusted with power, in a reformed commonwealth.*

In answer to the first demand, the parliament required the reformed ministers to draw up and lay before them a summary of doctrine which they could prove to be consonant with the scriptures, and which they desired to have established. The ministers were not unprepared for the task; and in the course of four days, they presented a Confession of Faith, as the product of their joint labours, and an expression of their unanimous judgment. It agreed with the Confessions which had been published by other reformed churches. It professed belief in the common articles of Christianity respecting the divine nature, the trinity, the creation of the world, the origin of evil, and the person of the Saviour, which were retained by the Catholic church, in opposition to the errors broached by ancient heretics. On the different points in controversy between the papists and protestants, it condemned not only the idolatrous and superstitious tenets of the church of Rome, but also its gross depravation of the doctrine of scripture respecting the state of fallen man, and the method of his recovery. It declared that by "original sin was the image of God defacit in man, and he and his posteritie of nature become enemies to God, slaifis to Sathan, and servandis to sin:" That "all our saluatioun springs fra the eternall and immutabill decre of God, quha of meir grace electit us in Christ Jesus his Sone, before the foundatione of the warld was laid:" That it behoves us "to apprehend Christ Jesus, with his justice and satisfactioun, quha is the end and accomplischement of the law, be quhome we ar set at this libertie, that the cursse and maledictioun of God fall not upon us:" That "as God the Father creatit us quhan we war not, as his Sone our Lord Jesus redemit us quhan we war enemeis to him, sa alswa the Haly Gaist dois sanctifie and regenerat us, without all respect of ony merite proceeding fra us, be it befoir or be it efter our regeneratioun; to speik this ane thing yit in mair plaine wordis, as we willinglie spoyle ourselfis of all honour and gloir of our awin creatioun and redemptioun, sa do we alswa of our regeneratioun and sanctificatioun: for of our selfis we ar not sufficient to think ane gude thocht, bot he quha hes begun the wark in us is onlie he that continewis us in the same, to the praise and glorie of his undeseruit grace:" In fine, that, although good works proceed "not from our fre-will, but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus," and although those that boast of the merit of their own works, "boist them selfis of that quhilk is nocht," yet "blasphemie it is to say, that Christ abydis in the hartis of sic as in quhome thair is no Spirite of sanctificatioun;—and all wirkers of iniquitie have nouther trew faith, nouther ony portioun of the Spirite of the Lord Jesus, sa lang as obstinatlie they continew in thair wickitnes."†

The Confession was read first before the Lords of Articles, and afterwards before the whole parliament. The protestant ministers attended in the house to defend it, if attacked, and to give satisfaction to the members respecting any point which might appear dubious. Those who had objections to it were formally required to state them. And the farther consideration of it was adjourned to a subsequent day, that none might pretend that an undue advantage had been taken, or that a matter of such importance had been concluded precipitately. On the 17th of August, the parliament resumed the subject, and previous to the vote, the Confession was again read, article by article.‡ "The bischopis spak nothing."‖ The Earl of Athole, and Lords Somerville and Borthwick were the only persons of the temporal estate who voted in the negative, assigning this reason, *We will beleve as our forefatheris belevil.** After the vote establishing the Confession, the Earl Marischal made a speech, in which he declared, that the silence of the clergy that day had confirmed him in his belief of the truth of the protestant doctrine; and he protested that if any of the ecclesiastical estate should afterwards oppose the Confession now received, they should be entitled to no credit, seeing, after full knowledge of it, and ample time for deliberation, they had allowed it to pass without the smallest opposition or contradiction.† On the 24th of August, the parliament abolished the papal jurisdiction, prohibited under certain penalties the celebration of mass, and rescinded all the laws formerly made in support of the Roman Catholic church, and against the reformed religion.‡

Thus did the reformed religion advance in Scotland, from small beginnings, and amidst great opposition, until it attained a parliamentary establishment. Besides the influence of Heaven which secretly accompanied the labours of the preachers and confessors of the truth, the serious and inquisitive reader will trace the hand of Providence in that concatenation of event which contributed to its rise, preservation, and increase; in the over-ruling of the caprice, the ambition, the avarice, and the interested policy of princes and cabinets, many of whom had nothing less in view than to favour that cause, which they were so instrumental in promoting.

The breach of Henry VIII. of England with the Romish See, awakened the attention of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island to a controversy which had formerly been carried on at too great a distance to interest them, and led not a few to desire a reformation more improved than the model which that monarch had held out to them. The premature death of James V. of Scotland saved the Reformers from destruction. And during the short period in which they received the countenance of civil authority, at the commencement of Arran's regency, the seeds of the reformed doctrine were so widely spread, and had taken such deep root, as to be able to resist the violent measures which the Regent, after his recantation, employed to extirpate them. Those who were driven from the country by persecution found an asylum in England, under the decidedly protestant government of Edward VI. After his death, the alliance of England with Spain, and of Scotland with France, the two great contending powers on the continent, prevented any concert between the two courts, which might have proved fatal to the protestant religion in Britain. While the cruelties of the English Queen drove preachers into Scotland, the political schemes of the Queen Regent induced her to favour the protestants, and to connive at the propagation of their opinions. At the critical moment when she had accomplished her favourite designs, and was prepared to crush the Reformation, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, who was induced, by political no less than religious considerations, to support the Scottish reformers. The French court were equally bent on their suppression, and, having lately concluded peace with Spain, were preparing to turn the whole force of the kingdom against them; but at this very time, those intestine dissentions, which continued so long to desolate France, broke out, and forced them to accede to that treaty, which put an end to the French influence, and the Roman Catholic religion, in Scotland.

* Knox, Historie, p. 237–8.

† Act. Parl. Scot. p. 526—534. Knox, Historie, p. 240—253. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 21—98.

‡ In Knox's Historie, "the 17th day of *July*" is printed, by mistake, instead of the 17th of *August*.

‖ Keith is at a great loss to account for, and excuse, the silence of the popish clergy (to whom he is almost uniformly partial); and he found himself obliged to retract one apology which he had made for them, viz. that they were deterred from speaking by the threatenings of their opponents. History, p. 149, 150, 488, note (a).

* Knox, Historie, p. 253. † Ibid.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. p. 534—5. Knox, Historie, p. 254.

PERIOD VII.

From August 1560, when he was settled as Minister of Edinburgh, at the establishment of the Reformation, to December 1563, when he was acquitted from a charge of treason.

In appointing the protestant ministers to particular stations throughout the kingdom, a measure which engaged the attention of the council immediately after the conclusion of the civil war, the temporary arrangements that had been formerly made were in general confirmed, and our Reformer resumed his charge as minister of Edinburgh.* He returned to that city in the end of April,† and continued to preach there during the siege of Leith, and during the negociations which terminated in a peace.

Although the Parliament had abolished the papal jurisdiction and worship, and ratified the protestant doctrine, as laid down in the Confession of Faith, the reformed church was not yet completely organized in Scotland. Hitherto the Book of Common Order, used by the English church at Geneva, had been generally followed as the rule of public worship and discipline. But this having been compiled for the use of a single congregation, composed, too, chiefly of men of education, was found inadequate for an extensive church, consisting of a multitude of confederated congregations. Our reformers were anxious to provide the means of religious instruction to the whole people in the kingdom; but they were very far from approving of the promiscuous admission of persons of all descriptions to the peculiar privileges of the church of Christ. From the beginning, they were sensible of the great importance of ecclesiastical discipline, to the prosperity of religion, to the maintenance of order, and the preservation of pure doctrine and morals. In the petition presented to Parliament in August, the restoration of this was specially requested.‡ And Knox, who had observed the great advantages which attended the observance of a strict discipline at Geneva, and the manifold evils which resulted from the want of it in England, insisted very particularly on this topic, in the discourses which he delivered from the book of Haggai during the sitting of Parliament.‖ The difficulties which the reformed ministers had to surmount, before they could accomplish this great object, began to present themselves at this early stage of their progress. When it is considered, that Calvin was subjected to a sentence of banishment from the senate of Geneva, and exposed to the rage of a popular tumult, before he could prevail on the citizens to submit to ecclesiastical discipline,§ we need not be surprised at the opposition which our reformers met with in their endeavours to introduce this into Scotland. Knox's warm exhortations on this head were at first disregarded, and his plan of church-polity derided as a *devout imagination*, by some of the professors of the reformed doctrine.* And the Parliament dissolved without adopting any measure relative to this matter.

As the ministers, however, continued to urge the subject, and as the reasonableness of their demands could not be denied, the Privy Council, soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, gave a commission to Knox, and four other ministers, who had formerly been employed along with him in composing the Confession, to draw up a plan of ecclesiastical government.† They immediately set about this task, with a diligence and care proportioned to their convictions of its importance. They "took not their example (says Row) from any kirk in the world, no, not from Geneva;" but drew their plan from the sacred scriptures. Having arranged the subject under different heads, they divided these among them; and, after they had finished their several parts, they met together, and examined them with great attention, spending much time in reading and meditation on the subject, and in earnest prayers for divine direction. When they had drawn up the whole in form, they laid it before the General Assembly, by whom it was approved, after they had caused some of its articles to be abridged.‡ It was also submitted to the Privy Council. But although many of the members highly approved of the plan, it was warmly opposed by others. This opposition did not arise from any difference of sentiment between them and the ministers respecting ecclesiastical government, but partly from aversion to the strict discipline which it appointed to be exercised against vice, and partly from reluctance to comply with its requisition for the appropriation of the revenues of the popish church to the support of the new religious and literary establishments. Though not formally ratified by the Council, it was, however, subscribed by the greater part of the members;‖ and as the sources of prejudice against it were well known, it was submitted to the nation, and carried into effect in all its principal ecclesiastical regulations.§ It is known in history by the name of the *Book of Policy*, or *First Book of Discipline*.

Considering the activity of Knox in constructing and recommending this platform, and the importance of the subject in itself, it cannot be altogether foreign to our object, to take a view of the form and order of the protestant church of Scotland, as delineated in the Book of Discipline, and in other authentic documents of that period.

The ordinary and permanent office-bearers of the church were of four kinds: the *minister* or *pastor*, to whom the preaching of the gospel and administration

* Knox, Historie, p. 236.
† Records of Town Council, May 8, 1560.
‡ Knox, Historie, p. 238. ‖ Ibid. p. 237.
§ Beza, Vita Calvini. Melchior. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theolog. p. 70, 88. After the Senate had made a decree which subverted the discipline of the church, Calvin, in the course of a sermon which he delivered before the dispensation of the Supper, lifted up his hand, and said, "I will die sooner than this hand shall reach the symbols of the Lord's body to any one who has been found a despiser of God:" which words struck such an awe on the minds of the persons who had been absolved by the senate from the sentence of the church-court, that none of them ventured to approach the table. Persons unfriendly to the government and discipline of the Reformed churches have represented the opposition made to them, in this and other instances, as arising from the attempts of the reformers to have their discipline established by human laws, and supported by civil penalties. But this is a complete misrepresentation of the case. "Neque enim consentaneum est (says Calvin) ut qui monitionibus nostris obtemperare noluerint, eos ad magistratum deferamus." Institut. Christ. Relig. p. 434. Lugd. Batav. 1654. The proper question between him and his opponents was, Whether ministers were obliged to administer the sacraments to those whom they judged unworthy? Or, (which amounted to the same thing) Whether the decisions of the church-court in such matters were to be reviewed and reversed by the civil court? Melch. Adam. ut supra. And this will be found to have been the true state of the question, in the greater part of the dissentions between the church and the court in Scotland, after the establishment of the Reformation.

* Knox, Historie, p. 237, 256.
† The names of the ministers who composed the Confession of Faith, and the Book of Discipline, were John Winram, John Spottiswood, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox. Ibid. p. 256.
‡ Row, MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 12, 16, 17. It is most probable that the meeting of Assembly by which the Book of Discipline was approved, was that which Knox calls a convention, held on the 5th of January 1561. Historie, p. 261, 295. The first General Assembly appointed a meeting to be held at that time. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 3. MS. Advocates' Library. But there is no account of its proceedings in that, or in any other register which I have had access to see. In the copy of the *First Book of Discipline*, published (by Calderwood, I believe,) anno 1621. p. 23, 70. and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 517, 605, it is said that the order for compiling it was given on the 29th of April 1560; and that it was finished by them on the 20th May following. But as the civil war was not then concluded, I have preferred the account which Knox gives, that it was undertaken subsequent to the meeting of parliament in August that year. Historie, p. 256.
‖ In Dunlop ii. 436. the approbation of it is styled an Act. of Secret Council, 25th January 1560. *i. e.* 1561.
§ Knox, Historie, p. 256, 257, 295, 296. Keith, 496, 497. Dunlop, ii. 606—608.

of the sacraments belonged; the *doctor* or *teacher*, whose province it was to interpret scripture, and confute errors (including those who taught theology in schools and universities); the *ruling elder*, who assisted the minister in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government; and the *deacon*, who had the special oversight of the revenues of the church and the poor. But besides these, it was found necessary, at this time, to employ some persons in extraordinary and temporary charges. As there was not a sufficient number of ministers to supply the different parts of the country, that the people might not be left altogether destitute of public worship and instruction, certain pious persons who had received a common education were appointed to read the scriptures and the common prayers. These were called *readers*. In large parishes, persons of this description were also employed to relieve the ministers from a part of the public service. If they advanced in knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the scriptures. In this case they were called *exhorters*; but they were examined and admitted, before entering upon this employment.

The same cause gave rise to another temporary expedient. Instead of fixing all the ministers in particular charges, it was judged proper, after supplying the principal towns, to assign to the rest the superintendence of a large district, over which they were appointed regularly to travel, for the purpose of preaching, of planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. These were called *superintendents*. The number originally proposed was ten; but owing to the scarcity of proper persons, or rather to the want of necessary funds, there were never more than six appointed. The deficiency was supplied by *commissioners* or *visitors*, appointed from time to time by the General Assembly.

None were allowed to preach, or to administer the sacraments, till they were regularly called to this employment. Persons were invested with the pastoral office in the way of being freely elected by the people,* examined by the ministers, and publicly admitted in the presence of the congregation. On the day of admission, the minister who presided, after preaching a sermon suited to the occasion, put a number of questions to the candidate, to satisfy the church as to his soundness in the faith, his willingness to undertake the charge, the purity of his motives, and his resolution to discharge the duties of the office with diligence and fidelity. Satisfactory answers having been given to these questions, and the people having signified their adherence to their former choice, the person was admitted and set apart by prayer, without the imposition of hands;† and the service was concluded with an exhortation, the singing of a psalm, and the pronouncing of the blessing. Superintendents were admitted in the same way as other ministers.‡ The affairs of each congregation were managed by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the *kirk-session*, which met regularly once a-week, and oftener if business required. There was a meeting called *the weekly exercise*, or *prophesying*, held in every considerable town, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and learned men in the vicinity, for expounding the scripture. This was afterwards converted into the *presbytery* or *classical assembly*. The superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district, twice a-year, in the *provincial synod*, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs within its bounds. And the *general assembly*, which was composed of ministers and elders commissioned from the different parts of the kingdom, met twice, sometimes thrice in a year, and attended to the interests of the national church.

Public worship was conducted according to the *Book of Common Order*, with a few variations adapted to the state of Scotland. On Sabbath-days, the people assembled twice for public worship; and, to promote the instruction of the ignorant, catechizing was substituted for preaching in the afternoon. In towns, a sermon was regularly preached on one day of the week besides Sabbath; and on almost every day the people had an opportunity of hearing public prayers and the reading of the scriptures. Baptism was never dispensed unless it was accompanied with preaching or catechizing. The Lord's supper was administered four times a year in towns, and there were ordinarily two "ministrations," one at an early hour of the morning, and another later in the day. The sign of the cross in baptizing, and kneeling at the Lord's table, were condemned and laid aside; and anniversary holydays were wholly abolished.* We shall afterwards have occasion to advert to the discipline under which offenders were brought.

The compilers of the First Book of Discipline paid particular attention to the state of education. They required that a school should be erected in every parish, for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. They proposed that a college should be erected in every "notable town," in which logic and rhetoric should be taught along with the learned languages. They seem to have had it in their eye to revive the system adopted in some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were considered as the property of the public rather than of their parents, by obliging the nobility and gentry to educate their children, and by providing, at the public expense, for the education of the children of the poor who discovered talents for learning. Their regulations for the three national universities discover an enlightened regard to the interests of literature, and may suggest hints which deserve attention in the present age.† If they were not reduced to practice, the blame cannot be imputed to the reformed ministers, but to those persons who, through avarice, defeated the execution of their plans.

To carry these important measures into effect, permanent funds were requisite; and for these it was natural to look to the patrimony of the church. The popish clergy had been superseded, and excluded from all religious services, by the alterations which the parliament had introduced; and, whatever provision it was proper to allot for the individual incumbents during life, it was unreasonable that they should continue to enjoy the whole of the emoluments which were attached to the offices for which they had been found totally unfit. No successors could be appointed to them; and there was not any individual, or class of men in the nation, who could justly claim a title to the rents of their benefices. The compilers of the Book of Discipline, therefore, proposed that the patrimony of the church should be appropriated, in the first instance, to the support of the new ecclesiastical establishment. Under this head they included the ministry, the schools, and the poor. For the ministers they required that such "honest provision" should be made, as would give "neither occasion of solicitude, neither yet of insolencie and wantonnesse." In ordinary cases, they thought that forty bolls of meal, and twenty-six bolls of malt, with a reasonable sum of money to purchase other necessary articles of provision for his family, was an adequate stipend for a minister. To enable superintendents to defray the extraordinary expenses of travelling in the discharge of their duty, six chalders of bear, nine chalders of meal, three chalders of oats, and six hundred merks in

* Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 524, 526, 545, 577, 638, 639.

† Dunlop, ii. 526. Imposition of hands was afterwards appointed to be used by the *Second* Book of Discipline. Ibid. 768—9.

‡ Knox, Historie, p. 263—266.

* For an illustration of some of these facts, see Note XXXVII.

† First Book of Discipline, chap. vii. Dunlop, ii. 547—561.

money, were thought necessary as an annual stipend. The salaries of professors were fixed from one to two hundred pounds; and the particular mode of supporting the poor was delayed, until means should be adopted to suppress "stubborne and idle beggars," and to ascertain the number of the really necessitous in each parish. The stipends of ministers were to be collected by the deacons from the tithes; but all illegal exactions were to be previously abolished, and measures taken to relieve the labourers of the ground from the oppressive manner in which the tithes had been gathered by the clergy, or by those to whom they had farmed them. The revenues of bishopricks, and of cathedral and collegiate churches, with the rents arising from the endowments to monasteries and other religious foundations, were to be divided and appropriated to the support of the universities, or of the churches within their bounds.

Nothing could be more unpalatable than doctrine of this kind to a considerable number of the protestant nobility and gentry. They had for some time fixed a covetous eye on the rich revenues of the popish clergy. Some of them had seized upon the church-lands, or retained the tithes in their own hands. Others had taken long leases of them from the clergy for small sums of money, and were anxious to have these private bargains legalized. Hence their aversion to have the Book of Discipline ratified;* hence the poverty and the complaints of the ministers, and the languishing state of the universities. The Swiss Reformer, by his eloquence and his firmness, enabled his countrymen to gain a conquest over their avarice which was more honourable to them than any of their other victories, and prevailed on them to appropriate the whole revenues of the popish establishment to the support of the protestant church and seminaries of literature.† But it was not so easy a matter to manage the numerous and powerful barons of Scotland as it was to sway the minds of the burgo-masters of Zurich. When we consider, however, the extent of the establishments proposed by our reformers, including the support of the ministry, of parochial schools, of city colleges, and of national universities, we cannot regard the demand which they made on the funds devoted to the church as extravagant or unreasonable. They shewed themselves disinterested by the moderate share which they asked for themselves; and the worst that we can say of their plan is, that it was worthy of a more enlightened and liberal age, in which it might have met with rulers more capable of appreciating its utility, and better disposed to carry it into execution.‡

It is peculiarly pleasing to observe the restoration of religion and of letters going hand in hand, in our native country. Every where, indeed, the Reformation had the most powerful influence, direct and remote, on the general promotion of literature. It aroused the human mind from the lethargy in which it had slumbered for ages, released it from the fetters of implicit faith and blind obedience to human authority, and stimulated it to the exertion of its powers in the search of truth. It induced the learned to study with care the original language in which the sacred books were written; and it diffused knowledge among the illiterate, by laying open the scriptures, and calling upon all to examine them for themselves. The unintelligible jargon which had long infested the schools began to be discarded. Controversies were now decided by appeals to scripture and common sense; and the disputes which were eagerly maintained led to the improvement of the art of reasoning, and a more rational method of communicating knowledge. Superstition and credulity being undermined, the spirit of inquiry was soon directed to the discovery of the true laws of nature, as well as the genuine doctrines of revelation.

In the south of Europe, the revival of letters preceded the reformation of religion, and materially facilitated its progress. In the north, this order was reversed; and Scotland, in particular, must date the origin of her literary acquirements from the first introduction of the protestant opinions. As the one gained ground, the other was brought forward. We have already seen that the *Greek* language began to be studied almost as soon as the light of Reformation dawned upon this country; and I have now to state that the first school for teaching the *Hebrew* language in Scotland was opened immediately after the establishment of the protestant church. Hebrew was one of the branches of education appointed by the Book of Discipline to be taught in the reformed seminaries, and Providence had furnished a person who was well qualified for that task which the incumbent professors in the universities were totally unfit to undertake.

The person to whom I refer was JOHN ROW. After finishing his education at St. Andrews, and practising for some time as an advocate before the consistorial court there, he had left the country, about the year 1550, with the view of prosecuting his studies to greater advantage on the continent. Within a short time he received the degree of *Doctor of Laws* from two Italian universities. He did not, however, confine himself to one branch of study, but, improving the opportunity which he enjoyed, made himself master of the Greek and Hebrew languages. His reputation as a lawyer being high, the Scottish clergy employed him as agent to manage some of their causes before the court of Rome. This introduced him to the friendship of Guido Ascanius Sforza, Cardinal of Sancta Flora, and to the acquaintance of two sovereign Pontiffs, Julius III. and Paul IV. Had he remained in Italy, it is highly probable that he would soon have attained to honourable preferment in the church; but having lost his health, he determined in 1558 to return to his native country. The reigning Pope had heard with concern of the progress which the Reformation was making in Scotland, and, as he had great confidence in Row's talents, appointed him his nuncio, with instructions to use his utmost exertions to oppose the new opinions. When he came home he endeavoured for some time to discharge his commission, but despairing of success, and foreseeing the confusions in which the country was in danger of being involved, he resolved on returning to Italy. From this resolution he was diverted by the Prior of St. Andrews, who admired his learning, and conceived good hopes from the candour which he displayed in the management of religious controversy. His constancy was soon after shaken by the discovery of the imposture which the clergy attempted to practise at Musselburgh, and having held some conferences with Knox, he became a convert to the protestant faith. Upon the establishment of the Reformation he was admitted minister of Perth, and, at the recommendation of his brethren, began to give lessons on the Hebrew language to young men who were placed under his tuition.*

The interests of literature in Scotland were not a little promoted at this time by the return of BUCHANAN to his native country. That accomplished scholar,

* Knox mentions Lord Erskine, (afterwards Earl of Mar) as one of the chief noblemen who refused to subscribe the discipline, and assigns two reasons for his refusal; first, "he hes a very *Jesabell* to his wife," and second, "if the pure, the scullis, and ministry of the kirk, had thair awn, his kitcheing wald want twa partes and mair of that quhilk he now injustly possesses." Historie, p. 256. My lady Mar's passion for money was well known at that time, and is referred to in Lord Thirlstane's "Admonitioun to my Lord of Mar Regent," published in Ancient Scottish Poems from Maitland MS. p. 164. Lond. 1786,

> Nor, to content thy *marrow's* covatice,
> Put not thyself in perrell for to pereis.

† Hess. Life of Zuingle, p. 201—207. Gerdes. i. 309.

‡ See Note XXXVIII

* Row's MS. Historie ut sup. p. 308, 356, 372. See also Note XXXIX.

since his flight in 1538, had visited the most celebrated seminaries on the continent, improved his stock of learning, and given different specimens of those talents which, in the opinion of posterity as well as of his contemporaries, have placed him indisputably at the head of modern Latin poets. The reception which he obtained from his countrymen evinced that they were not incapable of estimating his merits; and the satisfaction with which he spent the remainder of his life among them, after he had enjoyed the society of the most learned men in Europe, is a sufficient proof that they had already made no inconsiderable advances in the acquisition of polite literature.*

We are apt to form false and exaggerated notions of the rudeness of our ancestors. Scotland was, indeed, at that period, as she is still at the present day, behind many of the southern countries in the cultivation of some of the fine arts, and she was a stranger to that refinement of manners which has oftener been a concealment to vice than an ornament to virtue. But that her inhabitants were "men unacquainted with the pleasures of conversation, ignorant of arts and civility, and corrupted beyond their usual rusticity by a dismal fanaticism, which rendered them incapable of all humanity or improvement,"† is an assertion which argues either inexcusable ignorance or deplorable prejudice. Will this character apply to such men as Buchanan, Knox, Row, Willock, Balnaves, Erskine, Maitland, Glencairn, and James Stewart, not to name many others; men, who excelled in their respective ranks and professions, who had received a liberal education, travelled into foreign countries, conversed with the best company, and, in addition to their acquaintance with ancient learning, could speak the most polite languages of modern Europe? Perhaps some of our literati, who entertain such a diminutive idea of the taste and learning of those times, might be surprised, if they could be set down at the table of one of our Scottish reformers, surrounded with a circle of his children and pupils, where the conversation was all carried on in French, and the chapter of the bible, at family worship, was read by the boys in French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Perhaps they might have blushed, if the book had been put into their hands, and they had been required to perform a part of the exercises. It is certain, however, that this was the common practice in the house of John Row.‡ Nor was the improvement of our native tongue neglected at that time. *David Ferguson*, minister of Dunfermline, was much celebrated for his attention to this branch of composition. He had not enjoyed the advantage of an university education, but possessing a good taste and lively imagination, was very successful in refining and enriching the Scottish language, by his discourses and writings.‖

The first *General Assembly* of the reformed church of Scotland met at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers.§ Knox was one of these; and he continued to sit in most of the meetings of that court until the time of his death. Its deliberations were conducted at first with great simplicity and unanimity. It is a singular circumstance that there were seven different meetings of Assembly without a moderator or president. But as the number of members increased, and business became more complicated, a moderator was appointed to be chosen at every meeting; he was invested with authority to maintain order; and regulations were enacted concerning the constituent members of the court, the causes which ought to come before them, and the mode of procedure. The first person who occupied the place of moderator was John Willock, Superintendent of Glasgow and the West.*

In the close of this year, our Reformer suffered a heavy domestic loss, by the death of his valuable wife, who, after sharing in the hardships of her husband's exile, was removed from him just when he had obtained a comfortable settlement for his family.† He was left with the charge of two young children, in addition to his other cares. His mother-in-law was still with him; but though he took pleasure in her religious conversation, the dejection of mind to which she was subject, and which all his efforts could never completely cure, rather increased than lightened his burden.† His acute feelings were severely wounded by this stroke; but he endeavoured to moderate his grief by the consolations which he administered to others, and by application to public duty. He had the satisfaction of receiving, on this occasion, a letter from his much respected friend Calvin, in which expressions of great esteem for his deceased partner were mingled with condolence for his loss.‖

I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that Knox, with the consent of his brethren, consulted the Genevan reformer upon several difficult questions which occurred respecting the settlement of the Scottish Reformation, and that a number of letters passed between them on this subject.§

Anxieties on a public account were felt by Knox along with his domestic distress. The Reformation had hitherto advanced with a success equal to his most sanguine expectations; and, at this time, no opposition was publicly made to the new establishment. But matters were still in a very critical state. There were a party in the nation, by no means inconsiderable in numbers and power, who remained addicted to popery; and, though they had given way to the torrent, they anxiously waited for an opportunity to embroil the country in another civil war, for the restoration of the ancient religion. Queen Mary, and her husband the King of France, had refused to ratify the late treaty, and had dismissed the deputy sent by the Parliament, with marks of the highest displeasure at the innovations which they had presumed to introduce. A new army was preparing in France for the invasion of Scotland against the spring; emissaries were sent, in the mean time, to encourage and unite the Roman Catholics; and it was doubtful if the Queen of England would subject herself to new expense and odium, by protecting them from a second attack.¶

The danger was not unperceived by our Reformer, who laboured to impress the minds of his countrymen with a due sense of it, and to excite them speedily to complete the settlement of religion throughout the kingdom, which, he was persuaded, would prove the principal bulwark against the assaults of their adversaries. His admonitions were now listened to with attention by many who had formerly treated them with indifference.** The threatened storm, however, blew over, in consequence of the death of the French king; but this necessarily led to a measure which involved the Scottish protestants in a new struggle, and exposed the reformed church to dangers less obvious and strik-

* See Note XL.

† Hume, History of England, vol. v. chap. 38, p. 51. Lond. 1807. ‡ See the last note on the preceding page.

‖ See Note XLI.

§ Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 2. MS. Adv. Lib. Keith, 498.

* See Note XLII. † Knox, Historie, p. 269.

‡ Preface to a Letter, added to An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit, named Tyrie, be Johne Knox.—Sanctandrois.—Anno Do. 1572.

‖ Calvini Epistolæ, p. 150, apud Oper. tom. ix. "Viduitas tua mihi, ut debet, tristis et acerba est. Uxorem nactus eras cui non reperiuntur passim similes," &c. In a letter to Christ. Goodman, written at the same time, Calvin says, "Fratrem nostrum Knoxum, etsi non parum doleo suavissima uxore fuisse privatum, gaudeo tamen ejus morte non ita fuisse afflictum quin strenue operam suam Christo et ecclesiæ impendat." Ibid Calvin had lost his own wife in 1549. Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 212—3, 225. Hanov. 1597. § See Note XLIII.

¶ Knox, 257, 258. Buchanan. i. 326, 327. Spottiswood, 159, 151. Keith, 154, 157. ** Knox, 260.

ing, but, on that account, not less to be dreaded than open violence and hostility. This was the invitation given by the protestant nobility to their young Queen, who, on the 19th of August 1561, arrived in Scotland, and assumed the reins of government into her own hands.

The education which Mary had received in France, whatever embellishments it added to her beauty, was the very worst which can be conceived for fitting her to rule her native country, in the present juncture. Of a temper naturally violent, the devotion which she had been accustomed to see paid to her personal charms rendered her extremely impatient of contradiction.* Habituated to the splendour and gallantry of the most luxurious and dissolute court of Europe, she could not submit to those restraints which the more severe manners of her subjects imposed; and while they took offence at the freedom of her behaviour, she could not conceal the antipathy and disgust which she felt at theirs.† Full of high notions of royal prerogative, she regarded the late proceedings in Scotland as a course of rebellion against her authority. Nursed from her infancy in a blind attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, every means was employed, before she left France, to strengthen this prejudice, and to inspire her with aversion to the religion which had been embraced by her people. She was taught that it would be the great glory of her reign to reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Romish See, and to co-operate with the popish princes on the continent in extirpating heresy. If she forsook the religion in which she had been educated, she would forfeit their powerful friendship; if she persevered in it, she might depend upon their assistance to enable her to chastise her rebellious subjects, and prosecute her claims to the English crown against a heretical usurper.

With these fixed prepossessions, Mary came into Scotland, and she adhered to them with singular pertinacity to the end of her life. To examine the subjects of controversy between the papists and protestants, with the view of ascertaining on which side the truth lay; to hear the reformed preachers, or permit them to lay before her the grounds of their faith, even in the presence of the clergy whom she had brought along with her; to do any thing which might lead to a doubt in her mind respecting the religion in which she had been brought up, these were condescensions which she had formed an unalterable determination to avoid. As the protestants were at present in possession of power, it was necessary for her to temporize; but she resolved to withhold her ratification of the late proceedings, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity to overturn them, and re-establish the ancient system.‡

The reception which she met with on her first arrival in Scotland was flattering; but an occurrence that took place soon after, damped the joy which had been expressed, and prognosticated future jealousies and confusion. Resolved to give her subjects an early proof of her firm determination to adhere to the Roman Catholic worship, Mary directed preparations to be made for the celebration of a solemn mass in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the first Sabbath after her arrival. This service had not been celebrated in Scotland since the conclusion of the civil war, and was prohibited, under certain penalties, by an act of the late Parliament. And so great was the horror with which the protestants viewed its restoration, and the alarm which they felt at finding it countenanced by their Queen, that the first rumour of the design excited violent murmurs, which would have burst into an open tumult, had not some of the leading men among the protestants interfered, and exerted their authority to repress the zeal of the multitude. From regard to public tranquillity, and reluctance to offend the Queen at her first return to her native kingdom, Knox used his influence in private conversation to allay the fervour of the more zealous reformers, who were ready to prevent the service by force. But he was not less alarmed at the precedent than his brethren were; and having exposed the evil of idolatry in his sermon on the following Sabbath, he said, that "one mess was more fearfull unto him, than if ten thousand armed enemies wer landed in ony parte of the realme, of purpose to suppress the hole religioun."*

At this day, we are apt to be struck with surprise at the conduct of our ancestors, to treat their fears as visionary, or at least as highly exaggerated, and summarily to pronounce them guilty of the same intolerance of which they complained in their adversaries. Persecution for conscience' sake is so odious, and the least approach to it so dangerous, that we deem it impossible to express too great detestation of any measure which tends to countenance or seems to encourage it. But let us be just as well as liberal. A little reflection upon the circumstances in which our reforming forefathers were placed may serve to abate our astonishment, and to qualify our censures. They were actuated by a strong abhorrence of popish idolatry, a feeling which is fully justified by the spirit and the precepts of Christianity; and the prospect of the land being again defiled by the revival of its impure rites produced on their minds a sensation, with which, from our ignorance and lukewarmness as much as our ideas of religious liberty, we are incapable of sympathizing. But they were also influenced by a proper regard to their own preservation; and neither were the fears which they entertained on this head fanciful, nor the precautions which they adopted unnecessary.

The warmest friends of toleration and liberty of conscience (some of whom will not readily be charged with protestant prejudices) have granted, that persecution of the most sanguinary kind was inseparable from the system and spirit of popery which was at that time dominant in Europe; and they cannot deny the inference, that the profession and propagation of it were, on this account, justly subjected to penal restraints, as far, at least, as was requisite to prevent it from obtaining the ascendency, and from re-acting the bloody scenes which it had already exhibited.† The protestants of Scotland had these scenes before their eyes, and fresh in their recollection; and infatuated and criminal indeed would they have been, if, by listening to the Syren song of toleration (by which their adversaries, with no less impudence than artifice, now attempted to lull them asleep), they had suffered themselves to be thrown off their guard, and neglected to provide against the most distant approaches of the danger by which they were threatened. Could they be ignorant of the perfidious, barbarous, and unrelenting cruelty with which protestants were treated in every Roman Catholic kingdom? In France, where so many of their brethren had been put to death, under the influence of the house of Guise; in the Netherlands, where such multitudes had been tortured, beheaded, hanged, drowned, or buried alive; in England, where the flames of persecution were but lately extinguished; and in Spain, where they still continued to blaze? Could they have forgotten what had taken place in their own country, or the perils from which they had themselves so recently and so narrowly escaped? "God forbid!" (exclaimed the lords of the

* Mr. Hume's letter, printed in the Life of Dr. Robertson, apud History of Scotland, vol. i. 25. Lond. 1809. Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. part i. p. 71, 72, 74, 79.

† "How sone that ever her French fillokes, fidlars, and utheris of that band gat the hous alone, thair nychi be sene skipping not veray comelie for honest women. Her comune talk was in secrete, that sche saw nothing in Scotland bot gravity, quhilk repugned altogidder to her nature, for sche was brocht up in joyeusetie." Knox, Historie, p. 294.

‡ See Note XLIV

* Knox, Historie, p. 284—287.

† See Note XLV.

privy council, in the presence of queen Mary, at a time when they were not disposed to offend her) "God forbid! that the lives of the faithful stood in the power of the papists: for just experience has taught us what cruelty is in their hearts."*

Nor was this an event so improbable, and so unlikely to happen, as many seem to imagine. The rage for conquest, on the continent, was now converted into a rage for proselytism; and steps had already been taken towards forming that league among the Catholic princes, which had for its object the universal extermination of the protestants. The Scots Queen was passionately addicted to the intoxicating cup of which so many of "the kings of the earth had drunk." There were numbers in the nation who were similarly disposed. The liberty taken by the Queen would soon be demanded for all who declared themselves Catholics. Many of those who had hitherto ranged under the protestant standard were lukewarm in the cause; the zeal of others had already suffered a sensible abatement since the arrival of the Queen;† and it was to be feared, that the favours of the Court, and the blandishments of an artful and engaging princess, would make proselytes of some, and lull others into security, while designs were carried on pregnant with ruin to the religion and liberties of the nation. In one word, the public toleration of the popish worship was only a step to its re-establishment, and this would be the signal for kindling afresh the fires of the Inquisition. It was in this manner that some of the wisest persons in the kingdom reasoned at that time;‡ and, had it not been for the uncommon spirit which then existed among the reformers, there is every reason to think that their predictions would have been realized.

To those who accuse the Scottish protestants of displaying the same spirit of intolerance by which the Roman Catholics were distinguished, I would recommend the following statement of a sensible French author, who had formed a more just notion of these transactions than many of our own writers. "Mary (says he) was brought up in France, accustomed to see protestants burned to death, and instructed in the maxims of her uncles, the Guises, who maintained that it was necessary to exterminate, without mercy, the pretended reformed. With these dispositions she arrived in Scotland, which was wholly reformed, with the exception of a few lords. The kingdom receive her, acknowledge her as their Queen, and obey her in all things according to the laws of the country. I maintain, that, in the state of men's spirits at that time, if a Huguonot Queen had come to take possession of a Roman Catholic kingdom, with the retinue with which Mary came to Scotland, the first thing they would have done would have been to arrest her; and if she had persevered in her religion, they would have procured her degradation by the Pope, thrown her into the Inquisition, and burned her as a heretic. There is not an honest man who dare deny this."‖

After all, it is surely unnecessary to apologize for the restrictions which our ancestors were desirous of imposing on Queen Mary, to those who approve of the present constitution of Britain, according to which every papist is excluded from succeeding to the throne, and the reigning monarch, by setting up mass in his chapel, would virtually forfeit his crown. Is popery more dangerous now than it was two hundred and fifty years ago?

Besides his fears for the common cause, Knox had, at this time, grounds for apprehension as to his personal safety. The Queen was peculiarly incensed against him on account of the active hand which he had in the late revolution; the popish clergy who left the kingdom had represented him as the ring-leader of her factious subjects; and she had signified, before she left France, that she was determined he should be punished. His book against female government was most probably the ostensible charge on which he was to be prosecuted; and accordingly we find him making application, through the English resident at Edinburgh, to secure the favour of Elizabeth, reasonably suspecting that she might be induced to abet the proceedings against him on this head.* But whatever perils he apprehended, from the personal presence of the Queen, either to the public or to himself, he used not the smallest influence to prevent her being invited home. On the contrary, he concurred with his brethren in this measure, and also in using means to defeat a scheme which the Duke of Chastelherault, under the direction of the archbishop of St. Andrews, had formed to exclude her from the government.† But when the Prior of St. Andrews was sent to France with the invitation, he urged that her desisting from the celebration of mass should be one of the conditions of her return; and when he found him and the rest of the council disposed to grant her this liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thraldom."‡

In the beginning of September,‖ only a few days after the Queen's arrival in Scotland, she sent for Knox to the palace, and held a long conversation with him, in the presence of her brother, the Prior of St. Andrews. Whether she did this of her own accord, or in consequence of the advice of some of her counsellors, is uncertain; but she seems to have expected to awe him into submission by her authority, if not to confound him by her arguments. The bold freedom, however, with which he replied to all her charges, and vindicated his own conduct, convinced her that the one expectation was not more vain than the other; and the impression which she wished to make on him was left on her own mind.

She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority, which (she said) she would cause the most learned in Europe to answer; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed, when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by magical arts.

To these heavy charges Knox replied, that, if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, to rebuke idolatry, and exhort a people to worship God according to his word, were to excite subjects to rise against their

* Knox, Historie, p. 341. † Ib. p. 282, 283, 285, 287.

‡ Several of the above considerations, along with others, are forcibly stated in a letter of Maitland to Cecil, written a short time before Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland. Keith, App. 92—95. That sagacious, but supple politician was among the first to verify some of his own predictions. That such fears were very general in the nation appears also from a letter of Randolph. Robertson, Ap. No. 5.

‖ Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises et Parellele; ou Apologie pour les Reformateurs, pour la Reformation, et pour les Reformez, tome i. 334. A Rotterdam, 1683. 4to. The affirmation of this writer is completely supported by the well-known history of Henry IV. of France (not to mention other instances); whose recantation of Calvinism, although it smoothed his way to the throne, was never able to efface the indelible stigma of his former heresy, to secure the affections of his Roman Catholic subjects, or to avert from his breast the consecrated poignard of the assassin.

* Randolph to Cecil, 9th Aug. 1561. apud Robertson's Scotland, Appendix, No. 5. and Keith, p. 190. A letter of Maitland to Cecil, of the same date with the above, seems to refer to the same design; and I shall take the opportunity of correcting (what appears to me) an error in the transcription of this letter. "I wish to God (says Maitland), the first warre may be planely intended *against them by Knox*, for so shold it be manifest that the suppressing off religion was ment; but I fear more she will proceed tharunto by indirect meanes: And nothing for us so dangerouse as temporising." Haynes, p. 369. This seems altogether unintelligible; but if the words which I have printed in Italics be transposed, and read thus, "by them against Knox," they will make sense, and correspond with the strain of the letter, and with the fact mentioned by Randolph, in his letter to Cecil written on the same day. Maitland expresses his fears that Mary would have recourse to crafty measures for undermining their cause, instead of persevering in the design which she had avowed of prosecuting Knox.

† Knox. Historie, p. 269. ‡ Ib p. 282, 293. ‖ Keith. 188

princes, then he stood convicted of that crime; for it had pleased God to employ him, among many others, to disclose unto that realm the vanity of the papistical religion, with the deceit, pride, and tyranny of the Roman antichrist. But if the true knowledge of God and his right worship were the most powerful inducements to subjects cordially to obey their princes (as they certainly were), then was he innocent. Her Grace, he was persuaded, had at present an unfeigned obedience from the protestants of Scotland, as ever her father, or any of her ancestors, had from those called bishops. With respect to what had been reported to her Majesty concerning the fruits of his preaching in England, he was glad that his enemies laid nothing to his charge but what the world knew to be false. If they could prove, that in any of the places where he had resided there was either sedition or mutiny, he would confess himself to be a malefactor. But so far from this being the case, he was not ashamed to say, that in Berwick, where bloodshed among the soldiers had formerly been common, God so blessed his weak labours, that there was as great quietness during the time he resided in it, as there was at present in Edinburgh. The slander of practising magic (an art which he had condemned wherever he preached) he could more easily bear, when he recollected that his master, the Lord Jesus, had been defamed as one in league with Beelzebub. As to the book which seemed so highly to offend her Majesty, he owned that he wrote it, and he was willing that all the learned should judge of it. He understood that an Englishman had written against it, but he had not read his work. If he had sufficiently confuted his arguments, and established the contrary opinion, he would confess his error; but to that hour he continued to think himself alone more able to maintain the propositions affirmed in that book than any ten in Europe were to confute them.

"You think I have no just authority?" said the Queen. "Please your Majesty (replied he), learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published both with pen and tongue; notwithstanding, they themselves have lived in the common society with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Plato the philosopher wrote his book *Of the Commonwealth*, in which he condemned many things that then were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet, notwithstanding, he lived under such policies as then were universally received, without farther troubling of any state. Even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of a good conscience." He added, that his sentiments on that subject should be confined to his own breast; and that, if she refrained from persecution, her authority would not be hurt, either by him or his book, "which was written most especially against that wicked Jesabell of England."

"But ye speak of women in general," said the Queen. "Most true it is, madam; yet it appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your Grace never to raise trouble for that which to this day has not troubled your Majesty, neither in person nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were held stable, have been called in doubt; yea they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured that neither protestant nor papist shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved either in public or in secret. Now, madam, if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I would have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose than I can do now, when your presence is within the realm."

Changing the subject, she charged him with having taught the people to receive a religion different from that which was allowed by their princes; and she asked, if this was not contrary to the divine command, that subjects should obey their rulers. He replied, that true religion derived its origin and authority not from princes, but from the eternal God; that princes were often most ignorant of the true religion; and that subjects were not bound to frame their religion according to the arbitrary will of their rulers, else the Hebrews would have been bound to adopt the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel and his associates that of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and the primitive Christians that of the Roman Emperors. "Yea," replied the Queen, qualifying her assertion; "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet you cannot deny," said he, "that they resisted; for those who obey not the commandment given them do in some sort resist." "But they resisted not with the sword," rejoined the Queen, pressing home the argument. "God, madam, had not given unto them the power and the means." "Think you," said the Queen, "that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?"—"If princes exceed their bounds, madam, no doubt they may be resisted, even by power. For no greater honour, or greater obedience, is to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a phrenzy, in which he would slay his children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till the phrenzy be over; think you, madam, that the children do any wrong? Even so, madam, is it with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad phrenzy; therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God."

The Queen, who had hitherto maintained her courage in reasoning, was completely overpowered by this bold answer: her countenance changed, and she continued in a silent stupor. Her brother spoke to her, and inquired the cause of her uneasiness; but she made no reply. Recovering herself at length, she said, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." "God forbid!" replied the Reformer, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. But my travel is, that both princes and subjects may obey God. And think not, madam, that wrong is done you, when you are required to be subject unto God: for it is he who subjects people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them. He craves of kings that they be as *foster-fathers* to his church, and commands queens to be *nurses* to his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God and his church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth; for it shall raise them to everlasting glory."

"But you are not the church that I will nourish," said the Queen: "I will defend the church of Rome; for it is, I think, the true church of God." "Your *will*, madam, is no reason; neither doth your *thought* make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners." He added, that he was ready to prove that the Romish church had declined farther from the purity of religion taught by the apostles, than the Jewish church had degenerated from the ordinances which God gave them by Moses and Aaron, at the time when they denied and crucified the Son of God. "My conscience is not so," said the Queen. "Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge you have none."—"But I have both

heard and read."—So, madam, did the Jews who crucified Christ Jesus read the law and the prophets, and heard the same interpreted after their manner. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate."

"You interpret the scriptures in one way," said the Queen evasively,—"and they in another: whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God, who plainly speaketh his word," replied the Reformer, "and farther than the word teacheth you, you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself; and if there appear any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to himself, explains the same more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as are obstinately ignorant." As an example, he selected one of the articles in controversy, that concerning the sacrament of the supper, and proceeded to shew, that the popish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was destitute of all foundation in scripture. But the Queen, who was determined to avoid all discussion of the articles of her creed, interrupted him, by saying, that she was unable to contend with him in argument, but if she had those present whom she had heard, they would answer him. "Madam," replied the Reformer fervently, "would to God that the learnedest papist in Europe, and he whom you would best believe, were present with your Grace to sustain the argument, and that you would wait patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end! for then, I doubt not, madam, but you would hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath in the word of God." "Well," said she, "you may perchance get that sooner than you believe."—"Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come, in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. When you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

The hour of dinner afforded an occasion for breaking off this singular conversation. At taking leave of her Majesty, the Reformer said, "I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."*

I have been the more minute in the narrative of this curious conference, because it affords the most satisfactory refutation of the charge, that Knox treated Mary with rudeness and disrespect. For the same reason I shall lay before the reader a circumstantial account of the subsequent interviews between them, from which he will perceive that, though the Reformer addressed her with a plainness to which crowned heads are seldom accustomed, he never lost sight of the respect which was due to the person of his sovereign, or of the decorum which became his own character.

The interview between the Queen and the Reformer excited great speculation, and different conjectures were formed as to its probable consequences. The Catholics, whose hopes now depended solely on the Queen, were alarmed, lest Knox's rhetoric should have shaken her constancy. The protestants cherished the expectation that she would be induced to attend the protestant sermons, and that her religious prejudices would gradually abate.† Knox indulged no such flattering expectations. He had made it his study, during the late conference, to discover the real character of the Queen; and when some of his confidential friends asked his opinion of her, he told them that he was very much mistaken, if she was not proud, crafty, obstinately wedded to the popish church, and averse to all means of instruction.* Writing to Cecil, he says, "The Queen neyther is, neyther shal be of our opinion; and, in very dead, her hole proceedings do declair that the cardinalles lessons ar so deaplie printed in her heart, that the substance and the qualitie are lick to perishe together. I wold be glad to be deceaved, but I fear I shall not. In communication with her, I espyed such craft as I have not found in such aige. Since, hath the court been dead to me and I to it."†

He resolved, therefore, vigilantly to watch her proceedings, and to give timely warning of any danger which might result from them to the reformed interest; and the more that he perceived the zeal of the protestant nobles to cool, and their jealousy to be laid asleep by the winning arts of the Queen, the more frequently and loudly did he sound the alarm. Vehement and harsh as his expressions often were; violent, seditious, and insufferable, as his sermons and prayers have been pronounced, I have little hesitation in saying, that as the public peace was never disturbed by them, so they were useful to the public safety, and a principal means of warding off for a time those confusions in which the country was afterwards involved, and which brought on the ultimate ruin of the infatuated Queen. His uncourtly and rough manner was not, indeed, calculated to gain upon her mind, (nor is there reason to think that an opposite manner would have had this effect), and his admonitions often irritated her; but they obliged her to act with greater reserve and moderation; and they operated, to an indescribable degree, in arousing and keeping awake the zeal and the fears of the nation, which, at that period, were the two great safeguards of the protestant religion in Scotland. We may form an idea of the effect produced by his pulpit orations, from the account of the English ambassador, who was one of his constant hearers. "Where your honour (says he, in a letter to Cecil) exhorted us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able, in an hour, to put more life in us, than *six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.*"‡

The Reformer was not ignorant that some of his friends thought him too severe in his language, nor was he always disposed to vindicate the expressions which he employed. Still, however, he was persuaded, that the times required the utmost plainness; and he was afraid that snares lurked under the smoothness which was recommended and practised by courtiers. Cecil having given him an advice on this head, in one of his letters, we find him replying: "Men deliting to swym betwix two waters, have often compleaned upon my severitie. I do fear that that which men term lenitie and dulcenes do bring upon themselves and others mor fearful destruction, than yit hath ensewed the vehemency of any preacher within this realme."‖

The abatement of zeal which he dreaded from "the holy water of the court," soon began to appear among the protestant leaders. The general assemblies of the church were a great eye-sore to the Queen, who was very desirous to have them put down. At the first assembly held after her arrival, the courtiers, through her influence, absented themselves, and when challenged for this, began to dispute the propriety of such

* Knox, Historie, p. 287—292. † Ibid. p. 292.

* Knox, Historie, p. 292. Keith, 197.

† Letter, Knox to Cecil, 7th October 1561, Haynes, State Papers, p. 372.

‡ Randolph's letter, in Keith, 188. In this letter, the ambassador states some circumstances relating to the first interview between the Queen and the Reformer, which are not mentioned in Knox's History. He "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief; though in this the lord James will disagree with me. He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak his conscience; [and] to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers."

‖ Haynes, 372. An epistolary correspondence was at this time maintained between Secretary Cecil and our Reformer. Keith, 191, 192, 194. Robertson, Append, No. 5.

conventions without her majesty's pleasure. On this point, there was sharp reasoning between Knox and Maitland, who was now made Secretary of State. "Take from us the liberty of assemblies, and take from us the gospel," said the Reformer. "If the liberty of the church must depend upon her allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only assemblies, but also the preaching of the gospel." It was proposed that the Book of Discipline should be ratified by the Queen and Council, but this was keenly opposed by secretary Maitland. "How many of those that subscribed that book will be subject to it?" said he, scoffingly. "All the godly," it was answered. "Will the Duke?" said he. "If he will not," replied Lord Ochiltree, "I wish that his name were scraped not only out of that book, but also out of our number and company; for to what end shall men subscribe and never mean to keep word of that which they promise." Maitland said, that many subscribed it *in fide parentum*, implicitly. Knox replied, that the scoff was as untrue as it was unbecoming; for the book was publicly read and its different heads discussed for a number of days, and no man was required to subscribe what he did not understand. "Stand content," said one of the courtiers; "that book will not be obtained." "And let God require the injury which the commonwealth shall sustain, at the hands of those who hinder it," replied the Reformer.*

He was still more indignant at their management in settling the provision for the ministers of the church. Hitherto they had lived chiefly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the Privy Council to take up the affair, they came at last to a determination, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected popish clergy; and that the third part should be divided between the court and the protestant ministry! † The persons appointed to "modify the stipends"‡ were disposed to gratify the Queen, and the demands of the court were readily answered, while the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were paltry and inadequate. "Weall! (exclaimed Knox, when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement) if the end of this ordour, pretendit to be takin for sustentation of the ministers, be happie, my jugement failes me. I sie twa pairtis freelie gevin to the devill, and the third mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Quho wald have thocht, that quhen Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles, and have returned with emptie sackes unto thair families? O happie servands of the devill, and miserabill servands of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heavin!"‖

He vented his mind more freely on this subject, as his complaints could not be imputed to personal motives; for his own stipend, though moderate, was liberal when compared with those of the most of his brethren. From the time of his last return to Scotland until the conclusion of the war, he had been indebted to the liberality of individuals for the support of his family. After that period, he lodged for some time in the house of David Forrest, a burgess of Edinburgh, from which he removed to the lodging which had belonged to Durie, abbot of Dunfermline. As soon as he began to preach statedly in the city, the town council assigned him an annual stipend of two hundred pounds, which he was entitled to receive quarterly; and they also paid his house-rent, and his board during the time that he had resided with Forrest. Subsequent to the settlement made by the Privy Council, it would seem that he received at least a part of his income from the common fund allotted to the ministers of the church; but the good town had still an opportunity of testifying their generosity, by supplying the deficiencies of the legal allowance. Indeed, the uniform attention of the town council to his external support and accommodation, was honourable to them, and deserves to be recorded to their commendation.*

In the beginning of the year 1562, he went to Angus to preside in the election and admission of John Erskine of Dun as superintendent of Angus and Mearns. That respectable baron was one of those whom the first General Assembly declared "apt and able to minister;"† and having already contributed in different ways to the advancement of the Reformation, he now devoted himself to the service of the church, in a laborious employment, at a time when she stood eminently in need of the assistance of all the learned and pious. Knox had formerly presided at the installation of John Spottiswood, as superintendent of Lothian.‡

The influence of our Reformer appears from his being employed on different occasions to compose variances of a civil nature, which arose among the protestants. He was applied to frequently to intercede with the town council in behalf of some of the inhabitants, who had subjected themselves to punishment by their disorderly conduct.‖ Soon after his return to Scotland, he had composed a disagreeable domestic variance between the Earl and Countess of Argyle.§ And he was now urged by the Earl of Bothwell to assist in removing a deadly feud which subsisted between him and the Earl of Arran. He was averse to interfere in this business, which had already baffled the authority of the privy council;¶ but at the desire of some friends, he yielded, and, after considerable pains, had the satisfaction of bringing the parties to an amicable interview, at which they mutually promised to bury their former differences. But all the fine hopes which he had formed from this reconciliation were speedily blasted. For in the course of a few days, Arran came to him in great agitation, and informed him, that Bothwell had endeavoured to engage him in a conspiracy, to seize upon the person of the Queen, and to kill the Prior of St. Andrews, Maitland, and the rest of her counsellors. Knox does not seem to have given much credit to this information; he even endeavoured to prevent Arran from making it public; in this, however, he did not succeed, and both noblemen were imprisoned. It soon after became evident that Arran was lunatic, but the fears of the courtiers shew that they did not altogether disbelieve his accusation, and that they suspected that Bothwell had

* Knox, Historie, p. 295—6.

† Keith, App. 175—179. Knox, 296—300.

‡ The Privy Council appointed certain persons to fix the sums which were to be appropriated to the court and to the ministry, and also the particular salaries which were to be allotted to individual ministers, according to the circumstances in which they were placed. The officers appointed for this purpose composed a board or court, under the Privy Council, which was called the Court of *Modification*.

‖ "So busie," says he, "and circumspect wer the modificators (because it was a new office, the terme must also be new,) that the ministers should not be over-wantoun, that an hundreth merks was sufficient to an single man, being a commone minister: Thre hundreth merks was the hiest apoynted to any except the superintendents, and a few utheris." Historie, 301. "Mr. Knox, is not at all here diminishing the sum (says Keith); for the original books of *Assignation* to the ministers, which now ly before me, ascertain the truth of what he says," p. 503. Wishart of Pittarrow, who was comptroller of the modification, pinched the ministers so much, that it became a proverb, *The gude laird of Petarro was an ernest professour of Christ, bot the mekill devill receave the Comptroller.*

* See Extracts from the Records of the Town Council, in Note XLVI.

† Keith, p. 498.

‡ The form observed on that occasion, which was followed in the admission or ordination of all the superintendents and other ministers, is inserted at length in Knox's Historie, p. 263—266, and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 627—636.

‖ Knox, Historie, p. 270. § Ibid. p. 328-9.

¶ Keith, 215.

formed that wicked design, of which his future conduct proved that he was capable.*

In the month of May, Knox had another interview with the Queen, on the following occasion. The family of Guise were at this time making the most vigorous efforts to regain that ascendancy in the French counsels which they had been deprived of since the death of Francis II. and, as zeal for the Catholic religion was the cloak under which they concealed their ambitious designs, they began by stirring up persecution against the protestants. The massacre of Vassy, in the beginning of March, was a prelude to this; in which the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorrain attacked, with an armed force, a congregation assembled for worship, killed a number of them, and wounded and mutilated others, not excepting women and children.† Intelligence of the success which attended the measures of her uncles was brought to Queen Mary, who immediately after gave a splendid ball to her foreign servants, at which the dancing was prolonged to a late hour.

Knox was advertised of the festivities in the palace, and had no doubt that they were occasioned by the accounts which the Queen had received from France. He always felt a lively interest in the concerns of the French protestants, with many of whom he was intimately acquainted; and he entertained a very bad opinion of the princes of Lorrain. In his sermon on the following Sabbath, having discoursed of the dignity of magistrates, and the obedience which was due to them, he proceeded to lament the abuse which the greater part of rulers made of their power, and introduced some severe strictures upon the vices to which princes were commonly addicted, their oppression, ignorance, hatred of virtue, attachment to bad company, and fondness for foolish pleasures. Glancing at the amusements which were common in the palace, he said that princes were more exercised in dancing and music than in reading or hearing the word of God, and they delighted more in fiddlers and flatterers than in the company of wise and grave men, who were capable of giving them wholesome counsel. As to dancing, (he said), although he did not find it praised in Scripture, and profane writers had termed it a gesture more becoming mad than sober men, yet he would not utterly condemn it, provided, first, that persons did not neglect the duties of their station by indulging in it, and secondly, that they did not dance, like the Philistines, from joy at the misfortunes of God's people. If they were guilty of these, their mirth would be soon converted into sorrow. Information of this discourse was quickly conveyed to the Queen, with many exaggerations; and the preacher was next day ordered to attend at the palace. Being conveyed into the royal chamber, where the Queen sat with her maids of honour and her principal counsellors, he was accused of having spoken of her Majesty irreverently, and in a manner calculated to bring her under the contempt and hatred of her subjects.

After the Queen had made a long speech on that theme, he was allowed to state his defence. He told her Majesty, that she had been treated as persons usually were who refused to attend the preaching of the word of God: she had been obliged to trust to the false reports of flatterers. For, if she had heard the calumniated discourse, he did not believe she could have been offended with any thing that he had said. She would now, therefore, be pleased to hear him repeat, as exactly as he could, what he had preached yesterday. Mary was obliged for once to listen to a protestant sermon. Having finished the recapitulation of his discourse, he said, "If any man, madam, will say, that I spake more, let him presently accuse me; for I think I have not only touched the sum, but the very words as I spake them." Several of the company, who had heard the sermon preached, attested that he had given a fair and accurate account of it. The Queen, after turning round to the informers, who were dumb, told him, that his words, though sharp enough as related by himself, had been reported to her in a different way. She added, that she knew that her uncles and he were of a different religion, and therefore did not blame him for having no good opinion of them; but if he heard any thing about her conduct which displeased him, he should come to herself privately, and she would willingly listen to his admonitions. Knox easily saw through this proposal; and, from what he already knew of Mary's character, he was convinced that she had no inclination to receive his private instructions, but wished merely to induce him to refrain in his sermons from every thing that might be displeasing to the court. He replied, that he was willing to do any thing for her Majesty's contentment, which was consistent with his office; if her Grace chused to attend the public sermons, she would have an opportunity of knowing what pleased or displeased him in her and in others; or if she chose to appoint a time when she would hear the substance of the doctrine which he preached in public, he would most gladly wait upon her Grace's pleasure, time, and place: but to come and wait at her chamber-door, and then to have liberty only to whisper in her ear what people thought and said of her, that would neither his conscience nor his office permit him to do. "For, (added he, in a strain which he sometimes used even on serious occasions), albeit at your Grace's commandment, I am heir now, yit can I not tell quhat uther men shall judge of me, that, at this time of day, am absent from my buke, and waitting upon the court." "Ye will not alwayes be at your buke," said the Queen pettishly, and turned her back. As he left the room "with a reasounable merry countenance," some of the popish attendants said in his hearing, *He is not afraid!* "Why sould the plesing face of a *gentilwoman* afray me? (said he, regarding them with a sarcastic scowl) I have luiked in the faces of mony angry *men*, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour."*

There was at that time but one place of worship in the city of Edinburgh.† The number of inhabitants was, indeed, small, when compared with its present population; but still they must have formed a very large congregation. The place used for worship in St. Giles's church was capacious; for we learn that, on some occasions, three thousand persons assembled in it to hear sermon.‡ In this church, Knox had, since 1560, performed all the parts of ministerial duty, without any other assistant than John Cairns, who acted as reader.‖ He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other days of the week.§ He met regularly once every week with his kirk-session for discipline,¶ and with the assembly of the neighbourhood for the exercise on the scriptures. He attended, besides, the meetings of the provincial synod and general assembly; and at almost every meeting of the latter, he received an appointment to visit and preach in some distant part of the country. These labours must have been oppressive to a constitution which was already much impaired; especially as he did not indulge in extemporaneous effusions, but devoted a part of every day to study. His parish was sensible of this; and, in April 1562, the town council came to an unanimous

* Knox, Historie, 305—308, and Letter to Locke, 6th May, 1562, in Cald. MS. i. 755, 756. Spottis. 184.

† Histoire des Martyrs, fol. 559, 559. printed A. 1597.

* Knox, Historie, 308—311.

† St. Cuthberts, or the West Church, was at that time (as it is at present), a distinct parish, of which *William Harlow* was minister. There was also a minister in Canongate or Holyroodhouse.

‡ Cald. MS. ii. 157.

‖ Records of Town Council, 26th October, 1561.

§ Ibid. 10th April, 1562.

¶ The number of elders in the session of Edinburgh was twelve, and of deacons sixteen. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 638.

resolution to solicit the minister of Canongate to undertake the half of the charge. The ensuing general assembly approved of the council's proposal, and appointed the translation.* It did not, however, take place before June 1563, owing, as it would seem, to the difficulty of obtaining an additional stipend.†

The person who was appointed colleague to our Reformer was *John Craig*. A short account of this distinguished minister cannot be altogether foreign to the history of one with whom he was so strictly associated, and it will present incidents which are both curious in themselves, and illustrative of the singular manner in which many of the promoters of the Reformation were fitted by providence for engaging in that great undertaking. He was born in 1512, and soon after lost his father in the battle of Flodden, which proved fatal to so many families in Scotland. After finishing his education at the university of St. Andrews, he went to England, and became tutor to the family of Lord Dacres, but war having broken out between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and entered into the order of Dominican friars. The Scottish clergy were at that time eager in making inquisition for Lutherans; and owing either to the circumstance of his having been in England, or to his having dropped some expressions respecting religion which were deemed too free, Craig fell under the suspicion of heresy, and was thrown into prison. The accusation was found to be groundless, and he was set at liberty. But although he was still attached to the Roman Catholic religion, the ignorance and bigotry of the clergy gave him such a disgust at his native country that he left it in 1537, and having remained a short time in England, went to France, and from that to Italy. At the recommendation of the celebrated Cardinal Pole, he was admitted among the Dominicans in the city of Bologna, and was soon raised to an honourable employment in that body. In the library of the *Inquisition*, which was attached to the monastery, he found *Calvin's Institutions*. Being fond of books, he determined to read that work, and the consequence was that he became a complete convert to the reformed opinions. In the warmth of his first impressions, he could not restrain himself from imparting the change of his sentiments to his associates, and he must have soon fallen a sacrifice to the vigilant guardians of the faith, had not the friendship of a father in the monastery saved him. The old man, who also was a native of Scotland, represented the danger to which he exposed himself by avowing such tenets in that place, and advised him, if he was fixed in his views to retire immediately to some protestant country. With this prudent advice he complied so far as to procure his discharge from the monastery.

At a very early period of the Christian era there were converts to the gospel "in Cæsar's household," and in the sixteenth century the light of reformation penetrated into Italy, and even into the territories of the Roman Pontiff.‡ On leaving the monastery of Bologna, Craig entered as tutor into the family of a neighbouring nobleman, who had embraced the protestant principles; but he had not resided long in it when he was delated for heresy, seized by the familiars of the Inquisition, and carried to Rome. After being confined nine months in a noisome dungeon, he was brought to trial, and condemned to be burned, along with some others, on the 20th of August 1559. On the evening previous to their appointed execution, the reigning Pontiff, Paul IV. died; and, according to an accustomed practice on such occasions, the prisons in Rome were all thrown open. Those who were confined for debt and other civil offences were liberated, but heretics, after being allowed to go without the walls of their prison, were again thrown into confinement. But a tumult having been excited that night in the city, Craig and his companions effected their escape, and took refuge in an inn at a small distance from Rome. They had not been long there when they were followed by a company of soldiers, sent to apprehend them. On entering the house, the Captain looked steadfastly on Craig's countenance, and taking him aside, asked him, if he recollected of once relieving a poor wounded soldier in the vicinity of Bologna. Craig was in too great confusion to remember the circumstance. "But I recollect it (replied the captain,) and I am the man whom you relieved, and providence has now put it in my power to return the kindness which you shewed to a distressed stranger. You are at liberty; your companions I must take along with me, but for your sake I shall shew them every favour in my power." He then gave him what money he had upon him, and directions how to make his escape.

We are not yet done with the wonderful incidents in the life of Craig. "Another accident (says archbishop Spottiswood) befel him, which I should scarcely relate, so incredible it seemeth, if to many of good place he himself had not often repeated it as a singular testimony of God's care for him." In the course of his journey through Italy, while he avoided the public roads, and took a circuitous route to escape from pursuit, the money which he had received from the grateful soldier failed him. Having laid himself down by the side of a wood to ruminate on his condition, he perceived a dog approaching him with a purse in its teeth. It occurred to him that it had been sent by some evil disposed person, who was concealed in the wood, and wished to pick a quarrel with him. He therefore endeavoured to drive it away, but the animal continuing to fawn upon him, he at length took the purse, and found in it a sum of money which enabled him to prosecute his journey. Having reached Vienna, and announced himself as a Dominican, he was employed to preach before the Emperor Maximilian. His Majesty was so much pleased that he was desirous of retaining him; but the Pope, Pius IV. having heard of his reception at the Austrian capital, applied to have him sent back to Rome as a condemned heretic, upon which the Emperor dismissed him with a safe-conduct. When he arrived in England in 1560, and was informed of the establishment of the reformed religion in his native country, he immediately repaired to Scotland, and was admitted to the ministry. Having in a great measure forgotten his native language, during an absence of twenty-four years, he for a short time preached in Latin to some of the learned in Magdalene's chapel. He was afterwards appointed minister of the parish of Canongate, where he had not officiated long, till he was elected colleague to Knox.*

The Queen still persevered in the line of policy which she had adopted at her first arrival in Scotland, and employed none but protestant counsellors. She entrusted the chief direction of public affairs to the Prior of St. Andrews, who, in 1562, was created Earl of Murray,† and married a daughter of the Earl Marishal. The marriage ceremony was performed by Knox publicly before the congregation, according to the custom at that time; and on that occasion the Reformer reminded the Earl of the benefit which the church had hitherto received from his services, and exhorted him to persevere in the same course, lest, if

* Calderwood, apud Keith, 514. † See Note XLVII.
‡ See Note XLVIII.

* Row, MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 47. Spottiswood, p. 463—4. I have chiefly followed Row's narrative. By comparing it with Spottiswood's, the reader will perceive that they differ in a few unimportant circumstances. Row mentions that he had his information from several persons who had heard Craig himself relate the story, and particularly from his widow, Dame Craig, who survived her husband, and lived in Edinburgh until 1630. † Keith, p. 226.

an unfavourable change was perceived, the blame should be imputed to his wife.* The fact, however, was, that Knox was more afraid that Murray would be corrupted by his connection with the court, than by his matrimonial alliance.

Although the protestants filled the cabinet, it was well known that they did not possess the affection and confidence of her majesty, and in consequence of this various plots were laid to displace and ruin them. During the autumn of 1562, the Roman Catholics in Scotland entertained great hopes of a change in their favour. After several unsuccessful attempts to cut off the principal protestant courtiers,† the Earl of Huntly openly took arms in the North, to rescue the Queen from their hands; while the archbishop of St. Andrews endeavoured to unite and rout the papists of the South. On this occasion, our Reformer acted with his usual zeal and foresight. Being appointed by the general assembly as commissioner to visit the churches of the West, he persuaded the gentlemen of that quarter to enter into a new bond of defence. Hastening into Nithsdale and Galloway, he, by his sermons and conversation, confirmed the protestants in these places. He employed the Master of Maxwell to write to the Earl of Bothwell, who had escaped from confinement, and meant, it was feared, to join Huntly. He himself wrote to the Duke of Chastelherault, warning him not to listen to the solicitations of his brother, the archbishop, nor accede to a conspiracy which would infallibly prove the ruin of his house. By these means, the southern parts of the kingdom were preserved in a state of peace, while the vigorous measures of the Council crushed the rebellion in the North.‡ The Queen expressed little satisfaction at the victory over Huntly, and there is every reason to think, that, if she was not privy to his rising, she at least expected to turn it to the advancement of her projects.‖ According to archbishop Spottiswood, she scrupled not to say, at this time, that she "hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and Catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom."§

While these hopes were indulged, the popish clergy thought it necessary to gain credit to their cause, by appearing more openly in defence of their tenets than they had lately done. They began to preach publicly in different parts of the country, and boasted that they were ready to dispute with the protestant ministers.¶

The person who stepped forward as their champion was Quintin Kennedy, uncle to the Earl of Cassilis, and abbot of Crossraguel. Though his talents were not of a superior order, the abbot was certainly one of the most respectable of the popish clergy in Scotland, not only in birth, but also in regularity and decorum of conduct. He seems, however, to have spent the greater part of his life in the same neglect of professional duty which characterized his brethren; but he was roused from his inactivity by the zeal and success of the protestant preachers, who, in the years 1556 and 1557, attacked the popish faith, and inveighed against the idleness and corruption of the clergy.** At an age when others retire from the field, he began to rub up his long neglected theological armour, and to gird himself for the combat.

His first appearance as a polemical writer was in 1558, when he published a short system of catholic tactics, under the title of *Ane Compendius Tractive*, shewing "the nerrest and onlie way to establish the conscience of a Christian man," in all matters which were in debate concerning faith and religion. This way was no other than implicit faith in the decisions of the church or clergy. When any point of religion was controverted, the scripture might be cited as a *witness*, but the church was the *judge*, whose determinations, in general councils canonically assembled, were to be humbly received and submitted to by all the faithful.* It was but "a barbour saying" which the protestants had commonly in their mouths, that every man ought to examine the scriptures for himself. It was sufficient for those who did not occupy the place of teachers, that they had a general knowledge of the creed, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, according to the sense in which these were explained by the church. And "as to the sacramentis, and all other secretis of the scripture," every Christian man ought to "stand to the judgement of his pastor, who did bear his burden in all matters doubtsome above his knowledge."†

This was doubtless a very near way to stability of mind, and a most compendious mode of deciding every controversy which might arise, without having recourse to examination, or reasoning, or debate. But as the wilful and stubborn reformers would not submit to this easy and short mode of decision, the abbot was reluctantly obliged to enter the lists of argument with them. Accordingly, in the beginning of 1559, he challenged Willock, who was preaching in his neighbourhood, to a dispute on the sacrifice of the mass. The challenge was accepted, the time and place of meeting were fixed; but the dispute did not take place, as Kennedy refused to appear, unless his antagonist would previously engage to submit to the interpretations of scripture which had been given by the ancient doctors of the church.‡ From this time he seems to have made the mass the great subject of his study, and in 1561 wrote a book in its defence, which was answered by George Hay.‖

On the 30th of August 1562, the abbot read, in his chapel of Kirk Oswald, a number of articles respecting the mass, purgatory, praying to saints, the use of images, &c. which, he said, he would defend against any who would impugn them, and he promised to declare his mind more fully respecting them on the following Sabbath. Knox, who was in the vicinity, came to Kirk Oswald on that day, with the design of hearing the abbot, and granting him the disputation which he had courted. In the morning, he sent some gentlemen who accompanied him to acquaint Kennedy with the reason of his coming, and to desire him either to preach according to his promise, or to attend Knox's sermon, and afterwards to state his objections to the doctrine which might be delivered. The abbot did not think it proper to appear, and Knox preached in the chapel. When he came down from the pulpit, a letter from Kennedy was put into his hand, which led to an epistolary correspondence between them, fully as curious as the dispute which followed.

The abbot wrote to Knox, that he was informed he had come to that quarter of the country "to seik disputation," which he was so far from refusing that he "ernestlie and effectuouslie covated the samin," and

* Knox, Historie, p. 302. † Keith, 230. Knox, 321.
‡ Knox, 316—318.
‖ The historian of the family of Gordon expressly says, that "her majesty thought, by the Earle of Huntlie his power in the north, to get herselff fred from the hands of her bastard brother, James Earle of Morray;" and that "the Earle of Huntlie (at the quein's owne desyre) did gather some forces, to get her out of the Earle of Murraye's power." Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, p. 140, 141; *just published from a MS. in the possession of the Marchioness of Stafford.*
§ Spottiswood, 185. ¶ Knox, Historie, p. 316, 318.
** The reasoning betwix Jo. Knox and the abbote of Crossraguell, fol. 4. Edinburgh, 1563.

* Kennedy, Compendius Tractive, A, iiij. † Ibid. D, vii.
‡ Keith, App. 195—199. Kennedy, in a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, says, "Willock, and the rest of his counsell labourit earnestlie to sie gif I wald admitt the scripture onlye juge, and, be that meines, to haif maid me contrarry to my awin buke; bot thair labouris wes in waist.—I held me evir fast at ane grounde." And he triumphs, that he "draif the lymmar—to refuse the interpretation of the doctoris allegeit be him and all utheris, bot so far as he thocht, thay war agreable with the worde of God, quhilk was as rycht nocht." Ut supra, 193, 194.
‖ See Note XLIX.

with that view should meet him next Sunday in any house in Maybole that he choosed, provided not more than twenty persons on each side were allowed to be present. The reformer replied, that he had come to that quarter for the purpose of preaching the gospel, and not of disputing; that he was under a previous engagement to be in Dumfries on the day mentioned by the abbot; but that he would return with all convenient speed, and fix a time for meeting him. To this letter the abbot sent an answer, to which Knox returned a verbal message only at the time, but when he afterwards published the correspondence, affixed short notes to it by way of reply. The abbot proposed that they should have "familear, formall, and gentill ressoning." "With my whole hart I accept the condition," replies the reformer, "for assuredlie, my lord, (so I style you by reason of blood, and not of office) chiding and brawling I utterlie abhor." To Knox's declaration that he had come to "preach Jesus Christ crucified to be the only Saviour of the world," the abbot answers, "Praise be to God, that was na newings in this countrie, or ye war borne." "I greatlie dout," replies the reformer, "if ever Christ Jesus was treulie preached by a papistical prelat or monk." As an excuse for his not preaching at Kirk Oswald on the day he had promised, the abbot says, that Knox had come to the place convoyed by five or six score strangers. "I lay the night before," says Knox, "in Mayboil, accompanied with fewer than twentie." The abbot boasted that Willock at a former period, and Hay more lately, had refused to dispute with him, until they consulted the council and their brethren.—"Maister George Hay offered unto you disputation, but ye fled the barrass." Knox wished the dispute to be conducted publicly in St. John's Church, Ayr; for, says he, "I wonder with what conscience ye can require privat conference of those artikles that ye have publicklie proponed. Ye have infected the ears of the simple; ye have wounded the hearts of the godlie; and ye have spoken blasphemie in oppen audience. Let your owne conscience now be judge, if we be bound to answer you in the audience of 20 or 40, of whom the one half are alreadie persuaded in the treuth, and the other perchance so addicted to your error, that they will not be content that light be called light, and darkness, darkness."—"Ye said ane lytill afore," answers the abbot, "ye did abhor all chiding and railling, bot nature passis nurtor with yow."—"I will nether interchange nature nor nurtor with yow, for all the proffets of Crosragucll."—"Gif the victorie consist in clamor or crying out," says the abbot, objecting to a public meeting, "I wil quite you the cause but farder pley;* and yet, praise be to God, I may quhisper in sic manner as I wilbe hard sufficientlie in the largest house in all carrick."† "The larger hous, the better for the auditor and me," says the reformer.

The Earl of Cassilis wrote to Knox, expressing his disapprobation of the proposed disputation, as unlikely to do any good, and calculated to endanger the public peace; to which the reformer replied, by signifying, that his relation had given the challenge, which he was resolved not to decline, and that his lordship ought to encourage him to keep the appointment, from which no bad effects were to be dreaded. Upon this the abbot wrote a letter to Knox, charging him with having procured Cassilis's letter, to bring him into disgrace, and to advance his own honour, and saying that he would have "rancountered" him the last time he was in that country, had it not been for the interposition of his nephew. "Ye sal be assured (adds he) I sal keip day and place in Mayboill, according to my writing, and I haif my life, and my feit louse;" and in another letter to Knox and the baillies of Ayr, he says, "keip your promes, and pretex na joukrie, be my lorde of Cassilis writing." "To nether of these," says Knox, "did I answer otherwise than by appointing the day, and promising to keap the same. For I can pacientlie suffer wantone men to speak wantonlie, considering that I had sufficientlie answered my Lord of Cassilis in that behalf."

The conditions of the combat were now speedily settled. They agreed to meet on the 28th of September, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the house of the provost of Maybole. Forty persons on each side were to be admitted as witnesses of the dispute, with "as many mo as the house might goodly hold, at the sight of my lord of Cassilis." And notaries or scribes were chosen on each side to record the papers which might be given in by the parties, and the arguments which they advanced in the course of reasoning, to prevent unnecessary repetition, or a false report of the proceedings. These conditions were formally drawn out, and subscribed by the abbot and the reformer, on the day preceding the meeting.

When they met, "John Knox addressed him to make publict prayer, whereat the abbot wes soir offended at the first, but whil the said John wold in nowise be stayed, he and his gave audience; which being ended, the abbote said, *Be my faith, il is weill said.*" The reasoning commenced by reading a paper presented by the abbot, in which, after rehearsing the occasion of his present appearance, and protesting that his entering into dispute was not to be understood as implying that the points in question were disputable or dubious, being already determined by lawful general councils, he declared his readiness to defend the articles which he had exhibited, beginning with that concerning the sacrifice of the mass. To this paper Knox gave in a written answer in the course of the disputation: in the mean time, after stating his opinion respecting general councils, he proceeded to the article in dispute. It was requisite, he said, to state clearly and distinctly the subject in controversy; and he thought it contained the four following things, the name, the form and action, the opinion entertained of it, and the actor with the authority which he had to do what he pretended to do: all of which he was prepared to shew were destitute of any foundation in scripture. The abbot was aware of the difficulty of managing the dispute on such broad ground, and he had taken up ground of his own which he thought he could maintain against his antagonist. "As to the masse that he will impung (said he) or any mannes masse, yea, and it war *the paipes awin masse*, I will maintein na thing but Jesus Christes masse, conforme to my article; as it is written, and diffinition contened in my buik, quhilk he hes tane on hand to impung."

Knox expressed his delight at hearing the abbot say that he would defend nothing but the mass of Christ, for if he adhered to this, they were "on the verray point of an christiane agreement," as he was ready to allow whatever could be shewn to have been instituted by Christ. As to his lordship's book, he confessed he had not read it, and (without excusing his negligence) requested the definition to be read to him from it. The abbot qualified his assertion, by saying, that he meant to defend no other mass, except that which in its "substance, institution, and effect," was appointed by Christ; and he defined the mass, as concerning the substance and effect, to be the sacrifice and oblation of the Lord's body and blood, given and offered by him in the last supper; and for the first confirmation of this, he rested upon the oblation of bread and wine by Melchizedeck. His argument was, that the scripture declared that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchizedeck: Melchizedeck offered bread and wine to God: therefore Christ offered or made oblation of his body and blood in the last supper, which

* without farther plea.

† The shire of Ayr is divided into three districts, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.

was the only instance in which the priesthood of Christ and Melchizedeck could agree.

Knox said, that the ceremonies of the mass, and the opinion entertained of it, (as procuring remission of sins to the quick and the dead) were viewed as important parts of it, and having a strong hold of the consciences of the people, ought to be taken into the argument; but as the abbot declared himself willing to defend these afterwards, he would proceed to the substance, and proposed, in the first place, to fix the sense in which the word sacrifice or oblation was used in this question. There were sacrifices *propitiatoriæ, for expiation*, and *eucharisticæ, of thanksgiving;* in which last sense the mortification of the body, prayer, and alms-giving, were called sacrifices in scripture. He wished, therefore, to know whether the abbot understood the word in the first or second of these senses in this dispute. The abbot said, that he would not at present dispute what his opponent meant by a sacrifice *propitiatorum;* but he held the sacrifice on the cross to be the only sacrifice of redemption, and that of the mass to be the sacrifice of commemoration of the death and passion of Christ. Knox replied, that the chief head which he intended to impugn seemed to be yielded by the abbot; and he, for his part, cheerfully granted, that there was a commemoration of Christ's death in the right use of the ordinance of the supper.

The abbot insisted that Knox should proceed to impugn the warrant which he had taken from scripture for his article. "Protesting (said the reformer) that this mekle is win, that the sacrifice of the messe being denied by me to be a sacrifice *propitiatorie* for the sins of the quick and the dead (according to the opinion thereof before conceaved), hath no patron at the present, I am content to procede."—"I protest he hes win nothing of me as yit, and referres it to black and quhite contened in our writing."—"I have openlie denied the masse to be an sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick, &c. and the defence thereof is denied. And, therefore, I referre me unto the same judges that my lord hath clamed."—"Ye may denie quhat ye pleis; for all that ye denie I tak not presentlie to impung; but quhair I began there will I end, that is, to defend the messe conform to my artickle." "Your lordship's ground (said Knox, after some altercation) is, that Melchizedeck is the figure of Christe in that he did offer unto God bread and wine, and that it behoved Jesus Christ to offer, in his latter supper, his body and blude, under the forms of bread and wine. I answer to your ground yet againe, that Melchizedeck offered neither bread nor wine *unto God;* and therefore, it that ye would thereupon conclude hath no assurance of your ground." "Preve that," said the abbot. Knox replied, that, according to the rules of just reasoning, he could not be bound to prove a negative; that it was incumbent on his opponent to bring forward some proof for his affirmation, concerning which the text was altogether silent; and that until the abbot did this, it was sufficient for him simply to deny. But the abbot said, he "stuck to his text," and insisted that his antagonist should shew for what purpose Melchizedeck brought out the bread and wine, if it was not to offer them to God. After protesting that the abbot's position remained destitute of any support, and that he was not bound in argument to shew what became of the bread and wine, or what use was made of them, Knox consented to state his opinion, that they were intended by Melchizedeck to refresh Abraham and his company. The abbot had now gained what he wished; and he had a number of objections ready to start against this view of the words, by which he was able at least to protract and involve the dispute. And thus ended the first day's contest.

When the company convened on the following day, the abbot proceeded to impugn the view which his opponent had given of the text. He urged, first, that Abraham and his company had a sufficiency of provision in the spoils which they had taken from the enemy in their late victory, and did not need Melchizedeck's bread and wine; and, secondly, that the text said that Melchizedeck brought them forth, and it was improbable that one man, and he a king, should carry as much as would refresh three hundred and eighteen men. To these objections Knox made such replies as will occur to any person who thinks on the subject. And in this manner did the second day pass.

When they met on the third day, the abbot presented a paper, in which he stated another objection to Knox's view of the text. After some more altercation on this subject, Knox desired his opponent to proceed to his promised proof of the argument upon which he had rested his cause. But the abbot, being indisposed, rose up, and put into Knox's hand a book to which he referred him for the proof.* By this time, the noblemen and gentlemen present were completely wearied out. For besides the tedious and uninteresting mode in which the disputation had been managed, they could find entertainment neither for themselves nor for their retinue in Maybole; so that if any person had brought in *bread and wine* among them, it is presumable that they would not have debated long upon the purpose for which it was brought. Knox proposed that they should adjourn to Ayr and finish the dispute, which was refused by the abbot, who said he would come to Edinburgh for that purpose, provided he could obtain the Queen's permission. Upon this the company dismissed.

The dispute was never resumed, though Knox says that he applied to the privy council for liberty to the abbot to come to Edinburgh for this purpose. Kennedy died in August 1564. It has been said that he was canonized as a saint after his death,† and Dempster makes him both a saint and a martyr.‡ I have not seen his name in the Romish calendar, but I find (what is of as great consequence) that the grand *argument* upon which he insisted in his disputation with the reformer has been *canonized.* For in the calendar, at "March 25," it is written, "Melchezedec sacrifeit breid and wyne in figure of ye bodie and bloud of our lord, whilk is offerit in ye messe." Doubtless, those who knew the very month and day on which this happened, must have been better acquainted with the design of Melchizedeck, and with the whole transaction, than Moses.‖

The abbot, or his friends, having circulated the report that he had the advantage in the disputation, Knox, in 1563, published the account of it from the records of the notaries, to which he added a prologue and short marginal notes. The prologue and his answer to the abbot's first paper, especially the latter, are pieces of good writing. I have been more minute in the narration of this dispute than its merits deserve, because no account of it has hitherto appeared, the tract itself being so exceedingly rare, as to have been seen by few for a long period.§

* This seems to have been the book published by Kennedy during the preceding year.

† Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 75.

‡ "Augustus 22—Monasterio Crucis regalis obitus Beati Quintini Kennedii abbatis, Comitis Cassilii fratris, qui admiranda constantia sex annis totis, cum hæresi nascente, et jam confirmata conflixit, ad extremum lento *veneno consumptus*, corruptoque sanguine excessit." Dempsteri Menologium Scotorum, p. 20. Bononiæ, 1622.

‖ See Calendar by "M. Adam King, profeseur of philosophie and Mathimatikis at Paris" prefixed to a Scots translation of Canisius's Catechism, which was printed in 1587.

§ Knox gives merely a general notice of this disputation in his Historie, p. 318. Keith, who was very industrious in collecting whatever referred to the ecclesiastical history of that period, could not obtain a copy of the printed disputation, and had heard of but one imperfect copy. History. App. 255. The only copy known to exist at present, is in the library of *Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck.* Since the publication of the first edition of this Life, Mr. Boswell has reprinted a small impression of this unique, being an exact *fac simile* of the original edition, for the gratification of the curious.

Another priest who advocated the Roman Catholic cause at this time was *Ninian Wingate*, who had been schoolmaster of Linlithgow, from which situation he was removed by Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian, on account of his attachment to popery. In the month of February, 1562, he sent to Knox a writing, consisting of eighty-three questions upon the principal topics of dispute between the papists and protestants, which he had drawn up in the name of the inferior clergy and laity of the Catholic persuasion in Scotland. To some of these, particularly the questions which related to the call of the protestant ministers, the Reformer returned an answer from the pulpit, and Wingate addressed several letters to him, complaining that his answers were not satisfactory. These letters, with addresses to the Queen, nobility, bishops, and magistrates of Edinburgh, Wingate committed to the press, but the impression being seized in the printer's house (according to bishop Lesley,) the author escaped and went to the continent.* Knox intended to publish an answer to Wingate's questions, and to defend the validity of the protestant ministry; but it does not appear that he carried his design into execution.†

In the beginning of 1563, Knox went to Jedburgh, by appointment of the General Assembly, to investigate a scandal which had broken out against Paul Methven, the minister of that place, who was suspected of adultery. Methven was found guilty, and excommunicated.‡ Having fled to England, he sent a letter to the General Assembly, professing his willingness to submit to the discipline of the church, but requesting that the account of his process should be deleted from the records. The Assembly declared that he might return with safety to his native country, and that he should be admitted to public repentance, but refused to erase the process from their minutes.‖ He afterwards returned to Scotland; and a severe and humiliating penance was prescribed to him. He was enjoined to appear at the church-door of Edinburgh, when the second bell rang for public worship, clad in sackcloth, bare-headed, and bare-footed; to stand there until the prayer and psalms were finished, when he was to be brought into the church to hear sermon, during which he was to be "placeit in the public spectakell above the peiple." This appearance he was to make on three several preaching-days, and on the last of them, being a Sabbath-day, he was, at the close of the sermon, to profess his sorrow before the congregation, and to request their forgiveness; upon which he was again to be "clad in his awin apparell," and received into the communion of the church. He was to repeat this course at Dundee and at Jedburgh, where he had officiated as minister.§ Methven went through a part of this humbling scene, with professions of deep sorrow; but being overwhelmed with shame, and despairing to regain his lost reputation, he stopped in the midst of it, and again retired to England.* Prudential considerations were not wanting to induce the reformed church of Scotland to stifle this affair, and to screen from public ignominy a man who had acted a distinguished part in the late reformation of religion. But they refused to listen to these; and by instituting a strict scrutiny into the fact, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the criminal, they "approved themselves to be clear in this matter," and effectually shut the mouths of their popish adversaries.

The mode of public repentance enjoined on this occasion was appointed to be afterwards used in all cases of aggravated immorality.† There was nothing in which the Scottish reformers approached nearer to the primitive church than in the rigorous and impartial exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, the relaxation of which, under the papacy, they justly regarded as one great cause of the universal corruption of religion. While they rejected many of the ceremonies which were introduced into the worship of the Christian church, during the three first centuries, they, from detestation of vice, and a desire to restrain it, did not scruple to conform to a number of their penitential regulations. In some instances they might carry their rigour against offenders to an extreme; but it was a virtuous extreme, compared with the dangerous laxity, or rather total disuse of discipline, which has gradually crept into almost all the churches which retain the name of reformed: even as the scrupulous delicacy with which our forefathers shunned the society of those who had transgressed the rules of morality, is to be preferred to modern manners, by which the vicious obtain easy admission into the company of the virtuous.

> 'Twas hard perhaps on here and there a waif,
> Desirous to return, and not received;
> But was an wholesome rigour in the main,
> And taught the unblemished to preserve with care
> That purity, whose loss was loss of all.
> ——————— But now—yes, now,
> We are become so candid and so fair,
> So liberal in construction, and so rich
> In Christian charity, (good-natured age!)
> That they are safe, sinners of either sex,
> Transgress what laws they may.
>
> Cowper, Task, B. iii.

In the month of May, the Queen sent for Knox to Lochlevin. The popish priests, presuming upon her avowed partiality to them, and her secret promises of protection, had of late become more bold, and during the late Easter, masses had been openly celebrated in different parts of the kingdom. Repeated proclamations had been issued against this practice by the Queen in Council, but none of them were carried into execution. The gentlemen of the West, who were the most zealous protestants, perceiving that the laws were eluded, resolved to execute them, without making any application to the court, and apprehended some of the offenders by way of example. The Queen was highly offended at these decided proceedings, which were calculated to defeat the scheme of policy which she had formed; but finding that the signification of her displeasure had not the effect of stopping them, she wished to avail herself of the Reformer's influence for accomplishing her purpose.

She dealt with him very earnestly, for two hours before supper, to persuade the western gentlemen to desist from all interruption of the Catholic worship. He told her Majesty, that if she would exercise her authority in executing the laws of the land, he could promise for the peaceable behaviour of the protestants; but if she thought to elude them, he feared that there were some who would let the papists understand that they should not offend with impunity. "Will ye allow, that they shall take *my* sword in their hands?" said the Queen. "The sword of justice is *God's*, (re-

* Lesley, apud Keith, p. 501. App. 203. Lesley speaks of a dispute between Knox and Wingate, but that historian is often incorrect in his details. The dispute between the doctors of Aberdeen and the ministers, which took place in the beginning of 1561 is mentioned by Knox, Historie, p. 261, 262. It would seem from a letter of Randolph, that there was a dispute in the end of 1561, between some of the ministers and a Parisian divine, who had come over with the Queen. Keith, 208. Wingate published, at Antwerp, his "Buke of Fourscoir Three Questionis," anno 1563. Keith has reprinted this, and also his "Tractatis," originally printed at Edinburgh. He calls them "very rare and much noted pieces." History, App. 203. In point of argument or sentiment they are certainly not noted; but they contain a strong proof of the extreme corruption which prevailed among the superior popish clergy, against which Wingate inveighs as keenly as any reformer. His second book concludes with this exclamation, "Och for mair paper or penyis!" Wingate translated several works of the Fathers into the Scottish language, some of which are mentioned by him in his Tractates. Keith, App. 226, 227. He was made abbot of a Scots monastery at Ratisbon. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. p. 149.

† See Note L.

‡ Knox, Historie, p. 323, 324. Keith, 522.

‖ Keith, p. 538.

§ Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 23. Keith, 559, 560.

* Knox, Historie, p. 398.

† See Note LI.

plied the Reformer with equal firmness), and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they who, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not." Having produced some examples from scripture to shew that criminals might be punished by persons who did not occupy the place of supreme rulers, he added, that the gentlemen of the West were acting strictly according to law; for the act of parliament gave power to all judges within their bounds, to search for and punish those who should transgress its enactments. He concluded with inculcating a doctrine which has seldom been very pleasing to princes. "It shall be profitable to your Majesty to consider what is the thing your Grace's subjects look to receive of your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by *mutual contract*. They are bound to obey you, and that not but in God: ye are bound to keep laws to them. Ye crave of them service: they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, madam, if you shall deny your duty unto them (which especially craves that ye punish malefactors), think ye to receive full obedience of them? I fear, madam, ye shall not." The Queen broke off the conversation with evident marks of displeasure.

Having communicated what had passed between them to the Earl of Murray, Knox meant to return to Edinburgh next day, without waiting for any further communication with the Queen. But a message was delivered to him early in the morning, desiring him not to depart until he had again spoken with her Majesty. He accordingly met her at a place in the neighbourhood of Kinross, where she took the amusement of hawking. This interview was very different from that of the preceding evening. Waving entirely the subject on which they had differed, she conversed with him upon a variety of other topics, with the greatest familiarity and apparent confidence. Lord Ruthven (she said) had offered her a ring; but she could not love that nobleman. She knew that he used enchantment;* and yet he had been made a member of her Privy Council. And she blamed Secretary Lethington for procuring his admission among that body. Knox excused himself from saying any thing of the Secretary in his absence. "I understand," said she, introducing another subject of discourse, "that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a superintendent to be established in these countries." He answered in the affirmative. "But I understand the bishop of Athens† would be superintendent."—"He is one, madam, that is put in election."—"If you knew him as well as I do, you would not promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk." Knox said that the bishop deceived many, if he did not fear God. "Well, do as you will; but that man is a dangerous man."

Knox wished to take his leave of her Majesty, but she pressed him to stay. "I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this realm to open to you, and I must have your help in it," said she, with an air of condescension and confidence as enchanting as if she had put a ring on his finger. She then entered into a long discourse with him concerning a domestic difference between the Earl and Countess of Argyle. Her ladyship had not, she said, been so circumspect in every thing as she could have wished, but still she was of opinion that his lordship had not treated her in an honest and godly manner. Knox said that he was not unacquainted with the disagreeable variance which had subsisted between that honourable couple, and, before her Majesty's arrival in this country, he had effected their reconciliation. On that occasion, the Countess had promised not to complain to any creature before acquainting him; and as he had never heard from her on that subject, he had concluded that there was nothing but concord between her and his lordship. "Well," said the Queen, "it is worse than ye believe. But do this much *for my sake*, as once again to put them at unity, and if she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me; but in any wise let not my lord know that I have requested you in this matter." Then introducing the subject of their reasoning on the preceding evening, she said, "I promise to do as ye required: I shall cause summon all offenders; and ye shall know that I shall minister justice." "I am assured then," said he, "that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your Majesty is more profitable than all the pope's power can be." Upon this he took his leave of the Queen.*

This interview exhibits one part of Queen Mary's character in a striking light. It shews how far she was capable of dissembling, what artifice she could employ, and what condescensions she could make, when she was bent on accomplishing a favourite scheme. She had formerly attacked the Reformer on another quarter without success, and was convinced that it was vain to think of working on his fears; she now resolved to try if she could soothe his stern temper by flattering his vanity, and disarm his jealousy by strong marks of confidence. There is some reason to think that she partly succeeded in her design. For though he was not very susceptible of flattery, and must have been struck with the sudden change in the Queen's views and behaviour, there are few minds that can altogether resist the impression made by the condescending familiarity of persons of superior rank; and our feelings, on such occasions, chide as uncharitable the cold suspicions suggested by our judgment. In obedience to her Majesty's request, he wrote a letter to the Earl of Argyle, which was not very pleasing to that nobleman. From deference to the opinion which she had expressed of the bishop of Galloway, he enquired more narrowly into his conduct, and finding some grounds of suspicion, postponed the election. And the report which he gave of the Queen's gracious answer operated in her favour on the public mind.†

But if his zeal suffered a temporary intermission, it soon kindled with fresh ardour. On the 19th of May, the archbishop of St. Andrews and a number of the principal papists were arraigned, by the Queen's orders, before the Lord Justice General, for transgressing the laws; and having come in her Majesty's will, were committed to ward. But this was merely a stroke of policy, to enable her the more easily to carry her measures in the parliament which met on the following day.‡

This was the first parliament which had been held since the Queen's arrival in Scotland; and it was natural to expect that they would proceed to ratify the treaty of peace made in July 1560, and the establishment of the protestant religion. If the acts of the former parliament were invalid, as the Queen had repeatedly declared, the protestants had no law on their side; they held their religion at the mercy of their sovereign, and might be required, at her pleasure, to submit to popery, as the religion which still possessed the legal establishment. But so well had

* Comp. Knox, Historie, 327, with Keith. App. 125.

† In Knox's Historie, it is printed *Cathenis*, by mistake, instead of *Athenis*. The person referred to is Alexander Gordon, brother to George, Earl of Huntly, who was slain at Corrichie in 1562. Scarcely any Scottish prelate ever occupied so many different sees, or occupied them for so short a time. He was bishop of Caithness, archbishop of Glasgow, bishop of the Isles, and bishop of Galloway. When he was deprived of the see of Glasgow, the Pope, as a recompense, created him *titular* Archbishop of Athens. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 111—12, 137, 290. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 128, 153, 166, 175.

* Knox, Historie, p. 326—328. † Ibid. p. 327, 329.

‡ The prisoners were set at liberty as soon as the parliament was dissolved. Ibid. p. 330, 334.

she laid her plans, such was the effect of her insinuating address, and, above all, so powerful was the temptation of self-interest on the minds of the protestant leaders, that, by general consent, they passed from this demand, and lost the only favourable opportunity which presented itself, during the reign of Mary, for giving a legal security to the reformed religion, and thereby removing one principal source of national fears and jealousies. An act of oblivion, securing indemnity to those who had been engaged in the late civil war, was indeed passed; but the mode of its enactment virtually implied the invalidity of the treaty in which it had been originally embodied; and the protestants on their bended knees,* supplicated, as a boon from their sovereign, what they had formerly won with their swords, and repeatedly demanded as their right. The other acts made to please the more zealous reformers were expressed with such studied and glaring ambiguity, as to offer an insult to their understandings.†

Our Reformer was thunderstruck when first informed of the measures which were in agitation, and could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to carry them into execution. He immediately procured an interview with some of the leading members of parliament, to whom he represented the danger of allowing that meeting to dissolve without obtaining the ratification of the acts of the preceding parliament, or at least those acts which established the Reformation. They alleged that the Queen would never have agreed to call this meeting, if they had persisted in these demands; but that there was a prospect of her being soon married, and on that occasion they would obtain all their wishes. In vain he reminded them that poets and painters had represented *Occasion* with a bald hind-head; in vain he urged, that the event to which they looked forward would be accompanied with difficulties of its own, which would require all their skill and circumspection. Their determination was fixed. He now perceived the full extent of the Queen's dissimulation; and the selfishness and servility of the protestant leaders affected him deeply.

So hot was the altercation between the Earl of Murray and him on this subject, that an open rupture ensued. Knox had long looked upon that nobleman as one of the most sincere and steady adherents to the reformed cause; and therefore felt the greater disappointment at his conduct. Under his first irritation he wrote a letter to the Earl, in which, after reminding him of his condition when they first became acquainted in London,‡ and the honours to which providence had now raised him, he solemnly renounced friendship with him as one who preferred his own interest, and the pleasure of his sister, to the advancement of religion, left him to the guidance of the new counsellors whom he had chosen, and exonerated him from all future concern in his affairs. This variance, which continued nearly two years, was very gratifying to the Queen, and to others who disliked their former familiarity, and who failed not (as Knox informs us) to "cast oil into the flame, until God did quench it by the water of affliction." *

Before the dissolution of the parliament, the Reformer embraced an opportunity of disburdening his mind in the presence of the greater part of the members assembled in his church. After discoursing of the great mercy of God shewn to Scotland, in marvellously delivering them from bondage of soul and body, and of the deep ingratitude which he perceived in all ranks of persons, he addressed himself particularly to the nobility. He praised God that he had an opportunity of pouring out the sorrows of his heart in the presence of those who could attest the truth of all that he said. He appealed to their consciences, if he had not, in their greatest extremities, exhorted them to depend upon God, and assured them of preservation and victory, provided they preferred the divine glory to their own lives and secular interests. "I have been with you in the most desperate temptations (continued he, in a strain of impassioned eloquence): In your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St. Johnston, Cupar-moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh† are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear, left this town,‡ is yet in my mind; and God forbid that ever I forget it! What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you, against whom was death and destruction threatened, perished: and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes! Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God? To betray his cause, when ye have it in your hands to establish it as you please?" He saw nothing (he said) but a cowardly desertion of Christ's standard. Some had even the effrontery to say that they had neither law nor parliament for their religion. They had the authority of God for their religion, and its truth was independent of human laws; but it was also accepted within this realm in public parliament; and that parliament he would maintain to have been as lawful as any one that had ever been held within the kingdom.

In the conclusion of his discourse, he adverted to the reports of her Majesty's marriage, and of the princes who courted this alliance; and (desiring the audience to mark his words) he predicted the consequences which were to be dreaded, if ever the nobility consented that their sovereign should marry a papist.

Protestants as well as papists were offended with the freedom of this sermon, and some who had been most familiar with the preacher now shunned his company. Flatterers were not wanting to run to the Queen, and inform her that John Knox had preached against her marriage. After surmounting all opposition to her measures, and managing so successfully the haughty and independent barons of her kingdom, Mary was incensed to think that there should yet be one man of obscure condition, who ventured to condemn her proceedings; and as she could not tame his stubbornness, she determined to punish his temerity. Knox was ordered instantly to appear before her. Lord Ochiltree, with several gentlemen, accompanied him to the palace; but the superintendent of Angus, Erskine of Dun, was the only person allowed to go with him into the royal presence.

Her Majesty received him in a very different manner from what she had done at Lochlevin. Never had prince been handled (she passionately exclaimed) as

* Spottiswood, 188. "We are very much obliged to the information of archbishop Spottiswood" for this, says honest Keith. History, 240.

† Act. Parl. Scot. p. 536—8. Knox, 331. Keith: 240.

‡ I have not been able to ascertain the time at which the acquaintance between the Earl of Murray and the Reformer commenced. It was probably soon after Knox came into England, in the reign of Edward VI. A popish writer has mentioned their meeting, and grafted upon it the calumny, current among the party, that the Earl had formed the ambitious project of wresting the crown from his sister, and placing it on his own head. "Johann Kinnox deceavit" him, says he, "in S. Paules kirk in Londone, bringand him in consait, that God had chosen him extraordinarilie as ane *Josias* to be king of Scotland, to rute out idolatrie, and to plant the licht of the new evangel: quhair they convenit in this manner, That the prior of Sanct Androis, erl of Murray, sould mentene the new *Elias* aganis the priestes of Baal, (for sua blasphemouslie he namit the priestes of Christ Jesus.) And the neu *Elias* sould fortifie the new *Josias*, be procuring the favour of the people aganis *Jesabel*, blaspheming maist impudentlie the quenis M." Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 156. Knox was better acquainted with scripture-history than to make Josias contemporary with Elias and Jesabel.

* Knox, Historie, p. 331.

† Referring to the critical circumstances in which the Lords of the Congregation had been situated at these places, when the Queen Regent threatened to attack them with superior forces. See p. 71, 73, 75.

‡ Page 81.

she was: she had borne with him in all his rigorous speeches against herself and her uncles: she had sought his favour by all means: she had offered unto him audience whenever he pleased to admonish her: "And yet (said she) I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once revenged"—On pronouncing these words with great violence, she burst into a flood of tears which interrupted her speech. When the Queen had composed herself, Knox proceeded calmly to make his defence. Her Grace and he had (he said) at different times been engaged in controversy, and he never before had perceived her offended with him. When it should please God to deliver her from the bondage of error in which she had been trained through want of instruction in the truth, he trusted that her Majesty would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. Out of the pulpit, he believed, few had occasion to be offended with him; but there he was not his own master, but was bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth.

"But what have you to do with my marriage?" said the Queen. He was proceeding to state the extent of his commission as a preacher, and the reasons which led him to touch on that delicate subject; but she interrupted him by repeating her question; "What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what are *you* in this commonwealth?"—"A subject born within the same, madam," replied the Reformer, piqued by the last question, and by the contemptuous tone in which it was proposed. "And albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience requires plainness of me. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place: Whensoever the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom, of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, Mary began again to weep and sob with great bitterness. The superintendent, who was a man of mild and gentle spirit, tried to mitigate her grief and resentment: he praised her beauty and her accomplishments; and told her, that there was not a prince in Europe who would not reckon himself happy in gaining her hand. During this scene, the severe and inflexible mind of the Reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the Queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that he never took delight in the distress of any creature; it was with great difficulty that he could see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults, far less could he rejoice in her Majesty's tears; but seeing he had given her no just reason of offence, and had only discharged his duty, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears, rather than hurt his conscience, and betray the commonwealth through his silence.

This apology inflamed the Queen still more: she ordered him instantly to leave her presence, and to wait the signification of her pleasure in the adjoining room. There he stood as "one whom men had never seen;" all his friends, lord Ochiltree excepted, being afraid to shew him the smallest countenance. In this situation he addressed himself to the court-ladies, who sat in their richest dress in the chamber. "O fair ladies, how plesing war this lyfe of yours, if it sould ever abyde, and then, in the end, that we might pas to hevin with all this gay gear!" Having engaged them in a conversation, he passed the time till the superintendent came, and informed him that he was allowed to go home until her Majesty had taken further advice. The Queen insisted to have the judgment of the Lords of Articles, whether the words he had used in the pulpit were not actionable; but she was persuaded by her counsellors to abandon the idea of a prosecution. "And so that storme quietit in appearance, bot nevir in the hart."*

No expressions are sufficiently strong to describe the horror which many feel at the monstrous inhumanity of Knox, in remaining unmoved, while "youth, beauty, and royal dignity"† were dissolved in tears before him. Enchanting, surely, must the charms of the Queen of Scots have been, and iron-hearted the Reformer who could resist their impression, when they continue to his day to exercise such a sway over the hearts of men, that even grave and serious authors, not addicted to the language of gallantry and romance, do protest that they cannot read of the tears which she shed on this occasion, without feeling an inclination to weep along with her. There may be some, however, who, knowing how much real misery there is in the world, are not disposed to waste their feelings unnecessarily, and who are of opinion, that there was not much to commiserate in the condition of the Queen, nor to reprobate in the conduct of the Reformer. Considering that she had been so fortunate in her measures, and had found her nobility so ready to gratify her wishes, the passion by which she suffered herself to be transported was extravagant, and her tears must have been those of anger rather than of grief. On the other hand, when we consider that Knox was at this time deserted by his friends, and stood almost alone in resisting the will of a princess, who accomplished her measures chiefly by caresses and tears, we may be disposed to form a more favourable idea of his conduct and motives. We behold not, indeed, the enthusiastic lover, mingling his tears with those of his mistress, and vowing to revenge her wrongs; nor the man of nice sensibility, who loses every other consideration in the gratification of his feelings; but we behold, what is more rare, the stern patriot, the rigid reformer, who, in the discharge of his duty, and in a public cause, can withstand the tide of tenderness as well as the storm of passion. There have been times when such conduct was regarded as the proof of a superior mind; and the man who, from such motives, "hearkened not to the wife of his bosom, nor knew his own children,"‡ has been the object not of censure, but of admiration, in sacred as well as pagan story.

> Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum.
> Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
> Ab se removisse, et virilem
> Torvus humi posuisse vultum. HOR. lib. iii. Od. v.

When Knox lay under the displeasure of the court, and had lost the confidence of his principal friends, his enemies judged it a favourable opportunity for attacking him in (what had been universally allowed to be irreproachable) his moral conduct. At the very time that he was engaged in scrutinizing the scandal against Methven, and inflicting upon him the highest censure of the church, it was alleged that he was himself guilty of the same crime. Euphemia Dundas, an inhabitant of Edinburgh, inveighing one day, in the presence of a circle of her acquaintances, against the protestant doctrine and ministers, said, among other things, that John Knox had been a common whoremonger all his days, and that, within a few days past, he "was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure." This might perhaps have been passed over by Knox and the church, as an effusion of popish spleen and female scandal; but the recent occurrence at Jedburgh, the situation in which the Reformer at present stood

* Knox, Historie, p. 332—334.

† These are the words of Mr. Hume, who holds a distinguished place among the writers who have excited prejudices against our Reformer on the score of cruelty to Mary. The reader will find some remarks on the statements of that able but artful historian, in Note LII.

‡ Deut. xxxiii. 9.

with the court, the public manner in which the charge had been brought, and the specification of a particular instance, seemed to them to justify and call for a legal investigation. Accordingly, the clerk of the General Assembly, on the 18th of June, gave in a formal representation and petition to the town council, praying that the woman might be called before them, and the matter examined; that, if the accusation was found true, the accused might be punished with every degree of merited rigour; and that, if false, the accuser might be dealt with according to the demerit of her offence. She was called, and, appearing before the council, *flatly denied* that she had ever used any such words; although Knox's procurator afterwards produced respectable witnesses to prove that she had spoken them.*

This convicted calumny, which never gained the smallest credit at the time, would scarcely have deserved notice, had it not been revived, after the Reformer's death, by the popish writers, who, having caught hold of the report, and dressed it out in all the horrid colours which malice or credulity could suggest, circulated it industriously, by their publications, through the continent. Though I had not been able to trace their slanders to this source; the atrocity of the imputed crimes, the unspotted reputation which Knox uniformly maintained among all his contemporaries, the glaring self-contradictions of the accusers, and, above all, the notorious spirit of slander and defamation for which they have long been stigmatized in the learned world, would have been grounds sufficient for rejecting such charges with detestation. Those who are acquainted with the writings of that period will not think that I speak too strongly; those who are not may be satisfied by looking into the notes.†

The Queen flattered herself that she had at last caught the Reformer in an offence, which would infallibly subject him to exemplary punishment. During her residence at Stirling, in the month of August, the domestics whom she left behind her in Holyrood-house celebrated the popish worship with greater publicity than had been usual when she herself was present; and at the time when the sacrament of the supper was dispensed in Edinburgh, they revived certain superstitious practices which had been laid aside by the Roman Catholics, since the establishment of the Reformation. This boldness offended the protestants, and some of them went down to the palace to mark the inhabitants who repaired to the service. Perceiving numbers entering, they burst into the chapel, and presenting themselves at the altar, which was prepared for mass, asked the priest how he durst be so *malopert* as to proceed in that manner, when the queen was absent? Alarmed at this intrusion, the mistress of the house despatched a messenger to the comptroller (who was attending sermon in St. Giles's church), desiring him to come instantly to save her life and the palace. Having hurried down accompanied with the magistrates and a guard, the comptroller found every thing quiet, and no appearance of tumult, except what was occasioned by the retinue which he brought along with him.‡ When the report of this affair was conveyed to the Queen, she declared her resolution not to return to Edinburgh unless this riot was punished, and indicted two of the protestants who had entered the chapel, to stand trial "for forethought felony, hamesuckin, and invasion of the palace." Fearing that she intended to proceed to extremities against these men, and that their condemnation was a preparative to some hostile measure against their religion, the protestants in Edinburgh resolved that Knox, agreeably to a commission which he had received from the church, should write a circular letter to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, informing them of the circumstances, and requesting their presence on the day of trial. He wrote the letter according to their request.* A copy of it having come into the hands of Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session, who was a great personal enemy to Knox, he conveyed it immediately to the Queen at Stirling. She communicated it to the privy council, who, to her great satisfaction, pronounced it *treasonable;* but to give the greater solemnity to the proceedings, it was resolved that an extraordinary convention of the counsellors and other noblemen should be called to meet at Edinburgh, in the end of December, to try the cause. The Reformer was summoned to appear before this convention.†

Previous to the day of trial great influence was used in private to persuade or intimidate him to acknowledge a fault, and to throw himself on the Queen's mercy. This he peremptorily refused to do. The Master of Maxwell (afterwards Lord Herries), with whom he had long been very intimate, threatened him with the loss of his friendship, and told him that he would repent, if he did not submit to the Queen, for men would not bear with him as they had hitherto done. He replied that he did not understand such language; he had never opposed her Majesty except in the article of religion, and surely it was not meant that he should bow to her in that matter; if God stood by him (which he would do as long as he confided in Him, and preferred his glory to his own life), he regarded little how men should behave towards him; nor did he know wherein they had borne with him, unless in hearing the word of God from his mouth, which, if they should reject, he would mourn for them, but the danger would be their own.

The Earl of Murray, and Secretary Maitland, sent for him to the Clerk Register's house, and had a long conversation with him to the same purpose. They represented the pains which they had taken to mitigate the Queen's resentment, and that nothing could save him but a timely submission. He gave them the same answer, that he never would confess a fault when he was conscious of none, and had not learned to cry treason at every thing which the multitude called treason, nor to fear what they feared. The wily Secretary finding him determined to abide the consequences of a trial, endeavoured to bring on a dispute on the subject, and to draw from him the defence which he meant to make for himself; but Knox, aware of his craft, declined the conversation, and told him that it would be foolish to intrust with his defence one who had already prejudged his cause, and pronounced him guilty.

On the day appointed for the trial, the public anxiety was greatly raised, and the palace-yard and avenues

* See Note LIII. † See Note LIV.

‡ Spottiswood gives a different account of this affair, which has been adopted by several writers. He not only says that the protestants "forced the gates;" but that [some of the papists] were taken and carried to prison, many escaped the back way with the priest himself." History, p. 188. But he could not have the opportunity of being so well acquainted with the circumstances as Knox, whose account is totally irreconcilable with the Archbishop's. Knox expressly says, that, besides bursting into the chapel, and addressing the priest as above mentioned, "no farther was done or said." Historie, p. 335, 336. Had some of the papists been carried to prison, he never could have given such an account of it as he did, not only in his history, but also in his circular letter, which was produced at his trial, without any allegation that it contained an unfair or partial statement of facts.

* Knox, Historie, p. 336, 337.

† It has been doubted, whether this convention acted as a court of judicature in Knox's trial, or met merely to determine whether he should be brought to a judicial trial. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems, vol. i. 72. The justice-general, the lord advocate, and the other law-lords were present; but they had seats in the privy council. Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that this was an extraordinary meeting of the privy council, to which other noblemen, besides the counsellors, were called, to give their proceedings greater weight with the public. The object of the Queen was in the first place, to procure the imprisonment of Knox, after which she might proceed against him as she thought most prudent. Knox, Historie, p 339, 340.—Spottiswood, p. 188.

were crowded with people, who waited to learn the result. The Reformer was conducted to the chamber in which the Lords were already assembled, and engaged in consultation. When the Queen had taken her seat and perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table, she burst into a loud fit of laughter. "That man," she said, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she said she would now see if she could make him weep." The Secretary opened the proceedings with greater gravity, by stating, in a speech addressed to the Reformer, the reasons why the Queen had convened him before her nobility. "Let him acknowledge his own hand writing," said the Queen, "and then we shall judge of the contents of the letter." A copy of the circular letter being handed to him, he looked at the subscription, and owned that it was his; and though he had subscribed a number of blanks, he had such confidence, he said, in the fidelity of the scribe, that he was ready to acknowledge the contents as well as the subscription. "You have done more than I would have done," said Maitland. "Charity is not suspicious," replied the Reformer. "Well, well," said the Queen, "read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you." "I will do the best I can," said he; and having read the letter with an audible voice, returned it to the Queen's advocate, who was commanded to accuse him.

"Heard you ever, my Lords, a more despiteful and treasonable letter?" said the Queen, looking round the table. "Mr. Knox, are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a letter has passed your pen, and from you has come to the knowledge of others?" said Maitland.—"My Lord Secretary, before I repent I must be taught my offence."—"Offence! if there were no more but the convocation of the Queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied."—"Remember yourself, my lord, there is a difference between a lawful convocation and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I offended oft since I last came into Scotland; for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour, unto which my pen served not?"—"Then was then, and now is now," said the Secretary; "we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had." "The time that has been is even now before my eyes," rejoined the Reformer; "for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the devil has got a vizor upon his face. Before, he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry; and then, I think, you will confess the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives: and now the devil comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength"——

"What is this?" interrupted her Majesty, who was offended that he should be allowed such liberty of speech, and thought that she could bring him more closely to the question than any of her counsellors. "What is this? Methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?" "No, madam," replied Lord Ruthven, displeased at the active keenness which the Queen shewed in the cause; "for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily; and whatever your Grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason." "Hold your peace," said the Queen; "and let him make answer for himself."—"I began, madam," resumed Knox, "to reason with the Secretary (whom I take to be a better dialectician than your Grace) that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my Lord Ruthven has given the instance."—"I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment?" He answered that at his own will he had never convened four persons in Scotland, but at the orders of his brethren he had given many advertisements, and great multitudes had assembled in consequence of them; and if her Grace complained that this had been done without her command, he begged leave to answer, that so was all that had been done respecting the reformation of religion in this kingdom. He had never, he said, loved to stir up tumults, never been a preacher of rebellion; on the contrary, he had always taught the people to obey princes and magistrates in all their lawful commands. If he had been more active than the rest of his brethren in calling extraordinary assemblies of the protestants, it was owing to a charge which he had received from the church to do so, as often as he saw a necessity for such meetings, and especially when religion was exposed to danger; and he had repeatedly requested to be exonerated from this irksome and invidious charge, but could not obtain his wish. He must, therefore, be convicted by a just law, before he would profess sorrow for what he had done: he thought he had done no wrong.

"You shall not escape so," said the Queen. "Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of *cruelty?* I think there be acts of parliament against such whisperers." Several of their lordships said that there were such laws. "But wherein can I be accused of this?"—"Read this part of your own bill," said the queen, who shewed herself an acute prosecutor. She then ordered the following sentence to be read from his letter: "This fearful summons is directed against them, [the two persons who were indicted] to make no doubt a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute *cruelty* upon a greater multitude."—"Lo!" exclaimed the Queen exultingly; "what say you to that?" The eyes of the assembly were fixed on the Reformer, anxious to know what answer he would make to this charge.

"Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? or, shall I be condemned unheard?"—"Say what you can; for I think you have enough to do."—"I will first then desire of your Grace, madam, and of this most honourable audience, Whether your Grace knows not, that the obstinate papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?"—The Queen was silent; but the Lords, with one voice, exclaimed, "God forbid, that ever the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stood in the power of the papists! for just experience has taught us what cruelty lies in their hearts." "I must proceed then," said the Reformer. "Seeing that I perceive that all will grant, that it were a barbarous thing to destroy such a multitude as profess the gospel of Christ within this realm; which oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do by force,—they, by God and by his providence being disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the prince a party under colour of law; and so what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit. For who thinks, my Lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the papists (within this realm I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two brethren, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused?—And therefore, madam, cast up, when you list, the acts of your parliament; I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not, in my letter, your Grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. But I affirm yet again, that the pestilent papists, who have inflamed your Grace against those poor men at this present, are the sons of the devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning." "You forget yourself! you are not now in the pulpit," said the Chancellor.—"I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak

the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." He added, again addressing the Queen, that persons who appeared to be of honest, gentle, and meek natures, had often been corrupted by wicked counsel; and that the papists who had her ear were dangerous counsellors, and such her mother had found them to be.

Mary, perceiving that nothing was to be gained by reasoning, began to upbraid him with his harsh behaviour to her, at their last interview. He spake "fair enough" at present before the Lords, she said, but on that occasion he caused her to shed many salt tears, and said, "he set not by her weeping." This drew from him a vindication of his conduct, in which he gave a narration of that conference. After this, the Secretary, having spoken with the Queen, told Knox that he was at liberty to return home for that night. "I thank God and the Queen's majesty," said he.

When Knox had withdrawn, the judgment of the nobility was taken respecting his conduct. All of them, with the exception of the immediate dependents of the Court, voted, that he had not been guilty of any breach of the laws. The Secretrary, who had assured the Queen of his condemnation, was enraged at this decision. He brought her Majesty, who had retired before the vote, again into the room, and proceeded to call the votes a second time in her presence. This attempt to overawe them incensed the nobility. "What!" said they, "shall the laird of Lethington have power to control us? or, shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man, against our conscience?" They then repeated the votes which they had already given, absolving him from all offence, and, at the same time, praising his modest appearance and the judicious manner in which he had conducted his defence.

Mary was unable to conceal the mortification and displeasure which she felt at this unexpected acquittal. When the bishop of Ross, who had been the informer, gave his vote on the same side with the rest, she taunted him openly in the presence of the Court. "Trouble not the child! I pray you trouble him not! for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of those that have passed before him?" The bishop replied coldly, that her Majesty might easily know, that his vote was not influenced by partiality to the accused. "That nicht was nyther dancing nor fiddeling in the court; for madam was disappoynted of hir purpose, quhilk was to have had Johne Knox in hir will, be vote of hir nobility."*

PERIOD VIII.

From December 1563, when he was acquitted from a charge of treason, to the year 1570, when he was struck with apoplexy.

The indignation of the Queen at the Reformer's escape from punishment did not soon abate,† and the effects of it fell both upon the courtiers who had voted for his exculpation, and upon those who had been unsuccessful in opposing it. The Earl of Murray was among the former;‡ Maitland among the latter. In order to appease her, they again attempted to persuade Knox to soothe her by some voluntary submission; and they engaged that, provided he would only agree to go within the walls of the castle, he should be allowed to return immediately to his own house. But he refused to yield, being convinced that by such compliances he would throw discredit on the judgment of the nobility who had acquitted him, and confess himself to be a mover of sedition. Disappointed in this, they endeavoured to injure him by whispers and detraction, circulating that he had no authority from his brethren for what he had done; and that he arrogated a papal and arbitrary power over the Scottish church, issuing his letters, and exacting obedience to them. These charges were very groundless and injurious; for there never was any one perhaps who possessed as much influence, and at the same time was so careful to avoid all appearance of assuming superiority over his brethren, or of acting by his own authority, in matters of public and common concern.

In the General Assembly, which met at the close of this year, he declined taking any share in the debates. When their principal business was settled, he requested liberty to speak on an affair which concerned himself. He stated what he had done in writing the late circular letter, the proceedings to which it had given rise, and the surmises which were still circulated to his prejudice; and insisted that the church should now examine his conduct in that matter, and particularly that they should declare, whether or not they had given him a commission to advertise the brethren, when he foresaw any danger threatening their religion, or any difficult case which required their advice. The courtiers strenuously opposed the discussion of this question; but it was taken up, and the Assembly, by a great majority, found that he had been burthened with such a commission, and, in the advertisement which he had lately given, had not exceeded his powers.*

Knox had remained a widower upwards of three years. But in March 1564, he contracted a second marriage with *Margaret Stewart*,† daughter of *Lord Ochiltree*,‡ a nobleman of amiable dispositions,‖ who had been long familiar with our Reformer, and steadily adhered to him when he was deserted by his other friends. She continued to discharge the duties of a wife to him, with pious and affectionate assiduity, until the time of his death. The popish writers who envied the honours of the Scottish Reformer, have represented this marriage as a proof of his great ambition: and, in the excess of their spleen, have ridiculously imputed to him the project of aiming to raise his progeny to the throne of Scotland; because the family of Ochiltree were of the blood royal! They are quite clear, too, that he gained the heart of the young lady by means of sorcery, and the assistance of the devil. But it seems, that, powerfully as he was seconded, he could not succeed in another attempt which he had previously made; for the same writers inform us, that he had paid his addresses to Lady Barbara Hamilton, eldest daughter of the duke of Chastelherault, and widow of James Lord Fleming, and that he was

* Knox, Historie, p. 238—343. Spottiswood, p. 188. The account of the trial given by Calderwood, in his MS. has been compared with that of Knox, and exactly agrees with it.

† Keith, 248, 251.

‡ In a letter to Randolph, 27th Feb. 1564, there is mention made of "some unkindness between Murray and the Queen, about Knox, whose parte he [Murray] taketh." Keith, 249.

* Keith, 527, 528. Knox, 344, 345.

† Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, 18th March, 156¾, says: "Knox askt in church to be marryed to Margrett Steward, the daughter of the lord Ochiltre;" referring to the proclamation of banns. Keith, 251.

‡ Lord Ochiltree was descended from Robert, duke of Albany, second son of king Robert II. His father exchanged the lands and title of *Evandale* for those of *Ochiltree*. Douglas's Peerage, 522. Crawford's Renfrew, and Royal House of Stewart, by Semple, part i. p. 92—94. The second son of lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of the Reformer, was Sir James Stewart of Bothwelmuir, afterwards the infamous favourite of James VI. who created him Earl of Arran. Crawfurd, in his Officers of State, (p. 448.) has published a protestation which Arran made of his lineage, and title of priority to the Duke of Lennox, his rival in James's favour.

‖ He was usually called, *the good* Lord Ochiltree. Knox says, that he was "a man rather borne to mak peace then to brag upoun the calsey." Historie, p. 304.

repulsed. The account of the appearance that he made about the time of his marriage, which shall be inserted in the notes, the reader will receive according to the degree of its probability, and the credit he may think due to the authority upon which it rests.*

The country continued in a state of quietness during the year 1564; but the same jealousies still subsisted between the court and the church. Her Majesty's prejudices against the reformed religion were unabated, and she maintained a correspondence with its sworn enemies on the continent, which could not altogether escape the vigilance of her protestant subjects.† The preachers, on their side, did not relax in their zealous warnings against popery, and concerning the dangers which they apprehended; they complained of the beggary to which the greater part of their own number was reduced, and of the growing lukewarmness of the protestant courtiers. The latter were uneasy under these reproaches, and, in concert with the Queen, were anxious to restrain the license of the pulpit. They began by addressing themselves in private to some of the more moderate and complying of the ministers, whom they had gained over, by their persuasions, to a partial approbation of their measures. Having so far succeeded, they ventured to propose the matter more publicly, and to request the sanction of the leading members of the General Assembly. Without designing to vindicate the latitude which might be taken by particular preachers at this time, I may say in general, that a systematic attempt to restrain the liberty of speech in the pulpit (farther than the correction of any occasional excess might require) would have been a measure fraught with danger to the protestant interest. The reformed preachers were the most vigilant and incorrupt guardians of national liberty; an honourable distinction which their successors maintained during the remainder of that century. It is better to be awakened with rudeness, or even by a false alarm, than to be allowed to sleep on in the midst of dangers. Who would muzzle the mouth of the wakeful animal who guards the house against thieves, because the inhabitants are sometimes disturbed by his nocturnal vociferation? or substitute in his place, a "dumb dog, that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber?"

Knox, the freedom and sharpness of whose censures the courtiers felt most deeply, was the person whom they chiefly wished to restrain; but it was no easy matter either to overawe or reason him into silence. In the month of June they obtained a conference with the leading members of the General Assembly, when this subject was discussed; and in an elaborate debate with Maitland, Knox defended the principal points of his doctrine which gave offence to the court. This debate, says Dr. Robertson, "admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtilty; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."‡

Maitland opened the conference with a plausible speech. He set forth the benefits which they had enjoyed under her Majesty's government, and particularly the liberty which she had granted them in religious matters; he insisted on the great importance of the ministers of the church cultivating her favour by every good office in their power, and endeavouring to inspire the people with a good opinion of her person and administration; and he represented the hurtful effects of their being observed to disagree in their form of prayer for her, and in their doctrine concerning the duty of subjects. Addressing himself to Knox in particular, he told him, with much politeness and address, that it was the earnest wish of the Council that he should study greater caution when he had occasion to speak of her Majesty from the pulpit; not that they were afraid of his saying any thing very improper, but because the liberty which he used would be taken by persons less modest and prudent. Knox replied to the Secretary's speech. He drew a very different picture of matters since the Queen came to the country; he stated the grievances under which the church laboured, and which were daily increasing, instead of being diminished; and he said, that in these circumstances the courtiers ought not to be surprised at the complaints of the ministers, and the liberties which they took in rebuking sins, which were openly committed, and persisted in notwithstanding all due admonitions. At the same time he professed his readiness to account for any part of his own conduct which had given offence, and to listen to the objections which might be urged against it.

Maitland specified the mode in which the Reformer usually prayed for her Majesty, as one thing which gave offence to him and his colleagues. *Prayers and tears*, it has often been alleged, are the only arms which Christians ought to employ against injuries. But those who have deprived them of other weapons, have usually envied them the use of these also: and if their prayers have not been smoothed down to the temper of their adversaries, so as to become mere compliments to princes under colour of an address to the Almighty, they have often been pronounced seditious and treasonable.* Knox repeated his common form of prayer for the Queen, and requested to be informed in what respects it was deserving of reprehension. "Ye pray for the Queen's Majesty with a condition, (said Maitland) saying, 'Illuminate her heart if thy good pleasure be.' Where have ye example of such prayer?" "Wherever the examples are," replied Knox, "I am assured of the rule, 'If we shall ask any thing according to his will he will hear us;' and Christ commanded us to pray, 'Thy will be done.'" "But in so doing ye put a doubt in the people's head of her conversion," said Maitland.—"Not I, my Lord; but her own obstinate rebellion causes more than me to doubt of her conversion."—"Wherein rebels she against God?"—"In all the actions of her life, but in these two heads especially; that she will not hear the preaching of the blessed evangel of Jesus Christ, and that she maintains that idol the mass."—"She thinks not that rebellion, but good religion."—"So thought they who offered their children to Moloch, and yet the spirit of God affirms, that they offered them unto *devils*, and not unto *God*." "But yet ye can produce the example of none that has so prayed before you," said the Secretary, pressing his former objection. "Well then," said Knox; "Peter said these words to Simon Magus, 'Repent of this thy wickedness, and pray to God, that, if it be possible, the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.' And think ye not, my Lord Secretary, that the same doubt may touch my heart as touching the Queen's conversion that

* See Note LV.

† Robertson's History of Scotland, vol ii. 108. Lond. 1809. MS. Letters (extracted from the Barberini Library). Adv. Lib. A. 2. 11. In a letter to the Council of Trent, 18th March 1563 Mary expresses her regret that the situation of her affairs (hujus temporis tanta injuria) did not permit her to send some of her prelates to that council; and assures them of her great and unalterable devotion to the apostolic See, "nostra perpetua mente ac voluntate, in ejusdem sedis observantia et submissione." In a letter written Jan. 3. the same year, she entreats the Cardinal of Lorrain to assure the Pope of her resolution to live and die a Catholic. And on the last day of the same month, she writes to his Holines himself, laments the damnable errors (damnabili errori) in which she found her subjects plunged, and informs him that her intention, from the time she had left France, had uniformly been to re-establish the ancient religion.

‡ Hist. of Scotland, ut supra, p. 109.

* During the reign of Mary of England, the manner in which the protestants prayed for her, in their conventicles, was declared *High Treason*. Act Parl. 1. and 2. Philip and Mary, cap. 9. Nor did the psalms and prayers of the primitive Christians escape punishment under the *tolerant* emperor Julian. Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, p. 20—22. Lond. 1713.

then touched the heart of the Apostle?"—"I would never hear you or any other call that in doubt," replied Maitland.—"But your *will* is no assurance to my conscience." "Why say ye that she refuses admonitions?" said Maitland; "she will gladly hear any man."—"But what obedience ensues? Or, when shall she be seen to give her presence to the public preaching?" "I think never, so long as she is thus entreated," replied the Secretary. "And so long," rejoined the Reformer, "ye and all others must be content that I pray so as I may be assured to be heard of my God, either in making her comfortable to his church, or, if he has appointed her to be a scourge to the same, that we may have patience, and she may be bridled."

"Well then," said the Secretary, "let us come to the second head. Where find ye that the Scripture calls any 'the bond-slaves of Satan?' Or, that the prophets spake so irreverently of kings and princes?" "If the sharpness of the term offend you," replied the Reformer, "I have not invented that phrase of speaking, but have learned it out of God's scriptures; for these words I find spoken unto Paul, 'Behold, I send thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the POWER OF SATAN unto God.' Mark thir words, my Lord, and stur not at the speaking of the Holy Ghost."

The Secretary, who during the greater part of the dispute leaned on the Master of Maxwell's breast, said that he was fatigued, and desired some other person to reason with Knox on the point which remained to be discussed, respecting the authority of magistrates and the duty of subjects. The Chancellor Morton ordered George Hay to perform this part. Knox was aware, that the object of the Court was, if possible, to divide the ministers, and that they would improve any appearance of diversity of opinion among them to the prejudice of the common cause. He therefore told his brother, Hay, that he had no objections to reason with him, as he knew him to be a man of learning and modesty; but he should be sorry to think that they opposed each other, like two scholars of Pythagoras, to shew the quickness of their parts by supporting either side of a question; and as he, for his own part, protested that he durst no more support a proposition which he knew to be untrue than he durst teach false doctrine in the pulpit, so he hoped that his brother would, on the present occasion, advance or maintain nothing but what he was persuaded of in his conscience. This caution had the desired effect, and Hay declared before the whole assembly, that his judgment exactly coincided with Knox's on the subject proposed for discussion. "Marry," said the disappointed Secretary, "ye are the well worst of the two; for I remember our reasoning when the Queen was in Carrick."

Perceiving that none of the company was disposed to enter the lists with the Reformer, the Secretary again returned to the charge, and engaged to defend the uncontrollable authority of rulers. "Well," said he, "I am somewhat better provided in this last head, than I was in the other two. Mr. Knox, yesterday we heard your judgment upon the 13th to the Romans; we heard the mind of the apostle well opened; we heard the causes why God has established powers upon the earth; we heard the necessity that mankind has of the same; and we heard the duty of magistrates sufficiently declared. But in two things I was offended, and I think some more of my Lords that then were present: The one was, ye made difference betwixt the ordinance of God, and the persons that were placed in authority; and ye affirmed, that men might resist the persons, and yet not offend God's ordinance: The other was, that subjects were not bound to obey their princes if they commanded unlawful things, but that they might resist their princes, and were not ever bound to suffer." Knox said that the Secretary had given an exact statement of his sentiments. "How will you prove your division and difference," said Maitland, "and that the person placed in authority may be resisted, and God's ordinance not transgressed, seeing that the apostle says, 'He that resists the powers, resists the ordinance of God?" Knox replied, that the difference was evident from the words of the apostle, and that his affirmative was supported by approved examples. For the apostle asserts, that the powers ordained of God are for the preservation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the punishment of malefactors; whence it is plain, that God's ordinance is wholly intended for the preservation of mankind, the punishment of vice, and the maintaining of virtue: but the persons placed in authority are often corrupt, unjust, and oppressive. Having referred to the instance of the people of Israel rescuing Jonathan from the hands of Saul, and mentioned the conduct of Doeg in executing the command of that monarch, by putting the priests to death, he proceeded thus: "And now, my Lord, in answer to the place of the apostle, I say, that 'the power' in that place is not to be understood of the unjust commandment of men, but of the just power wherewith God has armed his magistrates to punish sin and to maintain virtue. As if any man should interprise to take from the hands of a lawful judge a murderer, an adulterer, or any other malefactor that by God's law deserved the death, this same man resisted God's ordinance, and procured to himself vengeance and damnation, because that he stayeth God's sword to strike. But so it is not, if that men, in the fear of God, oppose themselves to the fury and blind rage of princes; for so they resist not God but the Devil, who abuses the sword and authority of God." "I understand sufficiently," said Maitland, "what you mean; and unto the one part I will not oppose myself, but I doubt of the other. For if the Queen would command me to slay John Knox, because she is offended at him, I would not obey her; but if she would command others to do it, or yet by a colour of justice to take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him against the Queen, and against her officers." "Under protestation," replied the Reformer, "that the auditory think not that I speak in favours of myself, I say, my Lord, that if ye be persuaded of my innocence, and if God hath given you such power or credit as might deliver me, and yet ye suffer me to perish, that in so doing ye should be criminal, and guilty of my blood." "Prove that, and win the plea," said Maitland. "Well, my Lord," answered Knox, "remember your promise, and I shall be short in my probation." He then produced the example of Jeremiah, who, when accused by the priests and false prophets, said to the princes, 'but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.' "The cases are not like," said Maitland. "And I would learn," said Knox, "wherein the dissimilitude stands." "First," replied the other, "the king had not condemned him to death." And next, the false prophets, the priests, and the people, accused him without a cause, and therefore they could not but be guilty of his blood." To this the Reformer answered, that the princes sitting in judgment represented the king, and that the text plainly stated that the princes defended him, and no doubt also a great part of the people, and yet Jeremiah affirms, that they should be all guilty of his blood, if he should be put to death. "Then will ye," said the Secretary, "make subjects to control their princes and rulers?" "And what harm," asked the Reformer, "should the commonwealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant rulers were moderated, and so bridled by the wisdom and discretion of godly subjects, that they should do wrong or violence to no man?"

The Secretary, finding himself hard pushed, said that they had wandered from the argument; and he professed that if the Queen should become a persecutor, he would be as ready as any within the realm to adopt the doctrine of the Reformer. "But our question," said he, "is, whether that we may, and ought, suppress the Queen's mass? Or, whether that her idolatry should be laid to our charge?" "Idolatry ought not only to be suppressed," said Knox, "but the idolater ought to die the death." "I know," answered Maitland, "that the idolater ought to die the death; but by whom?" "By the people," rejoined the Reformer; "for the commandment was made to Israel, as ye may read, 'Hear, O Israel, saith the Lord, the statutes and commandments of the Lord thy God."—"But there is no commandment given to the people to punish their king, if he be an idolater." "I find no privilege granted unto kings," said Knox, "more than unto the people, to offend God's majesty." "I grant," said the Secretary; "but yet the people may not be judge unto their king, to punish him, albeit he be an idolater. The people may not execute God's judgment, but must leave it unto himself, who will either punish it by death, by war, by imprisonment, or by some other kind of his plagues." "I know," said Knox, "the last part of your reason to be true; but for the first I am assured ye have no other warrant except your own imagination, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend princes than God."

"Why say you so?" said Maitland. "I have the judgments of the most famous men within Europe, and of such as ye yourself will confess both godly and learned." Upon which he produced a bundle of papers, and read extracts from the writings of the principal reformed divines on the subject of resistance to rulers; adding, that he had bestowed more labour on the collection of these than on the reading of commentaries for seven years. Knox replied, that it was a pity he had given himself so much labour, for none of the extracts which he had read bore upon the question between them; some of them being directed against the Anabaptists, who denied that Christians should be subject to magistrates, and that it was lawful for them to hold the office of magistracy; and the rest referring to the case of a small number of Christians scattered through heathen and infidel countries, as was the situation of the primitive church. In this last case, he said, he perfectly agreed with the writers whom Maitland had quoted; but when a majority of a nation were professors of the true religion, the case was very different. While the posterity of Abraham were few in number, and while they sojourned in different countries, they were merely required to avoid all participation in the idolatrous rites of the heathen; but as soon as they "prospered into a kingdom," and obtained possession of Canaan, they were strictly charged to suppress idolatry, and to destroy all its monuments and incentives. The same duty was now incumbent on the professors of the true religion in Scotland, whose release from bondage, temporal and spiritual, was no less wonderful than the redemption of the Israelites from Egypt. Formerly, when not more than ten persons in a county were enlightened, and these were called to seal their testimony to the truth by giving their bodies to the flames, it would have been foolishness to have demanded of the nobility the suppression of idolatry. But now, when knowledge had increased, and God had given such a signal victory to the truth, that it had been publicly embraced by the realm, if they suffered the land to be again defiled, both they and their Queen should drink of the cup of divine indignation; she, because, amidst the great light of the gospel, she continued obstinately addicted to idolatry, and they, because they permitted, and even countenanced her in this sinful practice.

Maitland challenged his opponent to prove that the apostles or prophets ever taught that subjects might suppress the idolatry of their rulers. Knox appealed to the conduct of the prophet Elisha in anointing Jehu, and giving him a charge to punish the idolatry and bloodshed of the royal family of Ahab. "Jehu was a king before he put any thing in execution," said the Secretary. "My Lord, he was a mere subject, and no king, when the prophet's servant came to him; yea, and albeit that his fellow captains, hearing of the message, blew the trumpet, and said 'Jehu is king,' yet I doubt not but Jezebel both thought and said, he was a traitor, and so did many others in Israel and Samaria." "Besides this," said Maitland, "the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be imitated. "It had the ground of God's ordinary judgment, which commands the idolater to die the death," answered Knox. "We are not bound to imitate extraordinary examples," rejoined Maitland, "unless we have like commandment and assurance." Knox granted, that this was true when the example was repugnant to the ordinary precept of the law, as in the case of the Israelites borrowing from the Egyptians without repayment. But when the example agreed with the law, he insisted that it was imitable; and of this kind was the instance to which he had appealed. But, said Maitland, "whatsoever they did, was done at God's commandment." "That fortifies my argument," retorted the Reformer; "for God by his commandment has approved that subjects punish their princes for idolatry and wickedness by them committed." "We have not the like commandment," said the Secretary. —"That I deny; for the commandment, that the idolater shall die the death, is perpetual, as ye yourself have granted; ye doubted only who should be the executioner, and I have sufficiently proven that God has raised up the people, and by his prophet has anointed a king, to take vengeance upon the king and his posterity, which fact God since that time has never retracted." "Ye have produced but one example," said Maitland.—"One sufficeth; but yet, God be praised, we lack not others, for the whole people conspired against Amaziah, king of Judah, after he had turned away from the Lord." "I doubt whether they did well, or not," said Maitland.—"God gave sufficient approbation of their fact, for he blessed them with victory, peace, and prosperity, the space of fifty-two years after."—"But prosperity does not always prove that God approves the facts of men."—"Yes, when the facts of men agree with the law of God, and are rewarded according to his promise, I say that the prosperity succeeding the fact is a most infallible assurance, that God has approved that fact. And now, my Lord, I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I weary longer to stand." The Lords desired him to take a chair; but he declined it, saying, "that melancholic reasons needed some mirth to be intermixed with them." After a short dispute on the resistance of the priests to Uzziah, the Reformer recapitulated the propositions which he considered as established in the course of the debate. "Well," said Maitland, "I think ye shall not have many learned men of your opinion." Knox replied, that the truth ceased not to be the truth, because men misunderstood or opposed it, and yet he did not want the suffrages of learned men to his opinions. Upon which he presented the *Apology of Magdeburgh*, and desired the Secretary to look at the names of the ministers who had approved of the defence of that city against the Emperor, and who had subscribed the proposition, that to resist a tyrant is not to resist the ordinance of God. "Homines obscuri!"* said Maitland, slightingly, after perusing the list. "Dei tamen servi,"† replied the Reformer.

The Secretary now insisted that the questions discussed should be put to the vote, and that the deter-

* Men of no note. † Servants of God, however.

mination of the meeting should fix a rule for uniformity of doctrine among the ministers. Knox protested against this motion, and reminded their Lordships that the General Assembly had agreed to the present conference upon the express condition that nothing should be voted or decided at it. At last, it was agreed that the opinions of those who were present should be taken, but that they should not be considered as decisive. Winram, superintendent of Fife, and Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrews, were the principal persons among the ministers, who agreed in sentiment with the courtiers. Knox's colleague, in delivering his judgment, took occasion to give an account of a public disputation, which he had witnessed in Bologna, upon the question, Whether subjects have a right to control and reform their rulers, when they have been guilty of violating their oaths of office. Thomas de Finola, rector of the University, and Vincentius de Placentia, persons celebrated for their learning, maintained the affirmative of this question, and their opinion was adopted after long discussion. "Ye tell us what was done in Bononia," exclaimed one of the courtiers; "we are in a kingdom, and they are but a commonwealth." "My Lord," replied Craig, "my judgment is that every kingdom is a commonwealth, or at least should be, albeit that every commonwealth is not a kingdom; and therefore I think that in a kingdom no less diligence ought to be taken that laws be not violated than in a commonwealth, because the tyranny of princes who continually reign in a kingdom is more hurtful to the subjects, than the misgovernment of those that from year to year are changed in free commonwealths." He added, that the dispute to which he had referred was conducted on general principles, applicable to all kingdoms and commonwealths; and the conclusion adopted was, that, although laws contrary to the law of God, and to the true principles of government, had been introduced, through the negligence of the people or the tyranny of princes, yet the same people, or their posterity, had a right to demand that all things should be reformed according to the original institution of kings and commonwealths.

This speech of Craig* alarmed the courtiers as to the issue of the vote; and the Clerk Register took occasion to observe that, at a former conference, it had been agreed that Knox should write to Calvin to obtain his opinion on this question. Knox corrected this statement, by saying that the Secretary had undertaken to consult that reformer, but although repeatedly reminded of his promise, he had never fulfilled it. Maitland acknowledged this, and said that upon mature deliberation he durst not, considering his station, ask advice respecting any controversy between the Queen and her subjects, without her Majesty's consent. It was now proposed that Knox should write to Calvin; but he refused to be employed in the business. Before he returned to the kingdom, he said, he had obtained the judgment of the most eminent foreign divines on that question, and he could not renew his application to them without exposing himself to the charge of forgetfulness or of inconstancy. The proper course was for them to write, complaining that he had taught such doctrines as he had now defended, and requesting Calvin to communicate his judgment respecting them. This proposal was thought reasonable, but none would undertake the task; and the conference broke off without any determinate resolution being adopted.†

The reader must be struck with the difference between this dispute and that which Knox formerly maintained with the Abbot of Crossraguel. Although long, it was kept up by the disputants with great spirit; nor did they flee to these ambiguities of speech, or to those sophistical forms of argument, of which those who were trained to wrangle in the schools were ever ready to avail themselves, to perplex an adversary, or to conceal their own defeat. Few Secretaries of State in modern times would, it is presumed, be able to acquit themselves so well as Maitland did, on questions which were decided chiefly by an appeal to the scriptures. But learned and acute as Maitland was, Knox was fully a match for him, and on the greater part of the topics introduced into the debate, he evidently had the advantage, according to the principles held, and the concessions made by his opponent. For both parties maintained, that idolatry ought to be punished by death; a sentiment which they were led to adopt in consequence of their holding the untenable opinion, that Christian nations are bound to enact the same penalties, against all breaches of the moral law, which were enjoined by the judicial laws of the Jews.* This being taken for granted, the dispute between them resolved itself entirely into a question respecting the prerogatives of princes and the rights and duties of subjects. It may be questioned, too, whether Knox's reasoning from extraordinary examples, qualified as it was by him, is sufficiently guarded and correct; for the instances in which punishment was inflicted in an extraordinary way on criminals, although the punishment itself was merited and agreeable to law, cannot be pleaded as precedents in ordinary cases. But even when we cannot approve of his reasonings, we are compelled to admire the manly openness and boldness with which he avowed and defended sentiments so opposite to those which were generally received in that age.

In the month of August, Knox went, by appointment of the General Assembly, as visitor of the churches, to Aberdeen and the North, where he remained six or seven weeks.† The subsequent Assembly gave him a similar appointment to Fife and Perthshire.‡

Our Reformer's predictions at the last meeting of parliament were now fully realized. Another parliament was held in the end of 1564, but nothing was done for securing the protestant religion.‖ The Queen's marriage had long engaged the anxious attention of her ministers, and had been the object of much negociation with England and at foreign courts. But the various proposals which had been made with a view to this, and the political intrigues to which

* Craig, who was rather facile in his disposition and apt to be moulded by those who were about him, seems afterwards to have recanted the principle which he maintained on this occasion. For I suppose he is the person who preached the sermon at Linlithgow, mentioned by Hume of Godscroft. History of the house of Douglas and Angus, ii. 383, 385. The historian has inserted some very ingenious observations on the subject, by way of strictures on that sermon.

† Knox, Historie, p. 348—366.

* This was an opinion generally entertained among the Reformers; and it was one ground (though not the only one, as we have seen, p. 25.) upon which they vindicated the penal statutes against the mass and image worship. At the same time, while they laboured to restrain these evils, they discovered no disposition to proceed to capital punishment, even when it was completely in their power. I never read nor heard of an instance, in the time of our Reformer, of a person being put to death for performing any part of the Roman Catholic worship. If the reason of this disconformity between their opinion and their practice be asked, it may be answered, —their aversion to blood. "God (says our Reformer, addressing the popish princes who persecuted the protestants) will not use his saintes and chosen children to punish you. For with them is alwaies mercie, yea, even althogh God have pronounced a curse and malediction; as in the history of Josua is plaine. But as ye have pronounced wrong and cruel judgment without mercie, so will he punish you by such as in whom there is no mercie." Answer to the Cavillations of an Anabaptist, p. 449.

† The magistrates of Edinburgh, understanding that Mr. Christopher Goodman was appointed to preach during the absence of their own ministers, directed a committee of their number to wait upon him, and to "offer him in their names all honourabill intertenment, and cause the stewart of Jhonne Knox house to keep table to him upoun the town's expensis." Records of Town Council for 23d Aug. 1564.

‡ Keith. 535, 537, 540. ‖ Knox, Historie, p. 368

they gave rise, were all thwarted by the sudden and strong passion which Mary conceived for Lord Henry Darnly, the son of the Earl of Lennox. As this young nobleman, so far as he had discovered any religious sentiments, was inclined to popery,* the match could not be very agreeable to the great body of the nation, who had already testified the strongest jealousy at the Queen's attachment to that religion. It was, therefore, natural for the nobility, in the prospect of this event, to provide additional securities for the protestant church, and to insist that its legal establishment, which had hitherto been evaded, should now be granted. Provided this condition was complied with, they promised their consent to the marriage.† The Queen agreed to summon a parliament to deliberate on this important affair, but she found some pretext for proroguing its meeting;‡ and, having gained a number of the nobility by favours and promises, she proceeded, in July 1565, not only to solemnize the nuptials, but to proclaim her husband King, without the consent of the estates of the kingdom.

The dissatisfaction produced by these precipitate and illegal steps was heightened by the conduct of Darnly. Naturally vain, rash, and vindictive, his unexpected prosperity rendered him insolent and overbearing; and it required all the prudence of the Queen to preserve him from falling into contempt even before their marriage.‖ Although he could not have come to Scotland, and his father could not have been restored to his honours and possessions, considering the opposition made by the Duke of Chastelherault, without the concurrence and interest of the Earl of Murray; yet, he no sooner found himself seated in the affections of Mary, than he exerted his influence to deprive that nobleman of her favour, represented the honours which she had conferred on him as excessive, and leagued with those who were enemies to him and to the reformed religion. Lennox, Athole, and David Rizio, a low-bred Italian, who had insinuated himself into the good graces of Mary, now ruled the court, to the exclusion of the most able counsellors.§ Murray had been urged in private to sign an approbation of the intended marriage, but refused to do it until the nobility had been consulted.¶ His refusal to gratify the Queen, by forwarding a match on which she was passionately bent, obliterated the memory of all his past services, and drew upon him the furious resentment of Darnly. Having declined to attend a convention at Perth, from just apprehensions of personal danger, he was summoned to Court by the Queen. The summons was repeated three days after her marriage, and because he refused to entrust his person, on her safe conduct, to a court where the influence of his declared enemies prevailed, he was immediately proclaimed an outlaw.** In the mean time, the persons who had discovered the greatest hostility to him were openly encouraged. Bothwell was invited to return; Lord George Gordon was set at liberty, and the earldom of Huntly restored to him; and the Earl of Sutherland was recalled from banishment.†† The Lords who were dissatisfied with the late proceedings assembled at Stirling, and, after agreeing to request the protection of Elizabeth, retired to their houses.‡‡ But the Queen taking the field with all the forces which she could collect, they were at last compelled to arm in their own defence.‖‖ Even after they were driven to this extremity they neglected no means of conciliation. They professed their stedfast loyalty to the Queen. They declared that they desired only, that the reformed religion should be secured against the dangers to which it was exposed, and that the administration of public affairs should be put into the hands of those whom the nation could trust. And they offered to submit their own cause to be tried by the laws of their country.* But the Queen spurned all their offers of submission, refused to listen to any intercession in their favour, and advancing against them with her army, obliged them to take refuge in England.†

While her marriage with Darnly was in dependance, and while she laboured to surmount the opposition made to it by the nobility, the Queen condescended to court the protestant ministers. She sent for the superintendents of Lothian, Glasgow, and Fife (for Knox could not now be admitted to her presence), and amused them with fair words. She was not yet persuaded, she said, of the truth of their religion, but she was willing to hear conference and reasoning on the subject; she was also content to attend the public sermons of some of them; and, "above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness, Sir John Erskine of Dun."‡ She even went so far as to be present at the sermon preached by one of the ministers in Callendar-house, at the baptism of a child of Lord Livingston.‖ But as soon as her marriage was accomplished, she told the commissioners of the church, in very plain and determined language, "her Majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion wherein she has been nourished, and brought up."§ And there was no further proposal of attending either sermon or conference.

The friendship between the Earl of Murray and the Reformer had been renewed in the beginning of 1565. Knox was placed in a very delicate predicament by the insurrection under Murray, and the other Lords who opposed the Queen's marriage. His father-in-law was one of their number. They professed that the security of the protestant religion was the principal ground of their taking arms; and they came to Edinburgh to collect men to their standard. But whatever favour he might have for them, he kept himself clear from any engagement.¶ If he had taken part in this unsuccessful revolt, we need not doubt that her Majesty would have embraced the opportunity of punishing him for it, when his principal friends had fled the kingdom.

We find, in fact, that she immediately proceeded against him on a different, but far more slender pretext. The young King, who could be either papist or protestant, as it suited him, went sometimes to mass with the Queen, and sometimes attended the reformed sermons.** To silence the suspicions of his alienation from the reformed religion, circulated by the insurgent Lords, he, on the 19th of August, made a solemn appearance in St. Giles's church, sitting on a throne which had been prepared for his reception. Knox preached that day on Isa. xxvi. 13, 14. and happened to prolong the service beyond his usual time. In one part of the sermon, he quoted these words of scripture, "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them—children are their oppressors, and women rule over them;" and in another part of it, he mentioned that God punished Ahab, because he did not correct his idolatrous wife Jesabel.†† Though

* Keith, p. 278. note (a.) † Knox, p. 373.
† Keith, 279. Knox, 374, 378.
‖ Keith, 329. Robertson, ii. 123.
§ Knox, 372, 374. Robertson, ii. 114, 120. ¶ Knox, 372.
** Ibid. 379. Keith, 309, 310. Append. 108—110.
†† Knox, 368, 379, 386. Keith, 309, 310. Gordon's Genealog. Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, 143—4.
‡‡ Keith 300, 304, 306.
‖‖ Robertson, ii. 131. Laing, History of Scotland, i. 5—8.

* Knox, Historie, 332, 284, 386. † Ibid. 383.
‡ Ibid. p. 373. 374. ‖ Ibid. p. 377. § Ibid. p. 376.
¶ Goodall says, that Knox was engaged with the Earl of Murray in a plot for seizing Darnly; but he has not produced the evidence for his assertion. Life of Queen Mary, i. 207—209. ** Keith, 301—2.
†† Sermon, apud History of the Reformation, Edin. 1644. 4to. Append. p. 120, 128. Spottiswood says, that Knox, in his sermon, (either doubting the king's sincerity, or favouring the faction of the noblemen), "fell upon him with a bitter reproof." History, 191. But the archbishop does not seem to have read the sermon, which contains no reproof of the king,

no particular application was made by the preacher, the King applied these passages to himself and the Queen, and, returning to the palace in great wrath, refused to taste dinner. The papists, who had accompanied him to church, inflamed his resentment and that of the Queen, by their representations.

That very afternoon Knox was taken from bed,* and carried before the privy council. Some respectable inhabitants of the city, understanding his citation, accompanied him to the palace. He was told that he had offended the King, and must desist from preaching as long as their Majesties were in Edinburgh. He replied, that "he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church should command him to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him."† Spottiswood says, that he not only stood to what he had said in the pulpit, but added, "That as the King, for" the Queen's "pleasure, had gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should He in his justice make her the instrument of his overthrow. This speech (continues the archbishop's manuscript), esteemed too bold at the time, came afterwards to be remembered, and was reckoned among other his prophetical sayings, which certainly were marvelous. The Queen, enraged at this answer, burst forth into tears."‡

The report of the inhibition laid upon the Reformer created great agitation in the city. His colleague, who was appointed to supply his place during the suspension, threatened to desist entirely from preaching. The town council met, and appointed a deputation to wait on their Majesties, and to request the reversal of the sentence; and in a second meeting held on the same day, they came to an unanimous resolution, that they would "in no manner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closed," but that he should be desired, "at his pleasure, and as God should move his heart, to proceed forward to the true doctrine as before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end."‖

It does not appear that he continued any time suspended from preaching. For the King and Queen left Edinburgh before next Sabbath,§ and the prohibition extended only to the time of their residence in the city. Upon their return, it is probable that the Court judged it unadvisable to enforce an order which had already created much discontent, and might alienate the minds of the people still farther from the present administration. Accordingly, we find him exercising his ministry in Edinburgh with the same boldness as formerly. Complaints were made to the Council of the manner in which he prayed for the exiled noblemen; but Secretary Maitland, who had formerly found so much fault with his prayers, defended them on the present occasion, saying, that he had heard them, and they were such as nobody could blame.*

Christopher Goodman had officiated with much approbation as minister of St. Andrews, since the year 1560; but he was prevailed on, by the solicitations of his friends in England, to return, about this time, to his native country.† The commissioners from St. Andrews were instructed to petition the General Assembly, which met in December this year, that Knox should be translated from Edinburgh to their city. They claimed a right to him, as he had commenced his ministry among them; and they might think, that the dissentions in which he was involved with the court would induce him to prefer a more retired situation. But the petition was refused.‡

This Assembly imposed on him several important services. He was commissioned to visit the churches in the south of Scotland, and appointed to write "a comfortable letter," to encourage the ministers, exhorters, and readers, throughout the kingdom, to persevere in the discharge of their functions, which many of them were threatening to abandon on account of the non-payment of their stipends; and to excite the people among whom they laboured to relieve their necessities.‖ He had formerly received an appointment to draw up *The Form of Excommunication* and of *Public Repentance*.§ And he was now required to compose a *Treatise of Fasting*. The Assembly, having taken into consideration the troubles of the country, and the dangers which threatened the whole protestant interest, appointed a general fast to be kept through the kingdom. The form and order to be observed on that occasion they left to be drawn out by Knox and his colleague. As nothing had been hitherto published expressly on this subject, they were authorized to explain the duty, as well as to state the reasons which at that period called for this solemn exercise. It was appointed to be published before the time of the fast, to serve as a directory to ministers and people. The treatise does credit to the compilers, both as to matter and form. It is written in a perspicuous and nervous style. In the grounds assigned for fasting, the critical state of all the reformed churches, the late decree of the Council of Trent for the extirpation of the protestant name, the combination of the popish princes for carrying it into execution, and the barbarities exercised upon their brethren in different countries, are all held forth as a warning to the protestants of Scotland, and urged as calls to repentance and prayer.

The following may serve as a specimen. "Supposing, we say, that wee had none of these foresaid causes to moove us, yet is there one which if it moove us not to humiliation, wee shew ourselves more than insensible. For now is Satan so enlarged against Jesus Christ, and so odious is the light of his

either bitter or mild. Indeed, the preacher seems, on that occasion, to have used less freedom in the application than ordinary.

* Preface to the Sermon, ut supra.

† Ibid. Records of Town Council, ut infra. Knox, Historie, p. 381. In consequence of being called before the privy council, he immediately wrote out the sermon, as exactly according to what he preached as he could, and sent it to the press, to let the impartial see, "upon how small occasions great offence is now taken." At the end of it is this postscript: "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; for the terrible roaring of gunnes, and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirsteth to depart." On the margin are these words: "The castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus sake." Then follows the date at which the writing was finished. "The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly so farre as memory would serve, of those things that in publike I spake on Sunday, August 19, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time. Be mercifull to thy flock, O Lord, and at thy pleasure put end to my misery. JOHN KNOX."

‡ Spottiswood, 191, 192. Keith, 546, 547. Keith calls in question the archbishop's narrative; because Knox, in his history, does not say that the queen was present, and does not mention the prediction, although "fond enough to catch at and force such things upon his readers." But it should be noticed, that Knox did not write this part of the history; the fifth book having been compiled after his death, and not being found in old MSS. See *Advertisement* prefixed to the edition of his Historie, Edin. 1732. It must be confessed, however, that Spottiswood's account of this affair is inaccurate in a number of particulars. David Buchanan says that the king had "cast the psalme booke in the fire," which was the cause of Knox's denunciation against him. Life prefixed to History of the Reformation.

‖ Records of Town Council, 23d August, 1565. Keith, 547.

§ Knox, Historie, p. 381.

* Knox, Historie, p. 389.

† See Note LVI.

‡ Keith, 562.

‖ Ibid. 533.

§ This appointment was laid upon him in June 1563. Keith, 525. He does not seem to have executed it till 1567; which is the date subjoined to a prayer at the end of the treatise. Then follows a postscript: "This booke is thought necessary and profitable for the church, and commanded to be printed by the Generall Assemblie." The order for printing it seems to have been first given by the Assembly in 1568, and renewed in 1571. Psalmes in meeter, &c. (commonly called Knox's Liturgy) printed by Andro Hart, A. 1611, p. 28, 67. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 705, 747.

gospel unto the Romaine Antichrist, that to suppresse it in one province, realme, or nation, he thinketh it nothing, unlesse that in all Europe the godly, and such as abhorre the papisticall impietie, be therewith also utterlie destroyed, and so rased from the face of the earth that no memory of them shal after remaine. If any thinke that suche crueltie cannot fall into the hearts of men, we send them to be resolved of those fathers of the last Councel of *Trent*, who in one of their sessions have thus concluded: All Lutherans, Calvinists, and such as are of the new religion, shall utterly be rooted out. The beginning shall be in France, by conducting of the Catholike King, Philip of Spaine, and by some of the nobilitie of France, which matter (they say) put in execution, the whole power of both together with the Popes armie, and force of the Duke of Savoy and Ferrar, shall assault Geneva, and shall not leave it, till that they have put it to sacke, saving in it no living creature. And with the same mercie shall so many of France as have tasted of the new religion be served. From thence expedition shall be made against the Germanes, to reduce them to the obedience of the Apostolike seate. And so shall they proceed to other realmes and nations, never ceasing till that all be rooted out, that will not make homage to that Romane Idoll. How fearefull a beginning this conclusion and determination had, France will remember moe ages than one. For how manie, above a hundreth thousand men, women, babes, virgines, matrones, and aged fathers suffered, some by sworde, some by water, some by fire, and other torments, the verie enemies themselves are compelled to acknowledge. And albeit that God of his mercie in part disappoynted their cruell enterprises, yet let us not thinke that their will is changed, or their malice asswaged. No; let us be assured, that they abide but opportunitie to finish the worke, that cruellie against God, against his trueth, and the true professors of the same, they have begunne. The whisperings whereof are not secreete, neither yet the tokens obscure. For the traffike of that Dragon now with the Princes of the earth, his promises and flattering enticements, tende to none other ende, but to enflame them against Jesus Christ, and against the true proffessours of his gospel. For who can thinke that the Pope, Cardinals, and horned Bishops, will offer the greatest portion of their rents, for sustaining of a warre, whereof no commoditie should redound (as they suppose) to themselves?" Having quoted that part of the decree of the Council which relates to the assessment imposed on the clergy for carrying on this Holy War, the compilers of the Treatise add: "But let us hear their conclusion. France and Germanie (say they) being by these meanes so chastised, abased, and brought to the obedience of the holy Romane Church, the fathers doubt not but time shall provide both counsell and commoditie, that the rest of the realmes about may be reduced to one flocke, and one Apostolike Governour and Pastour.—But some shall say, they are yet far from the end of their purpose, and therefore wee neede not to be so fearefull, nor so troubled. We answere, the danger may be nearer than wee beleeve, yea, perchance a part of it hath bene nearer to our neckes, then we have considered. But how so ever it be, seeing that God of his mercie hath brought foorth to light their cruell and bloodie counsell, in which we neede not to doubt but still they continue, it becummeth us not to be negligent or slouthful."*

Strong as their apprehensions were, the danger was nearer to them than they imagined. The most zealous and powerful of the protestant nobles being exiled, the Queen determined to carry into execution the designs of which she had never lost sight; and while she amused the nation with proclamations against altering the received religion, and tantalized the ministers with offers of more adequate support, was preparing for the speedy restoration of the Roman Catholic worship. No means were left unattempted for gaining over the nobility to that religion. The King openly professed himself a convert, and officiated in some of its most superstitious rites. The Earls of Lennox, Cassilis, and Caithness, with Lord Montgomery and Seton, followed his example.* The friars were employed to preach at Holyroodhouse, and, to gain the favour of the people, endeavoured to imitate the popular method of the protestant preachers.† In the beginning of February 1566, a messenger arrived from the Cardinal of Lorrain, with a copy of the catholic league for extirpating the protestants, and instructions to obtain the Queen's subscription to it, and to urge the propriety of adopting the most rigorous measures against the exiled noblemen. Mary scrupled not to set her hand to the league.‡ Previous to this, it is said, that she was inclined to yield to the intercessions made in behalf of the exiles; but if ever she felt this disposition, it is certain that, from the arrival of this embassy, the door of mercy was shut; for Murray and his associates were immediately summoned to appear before the parliament which was to meet on the twelfth of March. The Lords of the Articles were chosen according to the Queen's pleasure; the popish ecclesiastics were restored to their place in parliament; the altars to be erected in St. Giles's church for the celebration of the Roman Catholic worship were already prepared.‖

But these measures, when ripe for execution were blasted in consequence of a secret engagement which the King had entered into with some of the protestant nobles. The first effect produced by this engagement was the well known assassination of *Rizio*, the unworthy favourite of the Queen, who was the principal instigator of the measures against the protestant religion and the banished Lords, and had incurred the jealousy of the King, the contempt of the nobility, and the hatred of the people. To have removed this minion from her Majesty's counsels and presence by legitimate means would have been meritorious; but the manner in which it was accomplished was equally inconsistent with law and humanity, and fixes a deep stigma on the character of those who perpetrated the deed.§

A complete change in the state of the Court succeeded this event: the popish counsellors fled from the palace; the exiled Lords returned out of England; and the parliament was prorogued, without accomplishing any of the objects for which it had been assembled. But the Queen soon persuaded the weak and uxorious King to desert the noblemen, to retire with her to Dunbar, and to issue a proclamation, disowning his consent to the late attempt, by which he exposed himself to the contempt of the nation, without regaining her affection. Having collected an army, she

* Treatise of Fasting, in Knox's Liturgy, p. 157—160. edit. 1611. and Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 661—664.

* Robertson, App. No. 14. Keith, App. p. 165, 167. Knox, 389, 391.

† The friars were so little esteemed, that they soon wearied of preaching. They boasted that they would dispute with the protestant ministers; but when the commissioners of the General Assembly waited on their Majesties, and requested that this might be granted in their presence, the Queen replied, that "sche wald not jeopard her religioun upon sick as were thare present; for sche knew weill enouch, that the protestants wer more learned." Knox, Historie, p. 291.

‡ Keith, p. 326. App. 167. Melvil's Memoires, 63, 64. Robertson, App. No. 14.

‖ Knox, 392, 394. Keith, App. 126. The Queen's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, apud Keith, 331. Goodall and Blackwood, apud Robertson. ii. 145. Lond. 1809.

§ The noblemen wished to bring Rizio to a public trial; but the king would not wait for this, and determined that he should be seized in the queen's presence, although she was big with child, that he might upbraid her for the wrongs which he had suffered. Keith, App. 121, 122. Robertson, iii. 318. App. No. 15.

returned to Edinburgh, threatening to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been accessory to the murder of her secretary, and the indignity shewn to her person. She found herself, however, unable to resume her plan for altering the received religion; and, while the conspirators against Rizio were forced to flee to England, the Earl of Murray, and the other Lords who had opposed her marriage, were allowed to remain in the country and soon after pardoned.

When the Queen returned to Edinburgh, Knox left it, and retired to Kyle. There is no reason to think that he was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators.* At any rate, he was sufficiently obnoxious to the Queen on other grounds; and as her resentment, on the present occasion, was exceedingly inflamed, it was deemed prudent for him to withdraw.†

Having at last "got quit" of one who had long been troublesome to her, Mary was determined to prevent his return to the capital. We need not doubt that the town-council and inhabitants, who had formerly refused to agree to his suspension from preaching for a short time, would exert themselves to obtain his restoration; and powerful intercession was made in his behalf by many of the nobility and gentry. But the queen was deaf to all their entreaties. She was even unwilling that he should find a refuge within the kingdom, and wrote to a nobleman in the west country, with whom he resided, to banish him from his house.‡ It does not appear that he returned to Edinburgh, or, at least, that he resumed his ministry in it, until the Queen was deprived of the government.

Being banished from his flock, he judged this a favourable opportunity for paying a visit to England. Parental affection increased at this time the desire which he had long felt to accomplish his journey. His two sons had been lately sent by him into that kingdom, to reside with some of their mother's relations, and to obtain their education in the English seminaries. Having procured the Queen's safe-conduct, he applied to the General Assembly, which met in December 1556, for their permission to remove. This was readily granted by them, upon condition of his returning against the time of their next meeting in June. The Assembly likewise gave him a most ample and honourable testimonial, in which they describe him as "a true and faithfull minister, in doctrine pure and sincere, in life and conversation in our sight inculpable," and one who "has so fruitfully used that talent granted to him by the Eternal, to the advancement of the glory of his godly name, to the propagation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and edifying of them who heard his preaching, that of duty we most heartily praise His godly name, for that so great a benefit granted unto him for our utility and profit."‖

The Reformer was charged with a letter from the Assembly to the bishops and ministers of England, interceding for lenity to such of their brethren as scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress enjoined by the laws. The controversy on that subject was at this time carried on with great heat among the English clergy. It is not improbable, that the Assembly interfered in this business at the desire of Knox, to whom the composition of the letter was committed.* He could not have forgotten the trouble which he himself had suffered on a similar ground, and he had a high regard for many of the scruplers. This interposition did not procure for them any relief. Even though the superior clergy had been more zealous to obtain it than they were, Elizabeth was inflexible, and would listen neither to the supplications of her bishops, nor to the advice of her counsellors. Knox's good opinion of the English Queen does not seem to have been improved by this visit.†

He performed one important piece of public service before undertaking his journey to England. On the 23d of December, the Queen granted a commission to the archbishop of St. Andrews, under the Privy Seal, restoring him to his ancient jurisdiction, which had been abolished in 1560, by act of parliament.‡ This step was taken, partly to prepare for the restoration of the popish religion, and partly to facilitate another dark design which was soon after disclosed. The protestants could not fail to be both alarmed and enraged at this daring measure. Moved by his own zeal no less than by the advice of his brethren, the Reformer addressed a circular letter to the principal protestants in the kingdom, requesting their immediate advice on the measures most proper to be adopted on this occasion, and inclosing a copy of a proposed supplication to the Queen. This letter discovers all the ardour of the writer's spirit, called forth by such an alarming occurrence. After mentioning the late acts for the provision of the ministry,‖ by which the Queen attempted to blind them, he says: "How that any such assignation, or any promise made thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman Antichrist, by just laws once banished from this realm, shall be intrusted above us we can no ways understand. Yea, farther, we cannot see what assurance can any within this realm, that hath professed the Lord Jesus, have of life, or inheritance, if the head of that odious Beast be cured among us." Having inforced his request, he adds: "As from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end, to maintain the same, so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to the Roman Antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny; but when we can do no farther to suppress that odious Beast, we mind to seal it with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that Man of Sin, and his venomous doctrine, from our hearts and consciences. Let this our letter and request bear witness before God, before his church, before the world, and before your own consciences."§ The supplication of the General Assembly to the Lords of the Privy Council, on the same subject, also bears marks of the Reformer's pen.¶

* King James VI. having found great fault with Knox for approving of the assassination of Rizio, one of the ministers said, that "the slaughter of David [Rizio], so far as it was the work of God was allowed by Mr. Knox, and not otherwise." Cald. MS. ad Ann. 1591. Knox himself does not, however, make this qualification, when he mentions the subject incidentally. Historie, p. 86. Robertson, ii. 161—2.

† Knox, Historie, 395. Answer to Tyrie, A. iiij.

† Letter from archbishop Grindal to Bullinger, 17th August, 1566. Strype's Grindal, App. 20. Letter from bishop Parkhurst, written in December, 1566. Burnet's Hist. of Refor. iii. App. No. 91. In the Assembly which met in June this year, Craig desired that "John Carnes, who had read prayers, and exhorted four years and more in Edinburgh, and had weill profited,—might be joyned with him as colleague in the kirk of Edinburgh, *in respect he was alone.*" Keith, 560.

‖ Keith, 564.

* Keith, 565, 566. Knox, 402, 405. Spottiswood, 198, 199. The letter was subscribed by "John Davidson, for James Nicoldson, writer and clarke of the church of Edinborough." Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, App. p. 88.

† Speaking of England, he says: "And yet is sche that now rigneth over thame nether gude protestant, nor yet resolute papist; let the warld juge quhilk is the third." Historie, p. 277. By comparing p. 269, it appears that this was written by him in 1567, and consequently after his return from England.

‡ Laing's History of Scotland, vol. i. 75, 76. 2d edit. This historian has refuted the charges of forgery which Whitaker had brought against Knox and Calderwood on this head. Ibid. p. 78, 79.

‖ Keith, p. 561. 562. The occurrence which had taken place helps to explain the coldness with which the Assembly received the information of these acts in their favour. Ibid. p. 563.

§ Cald. MS. apud Keith, 566, 567. ¶ Ibid. 567—8.

During the time that Knox was in England, that tragedy, so well known in Scottish history, was acted, which led to a complete revolution in the government of the kingdom, and, contrary to the designs of the principal actors, threw the power wholly into the hands of the protestants. Mary's affection for her husband which had cooled soon after their marriage, was, from the time of Rizio's assassination, converted into a fixed hatred, which she was at little pains to conceal. The birth of an heir to the crown produced no reconciliation between the royal parents; the King was not allowed to be present at the baptism of his own son; and was treated with such marked disrespect even by the servants, that he abandoned the Court, and shut himself up in his father's house. In proportion as the Queen's mind was alienated from the King, the unprincipled Earl of Bothwell grew in her favour. He engrossed the whole management of public affairs, was loaded with honours, and treated by her Majesty with every mark of personal regard and affection. In these circumstances, the neglected, unhappy King was decoyed to Edinburgh, lodged in a solitary dwelling at the extremity of the city, and murdered on the morning of February 10, 1567; the house in which he lay being blown up with gunpowder.

It would be unsuitable to the nature of the present work to enter into the controversy respecting the authors of this murder, which has been agitated with uncommon keenness from that day to the present time. The accusation of the Earl of Murray as a party to the deed, is destitute of all proof, and utterly uncredible. It was at first circulated with the evident design of turning away the public mind from the real perpetrators; it was insinuated, and afterwards directly brought forward, in the conferences at York and Westminster, as a retaliation upon him for the charge which he exhibited against the Queen; and it is now kept up only by the most blind and bigoted of her partizans. That Bothwell was the prime contriver and agent in the murder cannot admit of a doubt with any impartial and judicious inquirer. And that Mary was privy to the design, and accessory to its execution by permission and approbation, there is, I think, all the evidence, moral and legal, which could reasonably be expected in a case of this kind. The whole of her behaviour towards the King, from the time that she brought him from Glasgow till she left him on the fatal night; the remissness which she discovered in inquiring into the murder; the shameful manner in which she suffered the farce of Bothwell's trial to be conducted; the glaring act (which struck with horror the whole of Europe, and even her own friends) of taking to her bed, with indecent haste, the man who was stigmatized as the murderer of her husband; and the manner in which she refused to defend herself, and broke off the conference to which she had agreed, as soon as the charge of accession to the murder was brought against her,—afford the strongest presumption of her guilt; and, when taken in connection with the direct evidence arising from letters and depositions, would have been sufficient long ago to shut the mouths of any but the defenders of Mary, Queen of Scots.*

Knox was absent from Edinburgh at the time of the Queen's marriage with Bothwell; but his colleague ably supported the honour of his place and order on that occasion, when the whole nobility of Scotland preserved a passive and disgraceful silence. Being required by both the parties to publish the banns, Craig reluctantly complied, after taking the advice of his session; but he at the same time protested from the pulpit, on three several days, and took heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the Queen from taking a step, which would inevitably cover her with infamy, and involve her in ruin. Being called before the Council, and accused of having exceeded the bounds of his commission, he boldly replied, that the bounds of his commission, were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason, to all of which the proposed marriage was contrary. And Bothwell being present, he charged him with the crime of adultery, the precipitancy with which the process of divorce had been carried through, and the suspicions entertained of collusion between him and his wife, of his having murdered the King, and ravished the Queen, all of which would be confirmed, if they carried their purpose into execution.*

The events which followed in a rapid succession upon this infamous marriage; the confederation of the nobility for revenging the King's death, and preserving the person of the infant Prince; the flight of Bothwell; the surrender and imprisonment of Mary; her resignation of the government; the coronation of her son; and the appointment of the Earl of Murray as Regent during his minority, are all well known to the readers of Scottish history.

Knox seems to have returned to his charge at the time that the Queen fled with Bothwell to Dunbar. He was present in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, and was delegated by them to go to the west country, and endeavour to persuade the Hamiltons and others who stood aloof from the confederated Lords, to join with them in settling the distracted affairs of the country, and to attend a general convention of the delegates of the churches, to be held on the 20th of July following.† He was unsuccessful in this negociation. But the convention was held, and the nobles, barons, and commissioners of boroughs, who were present, subscribed a number of articles, with reference to religion and the state of the nation.‡

On the 29th of July 1567, the Reformer preached the sermon at the coronation of James VI. in the parish church of Stirling.‖ He objected to the ceremony of unction, as a Jewish rite abused under the papacy; but on the present occasion it was deemed inexpedient to depart from the accustomed ceremonial. It was therefore performed by the bishop of Orkney; the superintendents of Lothian and Angus assisting him to place the crown on the King's head.§ After the coronation, Knox, along with some others, took instruments, and craved extracts of the proceedings.¶

* Those who wish to see the proof of these assertions, may consult Mr. Hume's History of the period, with the Notes; Dr. Robertson's, with his Dissertation; and especially Mr. Laing's Dissertation on the subject. This last writer has examined the point with great calmness, accuracy, and acuteness, has established the genuineness of the letters to Bothwell, and cleared the whole evidence from the objections and cavils of the fantastical Whitaker, a late author, who has equalled any of his predecessors in prejudice, and exceeded all of them in the illiberal and virulent abuse with which he has treated the most respectable of his opponents. The principal writers who in modern times have undertaken the defence of Mary are Goodall, Tytler, Stuart, and Whitaker.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 85, 87, 103. Anderson's Collections, ii. 278—283. Knox, 405, 406. Spottiswood, 202, 203. Craig gave in a narrative and defence of his conduct to the General Assembly, 30th Dec. 1567; but it was not until the 6th July, 1569, that the Assembly overtook the formal consideration of that affair, when they declared that "he had done the dewtie of a faithfull minister."

† Keith, 574, 577. Knox, 410.

‡ Keith, 581—583. Knox, 411. Spottis. 209, 210.

‖ Knox, 412. Buchanan calls it *luculentam concionem*. Hist. lib. xviii. Oper. tom. i. p. 366.

§ Cald. MS. ii. 67, 68. Anderson's Collections, ii. 249. One author says that Knox was employed in putting the crown on the king's head. "Diadema Joannis Knoxii manibus capiti regio impositum." Archibaldus Simsonus, Annales Eccles. Scotican. p. 9. MS. in the possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq.

¶ Keith, 439. Keith expresses his surprise at Knox's taking instruments in the name of the estates, as he "could properly belong to no estate at all." p. 440. But the record does not say

When the Queen was confined by the Lords in the castle of Lochlevin, they had not resolved in what manner they should dispose of her person for the future. Some proposed that she should be allowed to leave the kingdom; some that she should be imprisoned during life; while others insisted that she ought to suffer capital punishment. Of this last opinion was Knox, with almost all the ministers, and the great body of the people. The chief ground upon which they insisted for this, was not her maladministration in the government, or the mere safety and peace of the commonwealth; which were the reasons upon which the parliament of England, in the following century, proceeded to the execution of her grandson. But they founded their opinion upon the personal crimes with which Mary was charged. Murder and adultery, they reasoned, were crimes to which the punishment of death was allotted by the law of God and of nations. From this penalty persons of no rank could plead exemption. The ordinary forms of judicial procedure, indeed, made no provision for the trial of a supreme magistrate; because the laws did not suppose that such enormous crimes would be committed by them. But extraordinary cases required extraordinary remedies; and new offences gave birth to new laws. There were also examples in scripture of the capital punishment of princes, nor were precedents for it wanting in the history of their own country.*

Upon these grounds, Knox scrupled not publicly to maintain, that the estates of the kingdom ought to bring Mary to a trial; and, if she was found guilty of the murder of her husband, and an adulterous connection with Bothwell, that she ought to be put to death. Throkmorton, the English ambassador, held a conference with him, with the view of mitigating the rigour of this judgment; but though he acquiesced in the resolution adopted by the Lords to detain her in prison, he retained his own sentiment, and, after the civil war was kindled by her escape from confinement, repeatedly said, that he considered the nation as suffering for their criminal lenity.†

Though the Earl of Murray, after his return from banishment, was pardoned, and re-admitted to his place in the privy council, he did not regain the confidence of her Majesty. Perceiving the ruinous tendency of the course on which she was bent, and despairing of being able to prevent it by his advice, he declined taking an active part in the management of public affairs, and appeared very seldom at Court. Soon after the King was murdered, he obtained liberty to leave the kingdom, and retired to France, where he remained till recalled by a message from the confederated Lords, after Mary had subscribed the instruments by which she resigned the crown and appointed him Regent. Having arrived in Scotland, he was formally invested with the regency, on the 22d of August 1567. As soon as he was confirmed in the government, he exerted himself with great zeal and prudence, to secure the peace of the kingdom, and to settle the affairs of the church. A parliament being summoned to meet in the middle of December, he, with the advice of the privy council, previously nominated certain barons, and commissioners of boroughs, to consult upon and digest such overtures as were proper to be laid before that assembly. With these he joined Knox, and four other ministers, to assist in matters which related to the church. This committee met in the beginning of December, and sat until the opening of the parliament. The record of their proceedings, both as to civil and ecclesiastical affairs, is preserved; and, as many of their propositions were not adopted by the parliament, it is valuable as a declaration of the sentiments of a number of the most able men in the kingdom.*

On the 15th of December, Knox preached at the opening of the parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion, in which case they would find better success in their other business. The parliament ratified all the acts which had been passed in 1560, in favour of the protestant religion, and against popery. New statutes of a similar kind were added. It was provided, that no prince should afterwards be admitted to the exercise of authority in the kingdom, without taking an oath to maintain the protestant religion; and that none but protestants should be admitted to any office, not hereditary nor held for life. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction, exercised by the assemblies of the church, was formally ratified, and commissioners appointed to define more exactly the causes which came within the sphere of their judgment. The thirds of benefices were appointed to be paid immediately to collectors appointed by the church, who were to account to the exchequer for the overplus after paying the stipends of the ministers. And the funds of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries were appropriated to maintain bursars in colleges.†

In the act ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, Knox was appointed one of the commissioners for drawing out the particular points which pertained to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be presented to next meeting of parliament. The General Assembly, which met about the same time, gave him a commission, along with some others, to act for them in this matter, and, in general, to consult with the Regent and council on such ecclesiastical questions as might occur after their dissolution. He was also appointed to assist the superintendent of Lothian in his visitation, and afterwards to visit the churches in Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham.‡

During the regency of Murray, there were no jars between the church and the court, nor any of those unpleasant complaints which had been made at every meeting of the General Assembly before that period, and which were renewed under the succeeding Regents.‖ All the grievances of which they complained were not indeed, redressed; and the provision made by law was still inadequate for the support of such an ecclesiastical establishment as the nation required, including the seminaries of education. But the Regent not only received the addresses of the general assemblies in a "manner very different from that to which they had been accustomed;" but shewed a disposition to grant their petitions, whenever it was in his power. It was chiefly through his influence that the favourable arrangement concerning the thirds of benefices was made; and he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain the consent of parliament to the dissolution of

that he took instruments *in the name of the estates*. It is evident that he acted in the name of *the church*, which was considered as having an interest in the transaction, as by one clause of the coronation oath the king engaged to maintain the reformed religion, and the privileges of the protestant church. Ibid. p. 438.

* Keith, 421, 422, 428. Throkmorton's Letters, 14th and 18th July; apud Robertson, App. No. 21. "The women (says the ambassador) be most furious and impudent against the Queen, and yet the men be mad enough."

† Cald. MS. ii. 73. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 113.

* See Note LVII.

† Cald. MS. ad ann. 1567; and Acts Parl. 1st, James VI.

‡ Cald. ut supra. Keith, 585, 586.

‖ Dr. Robertson says, that the regulation respecting the thirds, made by the parliament in December 1567, did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy, and speaks of them as still "groaning under extreme poverty, unable to obtain any thing but fair words and liberal promises." History of Scotland, ii. 250, 312. Lond. 1809. But the law which gave power to the collectors appointed by the church to uplift the thirds, and to pay the stipends, before any thing was allowed to the court, was certainly a very considerable benefit. The church herself viewed it in this light. Calderwood says that "the ministers were now refreshed with the allowance made by the last parliament." MS. ad ann. 1567. And the Assembly, in their letter inviting Wilock to return from England, expressly say, "Our enemies, praised be God, are dashed; religion established; *sufficient provision made for ministers*," &c. Keith, 590. The account which I have given in the text is, I think, supported by the register of the five general assemblies which were held during the regency of Murray.

the prelacies, and the appropriation of their revenues to the common fund of the church.*

Our Reformer had now reached that point from which he could take a calm and deliberate view of the bustling scene through which he had passed, and of the arduous struggle which he had been so long engaged in, and had at length brought to a happy termination. Papal superstition and tyranny were suppressed and abolished by law; the protestant religion was established; the supreme government of the nation was in the hands of one in whose wisdom and integrity he had the greatest confidence; the church was freed from many of those grievances under which she had hitherto groaned, and enjoyed the prospect of obtaining the redress of such as still remained. The work on which his heart had been so ardently set for such a long period, and for the success of which he had so often trembled, had prospered beyond his utmost expectation. He now congratulated himself on the prospect of being released from all burden of public affairs, and of spending the remainder of his days in religious meditation, and in preparation for that event of which his increasing infirmities admonished him.† He even secretly cherished the wish of resigning his charge in Edinburgh, and of retiring to that privacy, from which he had been drawn at the commencement of the Scottish Reformation. Speaking of the congregation of which he had been pastor at Geneva, he says in one of his confidential letters: "God comfort that dispersed little flock, among whom I lived with quietness of conscience, and contentment of heart; and amongst whom I would be content to end my days, if so it might stand with God's good pleasure. For, seeing it hath pleased His Majesty, above all men's expectations, to prosper the work, for the performing whereof I left that company, I would even as gladly return to them, if they stood in need of my labours, as ever I was glad to be delivered from the rage of mine enemies. I can give you no reason that I should so desire other than that my heart so thirsteth."‡

But "the way of man is not in himself." Providence had allotted to him further trials of a public nature: he was yet to see the security of the reformed religion endangered, and the country involved in another civil war, even more distressing than the former, in as much as the principal persons on each side were professed protestants.

From the time that the Queen was imprisoned, and the government transferred to the young prince under the regency of Murray, a very considerable number of the nobility had withheld their approbation of these proceedings. The popish party were decidedly attached to Mary, and inimical to a revolution which crushed all the hopes which they had cherished of accomplishing the restoration of the ancient religion. Others, though professed protestants, were induced by personal motives to oppose the new government. Argyle was at this time alienated from Murray by a family quarrel.‖ The house of Hamilton followed that line of narrow and interested policy which they had adopted on former occasions of a similar kind. They were jealous lest the late settlement of the crown should invalidate the right of their chief, the Duke of Chastelherault, to the succession, and they were offended that the regency, which they considered as due to him, should have been conferred on the Earl of Murray.§ The very means which it was requisite for the Regent to employ, to restore tranquillity and order to the kingdom, created him enemies. During the late confusions, many parts of the country had fallen into a state of anarchy; and the north and the borders presented nothing but scenes of rapine and bloodshed. It was impossible to repress these disorders without making severe examples of the most guilty; and the turbulent and licentious naturally sought the overthrow of a government by which they felt themselves overawed and restrained.* The abilities of the Regent, however, enabled him to overcome these difficulties, and he was daily receiving submissions from the most powerful of the opposite party; when, on the 2d of May 1568, the Queen escaped from her confinement in Lochlevin. The discontented nobles immediately joined her standard, and having mustered a large force, avowed their determination to restore her to the exercise of that authority which she had renounced by constraint. This formidable insurrection was defeated by the promptitude of the Regent; and in consequence of the battle of Langside, Mary was driven into England, and her party broken. Elizabeth having procured herself to be chosen umpire between the two parties, the conferences were protracted during so long a period, and the conduct of the English court was so equivocal and contradictory, that the friends of Mary were encouraged to renew their attempts to restore her by force of arms. But although the Duke of Chastelherault returned from France with a large sum of money contributed by the popish princes, and came into Scotland in the character of Lieutenant for the Queen,† the Regent, by his vigilance, and vigorous measures, prevented any insurrection, and preserved the kingdom in a state of obedience to the young King's authority.

Despairing to accomplish their daring object during his life, the partizans of Mary resolved to cut off Murray by private means. During the year 1568, two persons were employed to assassinate him; but the design was discovered and prevented.‡ This did not hinder new machinations. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a nephew of the archbishop of St. Andrews, undertook to perpetrate the deed. He was one of the prisoners taken at the battle of Langside, and after being arraigned, condemned, and brought out to execution, had his life given him by the Regent.‖ Some time after he was set at liberty along with the other prisoners.§ It is said, that he was actuated by revenge, on account of an injury which he had received, by detaining one of his forfeited estates, or by the cruel manner in which his wife had been dispossessed of it.¶

* Letter from the Regent to the General Assembly, ult. June, 1569. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 45—47.

† Cald. MS. ii. 108.

‡ Letter to John Wood, 14th of February, 1568; Cald. MS. ii. 91.

‖ Throkmorton to Elizabeth, 22d August, 1567: Keith, 450.

§ Throkmorton's Letters of 14th, 16th, 18th, and 19th July, 1567: Robertson, Append. No. 21. Laing, ii. App. No. 13. p. 125. Keith, p. 423. The protestation taken, at the coronation of James VI. by Arthur Hamilton of Meriton, in the name of the Duke, is confined to the point of his succession to the crown, and does not allude in the slightest degree to the right of the Queen. Keith, 437. Of the same strain was the protest which was intended to have been made at the parliament held in December 1567; a copy of which, and a minute of a conversation on the subject between the Regent and Arthur Hamilton are preserved among the Hamilton MSS.

* Buchanan, Oper. i. 346. Keith, 407.

† Spottiswood, 216. Letter, Knox to Wood, 10th September 1568, published in the Appendix, No. X.

‡ The Hist. of King James the Sext, p. 48. Birrel's Diary, 17, in Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History. Laing, ii. 269. See also Letter, Knox to Wood, 10th September, 1568, published in the Appendix, No. X.

‖ Hist. of King James the Sext, p. 43. § Ibid. p. 63.

¶ This story is related in very different ways. One account makes the revenge to turn solely upon the treatment of his wife, who, expecting to be allowed to remain in her house of "Woodhislie," was "uncourtouslie and unmercifullie, put thairfra, all her gudis tane fra hir, and schoe left stark naked. The gentilwoman, quhat for grief of mynd and exceeding cald, that schoe had then contractit, conceaved sic madness as was almost incredible." Historie of King James the Sext, p. 74. Spottiswood's account is different. He says, that Bothwellhaugh had redeemed his life by yielding up the lands of Woodhouselie, which were given to the Justice Clerk, and he refusing to part with them, Bothwellhaugh "made his quarrel to the regent, [i. e. revenged himself upon the regent], who was most innocent, and had restored him to life and liberty." Spottis. His-

Whether this was really the case, or whether it was afterwards alleged to diminish the odium of his crime, and turn it away from his party, cannot perhaps be now certainly determined. But it does not appear, that any part of the Regent's conduct towards him was such as to afford the slightest alleviation of a crime, in the commission of which he burst the ties of gratitude as well as of humanity and justice. On the other hand, there is ample proof that he was incited to make the attempt by the political party with which he was connected.* Having formed his resolution, he deliberately followed the Regent in his progress to Glasgow, Stirling, and Linlithgow; and, finding an opportunity in the last of these places, shot him through the body with a musket-ball. The wound proved mortal, and the Regent died the same evening. While some of his friends, who stood round his bed, lamented the excessive lenity which he had shewn to his enemies, and particularly to his murderer, he replied, with a truly noble and Christian spirit, that *nothing would ever make him repent of an act of clemency.*†

The consternation which is usually produced by the fall of a distinguished leader was absorbed in the deep distress which the tidings of the Regent's murder spread through the nation. The common people, who had experienced the beneficial effects of his short administration to a degree altogether unprecedented in the country, felt as if each had lost a father, and loudly demanded vengeance against the authors of the parricide. Many who had envied or hated him during his life were now forward to do justice to his virtues. Those who had not been able to conceal their satisfaction on the first intelligence of his death, became ashamed of the indecent exultation which they had imprudently expressed. The Hamiltons were anxious to clear themselves from the imputation of a crime which they saw to be universally detested. The murderer was dismissed by them, and was glad to conceal his ignominy by condemning himself to perpetual banishment. The only one of his crimes for which the archbishop of St. Andrews afterwards expressed contrition before his execution, was his accession to the murder of the Regent.‡ Nor were these feelings confined to Scotland; the sensation was general through England, and the expressions of grief and condolence from that country evinced the uncommon esteem in which he was held by all ranks.

It was the happiness of the Regent, that, in his early years, he fell into the company of men, who cultivated his vigorous understanding, gave a proper direction to his activity, and instilled into his mind the principles of religion and virtue. His early adoption of the reformed sentiments, the steadiness with which he adhered to them, the uniform correctness of his morals, his integrity, sagacity, and enterprising but cool courage, soon placed him in the first rank among those who embarked in the struggle for the reformation of religion, and maintenance of national liberties, and secured to him their cordial and unbounded confidence. The honours which Queen Mary conferred on him were not too great for the services which he rendered to her; and had she continued to entrust him with the direction of her counsels, those measures would have been avoided which brought on her ruin. He was repeatedly placed in a situation which would have tempted the ambition of persons less qualified, to aspire to the supreme authority; yet he shewed no disposition to grasp at this. When he accepted the regency, it was in compliance with the decided and uncorrupted voice of the acting majority in the nation, pointing him out as the fittest person for occupying that high station. His conduct, in one of the most delicate and embarrassing situations in which a governor was ever placed, shewed that his countrymen were not mistaken in their choice. He united, in no ordinary degree, those qualities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which make up the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he reduced the country to universal obedience to the King's authority by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprises, he never once tarnished the laurels of victory, by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws, and to bridle the licentious, by salutary severity, and at the same time to temper the rigour of justice by the interposition of mercy. He used to sit personally in the courts of judicature, and exerted himself to obtain for all the subjects an easy and expeditious decision of litigated causes. His hospitality, his unostentatious charity, his uncommon liberality to learned men, and the anxiety he shewed to confer his favours in the manner least calculated to hurt their feelings, have been celebrated by one who had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with these amiable traits of his character.* Nor has the breath of calumny, which has laboured in many ways to blast his reputation, ever insinuated that he oppressed or burdened the public during his regency, in order to enrich himself or his family. Add to all his exemplary piety, the only source of genuine virtue. His family was so regulated as to resemble a church rather than a court. Not a profane nor a lewd word was to be heard from any of his domestics. Besides the ordinary exercises of devotion, a chaper of the bible was always read at dinner and supper; and it was his custom, on such occasions, to require his chaplain, or some other learned men (of whom he had always a number about him) to give their opinion upon the passage, for his own instruction and that of his family. "A man truly good (says Archbishop Spottiswood), and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and, therefore, to this day honoured with the title of *The good Regent.*"†

tory, p. 233. Crawfurd, in his Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 140. 1st edit. says, that "*Murray* sent some officers to take possession of the house, who not only turned the gentlewoman out of doors, but" &c. This is the authority which has been relied upon by all those writers who have charged the regent with cruelty in this transaction; yet it is now discovered that the interpolation of Murray's name in this place is one of those forgeries by which that work is disgraced from beginning to end. See Hist. of King James the Sext, preface, and p. 74.

* This is clear from many considerations. Within a few days after the regent's assassination, his secretary, Mr. John Wood, was murdered in Fife: Anderson's Coll. iii. 84. The house in which Bothwellhaugh concealed himself, while he committed the murder, belonged to the archbishop of St. Andrews, who acknowledged that he was privy and accessory to the deed. Historie of King James the Sext, p. 117. The horse on which the murderer escaped belonged to John Hamilton, abbot of Arbroath, one of the Duke's sons. Cald. ad. ann. 1570. He rode immediately to Hamilton, where he was "received with great applause." Ibid. Nay, grounds are not wanting for strong suspicion, that Maitland, and even Grange himself, who had long been the bosom friend of the Regent, were acquainted with the conspiracy against his life. Ibid. Bannatyne's Journal. p. 429. Buchan. i. 384.

† Cald. ut supra. Buchanani Oper. i. 385. Spottiswood, 233.

‡ Bannatyne, p. 121. Hist. of James the Sext, p. 117. "To the thrid head" (his participation in the murder of the regent) the archbishop "answerit thus: That he not only knew thairof, and wald not stopp it, bot rather furtherit the deed thairof, quhilk he repentit, and askit God mercie for the same." Yet an author, in the *nineteenth* century, can write of this deed in the following terms: "The heiress of Woodhouselie fell a sacrifice to the corrupt tyranny of the regent Murray. Her husband, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, put the guilty tyrant to death, as 'base-born Murray rode through old Linlithgow's crowded town." Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 571. Did I not respect the erudition of this writer, and pity his prejudice (which, on ecclesiastical and political subjects, is worthy of the darkest age into which he has carried his researches), there are few expressions which I would reckon too strong to be employed in reprobating the spirit which breathes in this passage.

* Buchanan. Oper. i. 385. † History 234.

This may be deemed, by some readers, an improper digression from the subject of this work. But even though it had been still less connected with it than it is, though there had not subsisted that intimate familiarity and co-operation between the Regent and the Reformer, I could scarcely have denied myself the satisfaction of paying a small tribute to the memory of one of the greatest men of his age, who has been traduced and vilified in a most unjustifiable manner, and whose character has been drawn with unfavourable, and, in my opinion, with unfair colours, by the most moderate and impartial of our historians. All that I have attempted is to sketch the more prominent features of his character. That he was faultless, I am far from wishing to insinuate; but the principal charges which have been brought against him, I consider as either irrelevant, or unproved, or greatly exaggerated. That his exaltation to the highest dignity in the state which a subject could enjoy, produced no unfavourable change on his temper and behaviour, is what none can be prepared to affirm; but I have not seen the contrary established. The confidence which he reposed in his friends was great, and he was inclined to pay much deference to their advice; but that he became the dupe of worthless favourites, and fell by listening to their flattery and refusing to hearken to wholesome advice, and not by the treachery of his friends and the malice of his implacable enemies, are assertions which have been repeated upon the authority of a single witness, unsupported by facts, and capable of being disproved.*

The Regent died on the evening of Saturday, the 23d of January 1570; and the intelligence of his murder was conveyed early next morning to Edinburgh. It is impossible to describe the anguish which the Reformer felt on this occasion. A cordial and intimate friendship had long subsisted between them. Of all the Scottish nobility, he placed the greatest confidence in Murray's attachment to religion; and his conduct after his elevation to the regency had served to heighten the good opinion which he formerly entertained of him. He looked upon his death as the greatest calamity which could befal the nation, and as a forerunner of many evils.† When the shock produced by the melancholy tidings had subsided, the first thought that rushed into his mind was, that he had himself been the instrument of obtaining, from his clemency, a pardon to the man who had become his murderer: a thought which naturally produced a very different impression on him from what it did on the mind of the dying Regent.‡

In his sermon that day, he introduced the melancholy subject: and after saying, that God in his great mercy raised up pious rulers, and took them away in his displeasure on account of the sins of a nation, he thus poured out the sorrows of his heart. "O Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm! To what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly he brought the same, all estates, but especially the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abide it; and so to punish our sins and our ingratitude (who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift), thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest, O Lord: we are left in extreme misery."‖

Only a few days before this, when the murder was fully concerted, Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning, applied to Knox to intercede with the Regent in behalf of his kinsmen, who were confined for practising against the government. He signified his readiness to do all in his power for the relief of any of that family who were willing to own the authority of the King; but he entreated him not to abuse him, by employing his services, if his relations intended to do any mischief to the Regent:* for "I protest (said he) before God, who is the only witness now betwixt us, that if there be any thing attempted, by any of that surname, against the person of that man, in that case, I discharge myself to you and them for ever." After the assassination, the abbot sent to desire another interview; but Knox refused to see him, and desired the messenger to say to him, "I have not now the Regent to make suit unto for the Hamiltons."†.

At this time there were handed about a fabricated account of a pretended conference held by the late Regent with Lord Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarrow, the tutor of Pitcur, James Macgill, and Knox; in which they were represented as advising him to set aside the young King, and to place the crown on his own head. The modes of expression peculiar to each of the persons were carefully imitated in the speeches put into their mouths, to give it the greater air of credibility. The evident design of circulating it at this time, was to lessen the odium of the murder, and the veneration of the people for the memory of Murray; but it was universally regarded as an impudent and gross forgery. The person who fabricated it was Thomas Maitland, a young man of talents, but corrupted by his brother the Secretary, who before this had engaged himself to the Queen's party, and was suspected of having a deep hand in the plot for assassinating the Regent.‡

On the day on which *the weekly conference* was held in Edinburgh, the same person slipped into the pulpit a schedule, containing words to this effect, "Take up now the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end to which his ambition hath brought him." Knox, whose turn it was to preach that day, took up the paper on entering the pulpit, supposing it to be a note requesting the prayers of the congregation for a sick person, and, having read it, laid it aside without any apparent emotion. But towards the conclusion of his sermon, having deplored the loss which the church and commonwealth had recently sustained, and declared the account of the conference, which had been circulated, to be false and calumnious, he said that there were persons who rejoiced at the treasonable murder, and scrupled not to make it the subject of their merriment; particularly, there was one present who had thrown into the pulpit a writing insulting over an event which was the cause of grief to all good men. "that wicked man, whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where there shall be none to lament him." Maitland, after he went home, said to his sister, that the preacher was raving, when he spake in such a manner of a person who was unknown to him; but she understanding that her brother had written the line, reproved him, saying with tears, that none of that man's denunciations were wont to prove idle. Spottiswood (who had his information personally from the mouth of that lady) says, that Maitland died in Italy, "having no known person to attend him."‖

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* See Note LVIII.

† Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 116.

‡ "Upon the 22 of Maii, the sherife of Linlithgow, the laird of Innerweek, *James Hamilton of Bothelhaugh*, and six others, were put to an assyse; their hands bound; and pardoned, at request of Mr. Knox, whereof he sore repented; for Bothwellhaugh killed the regent shortlie after." Cald. MS. ad ann. 1568.

‖ Cald. MS. ii. 150. He is said to have added this to his usual prayers after dinner and supper. But in a volume of Calderwood's History, in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh (which has been transcribed more early than any copy which I have seen), these words are scored out; and, it is introduced as the prayer which he offered up in public, the day on which he was informed of the regent's death.

* Great apprehensions of this were entertained by the Regent's friends. Bannatyne, 428—9.

† Cald. MS. ad ann. 1570. ‡ Ibid. ii. 151—157.

‖ Spottiswood, p. 234. Mackenzie labours to discredit the archbishop's narrative of this affair. Lives of Scottish Writers, iii. 195, 196. But whatever opinion we may form about the prediction, it cannot be doubted that Spottiswood had the best means of information respecting the facts which he relates. Nor has Mackenzie any other authority for what he says about

On Tuesday the 14th of February, the Regent's corpse was brought from the palace of Holyrood-house, and interred in the south aisle of the collegiate church of St. Giles. Before the funeral, Knox preached a sermon on these words, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.* Three thousand persons were dissolved in tears before him, while he described the Regent's virtues, and bewailed his loss.* Buchanan paid a tribute to the memory of his deceased patron, by writing the inscription placed on his monument, with that expressive simplicity and brevity which are dictated by genuine grief.† A convention of the nobility was held after the funeral, at which it was resolved to avenge his death; but different opinions were entertained as to the mode of doing this, and the commons complained loudly as to the remissness with which the resolution was prosecuted. The General Assembly, at their first meeting, testified their detestation of the crime, by ordering the assassin to be publicly excommunicated in all the chief towns of the kingdom, and by appointing the same process to be used against all who should afterwards be convicted of accession to the murder.‡

During the sitting of the convention, Knox received a number of letters from his acquaintances in England, expressive of their high regard for the character of the Regent, and their sorrow at so grievous a loss.‖ One of his correspondents, Dr. Laurence Humphrey,§ urged him to write a memoir of the deceased. Had he done this, his intimate acquaintance with the Regent would, no doubt, have enabled him to communicate many particulars, of which we must now be content to remain ignorant. But though he had been disposed to undertake this task, the state of his health would have prevented its execution.

The grief which he indulged on account of this mournful event, and the confusions which followed it, preyed upon his spirits, and injured his health.* In the month of October, he had a stroke of apoplexy, which affected his speech to a considerable degree. On this occasion, his enemies exulted, and circulated the most exaggerated tales respecting his disorder. The report ran through Scotland and England, that John Knox would never preach nor speak more; that his face was turned into his neck; that he was become the most deformed creature ever seen; that he was actually dead.† A most unequivocal expression of the high consideration in which he was held, which our Reformer received in common with some other great men of his age.‡

PERIOD IX.

From October 1570. when he was struck with apoplexy, to his death, in November 1572.

Those who flattered themselves that the Reformer's disorder was mortal were disappointed; for he was restored to the use of his speech, and was able, in the course of a few days, to resume preaching, at least on Sabbath days.‖ He never recovered, however, from the debility which was produced by the apoplectic stroke.

The confusions which he had augured from the death of the good Regent soon broke out, and again spread the flames of civil discord though the nation. The Earl of Lennox, who was the natural guardian of the young King, was advanced to the regency; but he was deficient in the talents which were requisite for so difficult a station, and the knowledge of his weakness emboldened and increased the party which was attached to the Queen. The Hamiltons openly raised her standard, and were strengthened by the influence and abilities of Maitland. Kircaldy of Grange, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, after concealing his defection for a time under the flag of neutrality, declared himself on the same side, and became the principal agent in attempting to overturn the government which he had been so zealous in erecting. The defection of Kircaldy was a source of great injury to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and of keen distress to Knox. He had a warm affection for the governor, on account of the important services which he had rendered to the Reformation; and he continued always to think that he was at bottom a sincere friend to religion. Under this conviction, he spared no pains in endeavouring to prevent him from renouncing his fidelity to the King, and afterwards to reclaim him from his apostasy. But he was unsuccessful in both attempts.

In the end of the year 1570, he was personally involved in a disagreeable quarrel with Kircaldy. One of the soldiers belonging to the castle having been imprisoned by the magistrates on a charge of murder, the governor sent a party from the garrison, who broke open the tolbooth, and carried off the prisoner. In his sermon on the following Sabbath, Knox condemned this riot, and violation of the house of justice. Had it been done by the authority of a blood-thirsty man,

the death of Maitland than the archbishop's, who must have been satisfied, that what he says in the account of Smeaton was not inconsistent with what he had written as to Knox's denunciation.

* Cald. MS, ii. 157.

† The inscription, engraved on brass, is yet preserved; a copy of which shall be inserted in Note LIX. But Buchanan has, in his History, reared to the Regent "a monument more durable than brass," which will preserve his memory as long as the language in which it is written shall continue to be understood, and as long as a picture taken from life shall be preferred to the representations of fancy or of prejudice. Nor has Buchanan neglected to celebrate him in his verses. Epigram. lib. ii. 29. iii. 7, 9, 18.

‡ Spottiswood, 235.

‖ Among others, he received letters from Christopher Goodman, and John Willock. Cald. ut supra. It appears from these, that Willock had returned to England, after he was recalled from it by the General Assembly which met in 1568. I find no mention made of that reformer, after this period, by any of the writers of the age. A late author has very wantonly attempted to load the memory of this excellent man with a capital crime. He gives the following extract from the paper office, 22d April 1590. "Twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsone, Scottishman, preacher, and the other Johnne Willokis, now baith lying in prison at Leicester, were convicted by a jury of *robbery*." The last of these convicts, says he, was "the reforming co-adjutor of Knox." Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman, p. 307. What evidence has this author for saying so? Nothing but the sameness of the name! Just as if a person, on reading in the public papers of one *George Chalmers* who was convicted of a robbery, (no unlikely thing) should immediately take it into his head that this was, and could be, no other than the author of the Life of Ruddiman, and Caledonia! It is evident that the second convict was no preacher, else this designation would have been added to his name, as well as to that of the first. It is probable that Willock, who was a preacher as early as 1540, was not alive in 1590: it is utterly incredible that he should then have been in a condition to act as a robber.—But it is paying too much regard to such a charge, to bring exculpatory proof.

§ In the copy of Cald. MS. belonging to the church of Scotland, the name is written *Winfrid*; but in the copy in the Advocates' Library, it is *Umfrede*. The person meant is evidently Dr. Laurence Humphrey (Umfredius), Professor of divinity, and Head of one of the colleges, in the University of Oxford. This learned man was a puritan, but enjoyed the patronage of Secretary Cecil. Strype's Annals, i. 421, 430—432.

* Smetoni Respons. ad Hamilt. p. 116.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 54. Cald. MS. ii. 206. Bannatyne says "the disorder was a kynd of apoplexia, called by the phisitiones resolutione," probably a more gentle stroke of the disorder, attended with relaxation of the system.

‡ In 1556, Calvin was suddenly seized in the pulpit with a fever, which confined him to his bed for a considerable time, and from which it was not thought he would recover. On hearing this, the popish clergy of Noyon (his native city) met, and, rather prematurely, gave public thanks to God for his death. Melch. Adam, vit. Exter. Theol. p. 93.—"Plusieurs grands hommes (says Senebier) ont partagé cet honneur avec Calvin, et ont eu, comme lui, la satisfaction de connoitre la profonde estime qu'on avoit concue pour eux." Histoire Litteraire de Geneve, tom. i. 228.

‖ Bannatyne's Journal, p. 55.

and one who had no fear of God, he would not, he said, have been so much moved at it; but he was affected to think that one of whom all good men had formed so great expectations, should have fallen so far as to act such a part; one too who, when formerly in prison, had refused to purchase his own liberty by the shedding of blood.* An erroneous and exaggerated report of this censure being conveyed to the castle, the governor, in great rage, made his complaint, first to Knox's colleague, and afterwards formally to the kirk-session, that he had been calumniated as a murderer, and required that his character should be vindicated as publicly as it had been traduced. Knox, understanding that his words had been misrepresented, embraced the first opportunity of explaining and vindicating them from the pulpit. On a subsequent Sabbath, Kircaldy, who had been absent from the church nearly a whole year, came down to St. Giles's, accompanied with a number of the persons who had been active in the murder and riot. Regarding this as an attempt to set at defiance the offence which had been taken at his conduct, the Reformer dwelt particularly, in his discourse, upon the sinfulness of forgetting benefits received from God, and warned his hearers against confiding in the divine mercy, while they were knowingly transgressing any of the commandments, or proudly defending their transgression.

Kircaldy was much incensed at these warnings, which he considered as levelled at him, and, in speaking of the preacher, made use of very threatening language. The report spread that the governor of the castle was become a sworn enemy to Knox, and that he intended to kill him. And several noblemen and gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham sent a letter to Kircaldy, in which, after reminding him of his former appearances for religion, and mentioning the reports which had reached their ears, they warned him against doing any thing to the hurt of that man whom "God had made the first planter and chief waterer of his church among them," and protested that "his death and life were as dear to them as their own."†

Knox was not to be deterred, by threatenings, from doing what he considered to be his duty. He persisted in warning his hearers to avoid all participation with those who prevented the punishment of atrocious crimes by supporting the pretensions of the Queen, and who exposed the reformed religion to the utmost hazard by opposing the King's authority. When the General Assembly met in March 1571, anonymous libels were thrown into the assembly-house, and placards fixed on the church-door, accusing him of seditious railing against their sovereign, the Queen, refusing to pray for her welfare and conversion, representing her as a reprobate whose repentance was hopeless, and uttering imprecations against her. One of the placards concluded with a threat, that, if the assembly did not restrain him by their authority from using such language, the complainers would themselves apply a remedy to the evil "with greater unquietness." The assembly having, by public intimation, required the complainers to come forward and substantiate their charges, another anonymous bill appeared, promising that accusers should not be wanting against next assembly, if the preacher continued his offensive speeches, and was "then law-byding, and not fugitive according to his accustomed manner."

Several of his friends dealt with him to pass over these anonymous libels in silence, but he refused to comply with this advice, considering that the credit of his ministry was implicated. Accordingly, he produced them in the pulpit, and returned a particular answer to the accusations which they contained. That he had charged the late Queen with the crimes of which she had been notoriously guilty, he granted, but that he had railed against her, he denied; nor would they be able to substantiate this charge against him, without at the same time proving Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other inspired writers, to have been railers. "From them we had learned plainly and boldly to call wickedness by its own terms, a fig, a fig, and a spade, a spade." He had never called the Queen reprobate, nor said that her repentance was impossible; but he had affirmed that pride and repentance could not remain long together in one heart. He had prayed that God, for the comfort of his church, would oppose his power to her pride, and confound her and her assistants in their impiety: this prayer, let them call it imprecation or execration as they pleased, had stricken, and would yet strike, whoever supported her. To the charge of not praying for her, he answered, "I am not bound to pray for her *in this place*, for sovereign to me she is not; I let them understand that I am not a man of law that has my tongue to sell for silver, or favour of the world."* What title she how had, or ever had to the government, he would not dispute: the estates had deprived her of it, and it belonged to them to answer for this: as for him, he had hitherto lived in obedience to all lawful authority within the kingdom. To the threatening against his life, and the insinuation that he might not be "law-byding but fugitive" against next assembly, he replied, that his life was in the custody of Him who had hitherto preserved him from many dangers, that he had reached an age at which he was not apt to flee far, nor could any yet accuse him of having left the people committed to his charge, except at their own command.

After these answers, his enemies fled, as their *dernier-resort*, to an attack upon his Blast of the Trumpet, and accused him of inconsistency in writing against female goverment, and yet praying for Queen Elizabeth, and seeking her aid against his native country. This accusation he also met in the pulpit, and refuted with great spirit. After vindicating his consistency, he concludes in the following manner: "One thing, in the end, I may not pretermit, that is, to *give him a lie in his throat* that either dare, or will say, that ever I sought support against my native country. What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth. And thus I cease, requiring of all men that has to oppose any thing against me, that he will do it so plainly as I make myself and all my doings manifest to the world; for to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that, in my decrepid age, I shall be compelled to fight against shadows, and houlets that dare not abide the light."†

The conduct of our Reformer at this time affords a striking display of the unextinguishable ardour of his mind. He was so debilitated in body, that he never went abroad except on Sabbath days, to preach in the forenoon.‡ He had given up attendance on church-courts. And previous to the breaking out of the last disturbances, he had weaned his heart from public affairs. But whenever he saw the welfare of the church and commonwealth threatened, he forgot his resolutions and his infirmities, and entered into the cause with all the keenness of his more vigorous days. Whether the public proceedings of the nation, or his own conduct, were arraigned and condemned, whether the attacks upon them were open or clandestine, he

* See page 35. † Bannatyne's Journal, p. 67—87.

* Crawfurd, in his Memoirs of Scotland, (p. 186. Edin. Anno. 1706.) among other things disgraceful to the Reformers, says that they openly avowed, on this occasion, "That to pray for, or forgive our real or reputed enemies, was no part of a Christian's duty." It is sufficient to say, that there is not one word of this in the "authentick MS." from which he professes that his Memoirs were "faithfully publish'd." See Historie and Life of King James the Sext, p. 113, 114. The public are under great obligations to Mr. Malcolm Laing, for exposing this literary forgery, which had continued so long to impose upon our most acute and industrious historians.

† The accusation and defence may be seen at full length in Bannatyne's Journal, p. 99—120. ‡ Bannatyne, p. 77.

stood prepared to repel them, and convinced the adversaries, that they could not accomplish their designs without opposition, as long as he was able to act or speak.*

His situation became very critical in April 1571, when Kircaldy received the Hamiltons, with their forces, into the castle. Their inveteracy against him was so great, that his friends were obliged to watch his house during the night. They proposed forming a guard for the protection of his person when he went abroad; but the governor of the castle forbade this, as implying a suspicion of him, and offered to send Melvil, one of his officers, to conduct him to and from church. "He wold gif the woulf the wedder to keip," says Bannatyne. Induced by the importunity of the citizens, Kircaldy applied to the Duke and his party for a special protection to Knox; but they refused to pledge their word for his safety, because "there were many rascals and others among them who loved him not, that might do him harm without their knowledge."† Intimations were often given him of threatenings against his life; and one evening, a musket ball was fired in at his window, and lodged in the roof of the apartment in which he was sitting. It happened that he sat at the time in a different part of the room from that in which he had been accustomed to take his seat, otherwise the ball, from its direction, must have struck him.‡ Alarmed by these circumstances, a deputation of the citizens, accompanied by his colleague, waited upon him, and renewed a request which they had formerly made, that he would remove from Edinburgh, to a place where his life would be in greater safety, until the Queen's party should evacuate the town. But he refused to yield to them, apprehending that his enemies wished to intimidate him into flight, that they might carry on their designs more quietly, and then accuse him of cowardice. Being unable to persuade him by any other means, they at last had recourse to an argument which prevailed. They told him that if he was attacked, they were determined to risk their lives in his defence, and if blood was shed in the quarrel, which was highly probable, they would leave it on his head. Upon this, he consented, "sore against his will," to remove from the city.‖

On the 5th of May 1571, he left Edinburgh, and crossing the firth at Leith, travelled by short stages to St. Andrews, which he had chosen as the place of his retreat.§ Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, occupied his pulpit.¶ He preached and prayed in a manner more acceptable to the Queen's party than his predecessor, but little to the satisfaction of the people, who despised him on account of his weakness, and disliked him for supplanting their favourite pastor.** A great number of the most respectable inhabitants were either driven from the city by violence, or induced to quit it, and retire to Leith, which was occupied by the Regent, that they might not be understood as even practically and tacitly submitting to the Queen's authority. The church of Edinburgh was for a time dissolved. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was suspended. And while formerly scarce a day passed without some public exercises of religion, there was now, during a whole week, "neither preaching nor prayer, neither was there any sound of bell heard in all the town, except the ringing of the cannon."*

The kingdom was now subjected to all the miseries of civil war and intestine faction. In almost every part of the country there were adherents to the King and to the Queen, who exasperated each other by reciprocal reproaches and injuries. The Regent fortified Leith, while the Queen's party held possession of the castle and town of Edinburgh. As the two armies lay within so small a distance, and neither of them was sufficiently strong for undertaking to dispossess the other, they were daily engaged in petty skirmishes; and several acts of disgraceful retaliation, which rarely happen in the open field, were committed on both sides. The evidences which the Queen's friends gave of their personal antipathy to the Reformer fully demonstrated that his life would have been in danger, if he had remained among them. An inhabitant of Leith was assaulted, and his body mutilated, because he was of the same name with him. A servant of John Craig, being met one day by a reconnoitring party, and asked who was his master, answered in his trepidation, Mr. Knox, upon which he was seized; and, although he immediately corrected his mistake, they desired him to "hold at his first master," and dragged him to prison. Having fortified St. Giles's steeple to overawe the inhabitants, the soldiers baptized one of the cannons by the name of *Knox*, which they were so fond of firing, that it burst, killed two of the party, and wounded others.† They circulated the most ridiculous tales respecting his conduct at St. Andrews. John Law, the letter carrier of St. Andrews, being in the castle of Edinburgh, "the ladie Home and utheris wald neidis thraip in his face, that" John Knox "was banist the said toune, becaus that in the yarde he had reasit *sum sanctis*, amongis whome thair came up *the devill with hornis*, which when his servant Richart sawe, [he] ran woode, and so died."‡

Although he was now free from personal danger, Knox did not find St. Andrews that peaceful retreat which he had expected. The friends of Kircaldy, and Sir James Balfour, resided in the neighbourhood, and the Hamiltons had their relations and partizans both in the university and among the ministry. These were thorns in the Reformer's side, and made his situation very uneasy, as long as he resided among them. Having left Edinburgh, because he could not be permitted to discharge his conscience, in testifying against the designs of persons whom he regarded as conspirators against the legal government of the country, and as favourers of a faction who intended nothing less than the overthrow of the reformed religion, it was not to be expected that he would preserve silence on this subject at St. Andrews. Accordingly, in the discourses which he preached on the eleventh chapter of Daniel's prophecy, he frequently took occasion to advert to the transactions of his own time, and to inveigh against the murder of the late King, and of the Regent. This was very grating to the ears of the opposite faction, particularly to Robert and Archibald Hamilton, the former one of the ministers of the city, and the latter a professor in one of the colleges. Irritated by the censures which Knox pronounced against his kinsmen, Robert Hamilton attempted to injure his reputation, by circulating in private that it did not become him to exclaim so loudly against murderers;

* The lively interest which he continued to take in public affairs is apparent from the letters of his correspondents. Captain Crawford of Jordanhill sent him, at his desire, a minute account of the taking of Dunbarton castle, with an inventory of the arms, ammunition, and provisions which were found in it. Bannatyne, 123. There are also two letters to him from Alexander Hay, clerk of the Privy Council, informing him of the most important transactions in England, and on the Continent. Ibid. 294—302.

† Bannatyne, 132—3, 145.

‡ Cald. MS. ad ann. 1572. Life prefixed to History, anno 1644.

‖ Bannatyne, 144—146.

§ Bannatyne, 144, 146. Historie of King James the Sext, p. 123.

¶ Keith Scottish Bishops, 166.

** The principles upon which the bishop vindicated the authority of the Queen, and the duty of praying for her in the pulpit, shew the strong and universal opinion entertained of her guilt at that time. He did not venture to insinuate her innocence, although the town was full of armed men, who were enlisted under her banners. Bannatyne, 181, 182.

* Bannatyne, 144, 169, 170. Hist. of King James the Sext, 123, 124. Knox's Epistle to his Brethren of the Church of Edinburgh, now dispersed. Streveling, 1571.

† Bannatyne, 154, 240, 322.

‡ Ibid. 309, 310. "Gif this had bene thair first inventit lie (says the same Richart) I wald never have blecket paper for it."

for he had seen his subscription, along with that of the Earl of Murray, to a bond for assassinating Darnly at Perth. When this came to the Reformer's ears, he immediately wrote a letter to Hamilton, desiring him to say whether he was the author of this report. Not receiving a satisfactory answer, he communicated the matter to Douglas, rector of the University, and Rutherford, provost of St. Salvador's college; requesting them to converse with Robert Hamilton on the subject, and to inform him, that if he did not give satisfaction for the slander which he had propagated, a complaint would be lodged against him before the church. Upon this he came to Knox's room, and denied that he had ever given any ground for such a scandalous surmise.*

Archibald Hamilton being complained of for withdrawing from Knox's sermons, and for accusing him of intolerable railing, endeavoured to bring the matter under the cognizance of the masters of the university, among whom he possessed considerable influence.† Knox did not scruple to give an account of his conduct before the professors, for their satisfaction; but he judged it necessary to enter a protestation, that his appearance should not invalidate the liberty of the pulpit, nor the authority of the regular church-courts, to which, and not to any university, the judgment of religious doctrine belonged.‡ This incident accounts for the zeal with which he expresses himself on this subject, in one of his letters to the General Assembly; in which he exhorts them, above all things, to preserve the church from the bondage of the universities, and not to exempt them from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or allow them to become judges of the doctrine taught from the pulpit.‖

The military operations during the civil war were chiefly distinguished by two enterprises, which claim our notice from the influence which they had upon the affairs of the church. The one was the taking of Dunbarton castle, which was surprised, on the 2d of April 1571, by a small party of the Regent's forces, led by captain Crawford of Jordanhill. Archbishop Hamilton having fallen into the hands of the captors, was soon after condemned, and ended his life on the gibbet. The execution of prisoners, although chargeable with crimes which merit death, is ordinarily avoided in civil contests, because it produces reprisals from the opposite party; but in every other respect the fate of Hamilton is not a subject of regret or of censure. Of all the Queen's adherents his motives for supporting her cause appear to have been the most unworthy; and his talents and station in the church ought not to be pleaded in extenuation of the vices by which his private character was stained, or the crimes of which he had been guilty.* The death of Hamilton gave occasion to a change on the ecclesiastical government of which I shall speak in the sequel.

An enterprise equally bold with Crawford's, but less successful, was planned by Kircaldy. While the Regent Lennox held a parliament at Stirling, which was very numerously attended, a party of soldiers entered the town early in the morning of September 3, 1571, suddenly seized the Regent and the nobility who were along with him, and carried them away prisoners. But the alarm having been given, the Earl of Mar sallied from the castle, and being assisted by the townsmen, dispersed the assailants, and rescued the noblemen.† This was not accomplished, however, without the loss of the Regent, who was slain by the orders of Lord Claud Hamilton, in revenge for the death of the archbishop of St. Andrews. Lennox was succeeded in the Regency by the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of great moderation, who, during the short time that he held that office, exerted himself to restore peace to the kingdom, and brought the negociations for this purpose very near to a successful termination.

In addition to his other distresses, our Reformer was at this time much grieved with a new scheme which the courtiers had formed for altering the polity of the church, and for securing to themselves the principal part of the ecclesiastical revenues. We have repeatedly had occasion to notice the aversion of the nobility to the Book of Discipline, and the principal source from which this aversion sprung. While the Earl of Murray administered the government, he prevented any new encroachments upon the rights of the church; but the succeeding regents were either less friendly to them, or less able to bridle the avarice of the more powerful nobles. Several of the richest benefices becoming vacant by the death, or by the forfeiture of the popish incumbents, who had been permitted to retain them, it was necessary to determine in what manner they should be disposed of for the future. The church had uniformly required that their revenues should be divided, and applied to the support of the religious and literary establishments; but with this demand the courtiers were as much indisposed to comply as ever. At the same time, the total secularization of them was deemed too bold a step; nor could laymen, with any shadow of consistency, or by a valid

* Bannatyne, 330—3. Goodall, after relating this story, attempts, but with his usual imbecility of argument, to deduce from it, that Murray had really conspired to murder Darnly, and that Knox was one of his accomplices. "They all talk of it (says he) as a known uncontroverted matter of fact. And Knox's waving all prosecution, and hushing up the business,—is more than a tacit acknowledgement that he was in that plot, and a subscriber." Examination, i. 211. According to this doctrine, if a person shall rest satisfied with a private apology for a slander which a weak and irritable man had imprudently circulated to his prejudice, and if he shall decline a public prosecution, this must be regarded as good proof of his guilt, and of the truth of the report! With respect to Murray's having conspired against Darnly at the time of his marriage, it is true that such a thing was reported; but it is not mentioned in the proceedings against that nobleman, nor is there the least allusion to it in any of the proclamations which the Queen issued against him, although Murray publicly accused Darnly of a plot against his life. If the court had credited that report, and possessed any evidence of its truth, it will not be easy to account for this silence.

† Archibald Hamilton, a short time after this, left Scotland; and going to France, made a recantation of the protestant religion. As an evidence of the sincerity of his conversion to popery, he published *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Dialogus;* a book which I have frequently referred to, and which strikingly exemplifies the adage, *Omnis apostata osor acerrimus sui ordinis.* In the copious abuse of Knox with which it teems, we are reminded of the present quarrel. Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow, published an elegant and masterly answer to this Dialogue. Hamilton replied, in a work entitled, *Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio: Parisiis* 1581. Of this treatise, which is more rare than his first, some specimens will be found in Notes XL. and LIV.

‡ Hamiltonii Dialog. p. 61. Smetoni Respons. ad Hamilt. Dialog. p. 90, 91. Bannatyne, 383—385.

‖ Bannatyne, 364.

* Archbishop Spottiswood is displeased that a bishop, and one of his predecessors in the see of St. Andrews, should have suffered so disgraceful a punishment. History, p. 252. Even Dr. Robertson seems to have felt the *esprit de corps* on this occasion. It is surprising that this accurate historian should say, that the accusations against Hamilton, as "accessory to the murder both of the king and regent were supported by no proof," and that his enemies, by "imputing to him such odious crimes," merely "sought some colour," for the sentence which they pronounced against him. History of Scotland, ii. 334. Hamilton confessed his accession to the regent's murder. See above, p. 168. As the record of the trial has not been preserved, we cannot determine what evidence was brought forward; but there are good grounds for believing that he was equally concerned in the murder of the King. Keith. 447. Spottiswood, 252.

† Dr. Robertson seems to regret the failure of this expedition, and says that if Kircaldy's plan had succeeded, it would have "restored peace to his country." History of Scotland, ii. 339. It would certainly have given a very dangerous blow to the King's party; but it is not easy to conceive how it could have produced a desirable or lasting peace, when we consider the disposition of the great body of the nation, the situation of the Queen, and the temper and views of her adherents.

title, hold benefices which the law declared to be ecclesiastical. The expedient resolved on was, that the bishopricks and other livings should be presented to certain ministers, who, previous to their admission, should make over the principal part of the revenues to such noblemen as had obtained the patronage of them from the court. This plan was concerted under the regency of Lennox; it began to be carried into execution during that of Mar, and was afterwards completed by Morton.

The Earl of Morton, having obtained from the court a gift of the vacant archbishoprick of St. Andrews, entered into a private agreement respecting its revenues with John Douglas, Rector of the University, whom he presented to that See. At the meeting of parliament in Stirling, August 1571, the commissioners of the General Assembly protested against this transaction; but through the influence of Morton, Douglas, though not yet elected, was admitted to a seat in parliament, and the new scheme for seizing on the ecclesiastical livings was confirmed, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the ministers of the church, and the strenuous opposition of the more zealous and disinterested barons.* Bishopricks and other benefices were now openly conferred on noblemen, on persons totally unqualified for the ministry, and even on minors. Pluralities were multiplied; the ecclesiastical courts were hindered in the exercise of their jurisdiction; and the collectors of the church were prohibited from gathering the thirds, until some new regulation was adopted for supplying the necessities of the court.†

These proceedings having created great dissatisfaction through the nation, the Regent and council called an extraordinary assembly of superintendents and other ministers, to meet at Leith in January 1572, to consult about an order which might prove more acceptable. This convention, through the influence of the court, consented that the titles of archbishop, and of other ecclesiastical dignitaries, should be retained, that the bounds of the ancient dioceses should not be altered during the King's minority, and that qualified persons from among the ministers should be advanced to these dignities. They, however, allotted no greater power to archbishops and bishops than to superintendents, with whom they were to be equally subject to the assemblies of the church.‡ These regulations were submitted to the ensuing General Assembly at St. Andrews, but as that meeting was thinly attended, it came to no determination respecting them. The Assembly held at Perth, August 1572, resumed the subject, and came to the following resolution: That the regulations contained certain titles, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which savoured of popery, and were scandalous and offensive to their ears; and that the whole assembly, including the commissioners which had met at Leith, unanimously protested that they did not approve of these names, that they submitted to the regulations merely as an interim arrangement, and that they would exert themselves to obtain a more perfect order from the Regent and council.‖ Such was the origin and nature of that species of episcopacy which was introduced into the reformed church of Scotland, in the minority of James VI. It was disapproved of by the ministers of the church; and on the part of the courtiers and nobility, it does not appear to have proceeded in any degree from predilection to hierarchical government, but from the desire which they had to secure to themselves the revenues of the church. This was emphatically expressed by the name of *tulchan bishops*,* which was commonly applied to those who were at that time admitted to the office.

Knox did not fail from the beginning to oppose these innovations on the polity, and these invasions of the property of the church. Being unable to attend the General Assembly at Stirling in August 1571, he addressed a letter to them, warning them of the contest which he foresaw they would have to maintain, and animating them to fidelity and courage. "And now brethren, (says he) because the daily decay of natural strength threateneth my certain and sudden departing from the misery of this life, of love and conscience I exhort you, yea, in the fear of God, I charge and command you, that ye take heed unto yourselves, and to the flock over which God hath placed you pastors. Unfaithful and traitorous to the flock shall ye be before the Lord Jesus Christ, if, with your consent directly, ye suffer unworthy men to be thrust into the ministry of the church, under whatever pretence it shall be. Remember and judge before whom we must make our account, and resist that tyranny as ye would avoid hell-fire. This battle will be hard, but in the second point it will be harder; that is, that with the like uprightness and strength in God, ye gain-stand the merciless devourers of the patrimony of the church. If men will spoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation, but communicate ye not with their sins, (of whatsoever estate they be) by consent nor by silence; but with public proclamation make this known unto the world, that ye are innocent of robbery, whereof ye will seek redress of God and man. God give you wisdom and stout courage in so just a cause, and me an happy end."† In a letter which he afterwards wrote to Wishart of Pitarrow, he also expresses himself in a strain of honest but keen indignation at the avarice of the nobility.‡

It has been insinuated, that Knox approved of the resolutions of the convention at Leith to restore the episcopal office; and the articles sent by him to the General Assembly, August 1572, have been appealed to as a proof of this. But all that can be deduced from these articles is, that he desired the conditions and limitations agreed upon by that convention to be strictly observed in the election of bishops, in opposition to the granting of bishopricks to laymen,‖ and also to the simoniacal pactions which the ministers made with the nobles on receiving presentations. Provided one of the propositions made by him to the Assembly had been enforced, and the bishops had been bound to give an account of the whole of their rents, and either to support ministers in the particular places from which they derived these, or else to pay into the funds of the church the sums requisite for this purpose, it is evident that the mercenary views both of patrons and presentees would have been defeated, and the church would have gained her object, the use of the episcopal revenues. The prospect of this induced some honest ministers to agree to the proposed regulations, at the convention held in Leith. But it required a greater portion of disinterested firmness than falls to most men to act upon this principle;§

* Bannatyne, 246, 250, 255, 257, 260, 285.

† Ibid. 253, 250, 312, 367.

‡ Calderwood, De reg. Eccl. Scotic. relatio, p. 8. anno 1618. and Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 727, 729. Lugd. Batav. 1708. Petrie, part. ii. p. 372, 374.

‖ Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 55. Matthew Crawfurd's History of the Church of Scotland, MS. vol. i. p. 80.

* A *Tulchan* is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, set up to make the cow give her milk freely.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 53. Cald. MS. ii. 280, 281. Petrie, part ii. 370. Spottis. 258. Collier says, that in Knox's letter to the Assembly at Stirling, "there are some passages *not unbecoming* a person of integrity and courage," ii. 533. Those who are acquainted with the spirit of this historian will think this high praise from such a quarter.

‡ See this letter in the Appendix, No. XIII.

‖ One glaring instance of this bad just taken place, in giving the bishoprick of Ross to Lord Methven. Bannatyne, 366. Robertson's History of Scotland, ii. 358, 359. Lond. 1809.

§ I have read somewhere (though I cannot at present find my authority) that Robert Pont, when offered a bishoprick, took the advice of the General Assembly as to accepting it, and professed his readiness to apply its funds to the support of the ministry within the diocese.

and the nobles were able to find, even at that period, a sufficient number of pliant, needy, or covetous ministers, to be the partners or the dupes of their avarice.

Though our Reformer was of opinion, that, in certain circumstances of the church, a power might be delegated to some ministers to inspect the congregations within a particular district, and accordingly recommended the appointment of superintendents at the first establishments of the Reformation in Scotland, yet he did not allow of any class of office-bearers in the church, under whatever name, who were superior either in office or in order to ministers or presbyters. His sentiments were not more favourable to English episcopacy in his latter than in his earlier days. Writing to a correspondent in England, in 1568, he says, "I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, giving thanks to his holy name, for that it hath pleased his mercy to make me not a Lord Bishop, but a painful preacher of his blessed evangel."* In his correspondence with Beza, he had informed him of the government established in the Scottish church; and at this very time he received a letter from that reformer, congratulating him that he had banished the order of bishops, and admonishing him and his colleagues to beware of suffering it to re-enter under the deceitful pretext of preserving unity.† He had an opportunity of publicly declaring his sentiments on this subject, at the installation of Douglas as archbishop of St. Andrews. Having preached as usual on Sabbath, February 10, 1572, the Earl of Morton, who was present, desired him to inaugurate Douglas; but he positively refused, and pronounced an anathema against both the donor and the receiver of the bishoprick. The provost of St. Salvador's having said that Knox's conduct proceeded from disappointment, because the bishoprick had not been conferred on himself, he, on the following Sabbath, repelled the invidious charge. He had refused, he said, a greater bishoprick than that of St. Andrews, which he might have had by the favour of greater men than Douglas had his;‡ what he had spoken was for the exoneration of his conscience, that the church of Scotland might not be subject to that order, especially after a very different one had been settled in the book of discipline, subscribed by the nobility, and ratified by parliament. He lamented also that a burden should have been laid upon one old man, which twenty men of the greatest ability could not sustain.‖ In the General Assembly held at St. Andrews in the following month, he not only entered a protest against the election of Douglas,§ but also "opponed himself directly to the making of bishops."¶

While he was engaged in these contests, his bodily strength was every day sensibly decaying. Yet he continued to preach, although unable to walk to the pulpit without assistance; and, when warmed with his subject, he forgot his weakness, and electrified the audience with his eloquence. James Melville, afterwards minister of Anstruther, was then a student at the college, and one of his constant hearers. The account which he has given of his appearance is exceedingly striking; and, as any translation would enfeeble it, I shall give it in his own words. "Of all the benefits I had that year [1571], was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr. Johne Knox, to St. Andrews, who, be the faction of the Queen occupeing the castell and town of Edinburgh, was compellit to remove therefra, with a number of the best, and chusit to come to St. Andrews. I heard him teache there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer and the wintar following. I had my pen and my litle buike, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderat the space of an half houre; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grew*,* and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt.—He was very weik. I saw him, everie day of his doctrine, go *hulie and fear*,† with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staffe in the an hand, and gud, godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, haldin up the uther *oxter*,‡ from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, be the said Richart, and another servand, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean, at his first entrie; bot, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyk to *ding the pulpit in blads*,‖ and flie out of it."§

The persons with whom the Reformer was most familiar at St. Andrews were the professors of St. Leonard's college, who often visited him at his lodging in the abbey. This college was distinguished by its warm attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, which it had embraced at a very early period;¶ while the two other colleges were disaffected to the authority of the King, and several of their teachers suspected of leaning to popery. The Reformer was accustomed to amuse himself by walking in St. Leonard's Yard, and to look with peculiar complacency on the students, whom he regarded as the rising hope of the church. He would sometimes call them to him, and bless them, and exhort them to be diligent in their studies, to attend to the instructions of their teachers, and imitate the good example which they set before them, to acquaint themselves with God and with the great work which he had lately performed in their native country, and to cleave to the good cause. These familiar advices from a person so venerable made a deep impression on the minds of the young men. He even condescended to be present at a college exercise performed by them at the marriage of one of their regents, in which the siege and taking of Edinburgh castle was dramatically represented.**

During his stay at St. Andrews, he published a vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by a Scots Jesuit, called Tyrie. The argumentative part of the work was finished by him in 1568; but he sent it abroad at this time, with additions, as a farewell address to the world, and a dying testimony to the truth which he had long taught and defended.†† Along with it he published one of the religious letters which he had formerly written to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes; and, in an advertisement prefixed to this, he informs us that she had lately departed this life, and that he could not allow the opportunity to slip of acquainting the public, by means of this letter, with the intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them.

* See Letter to Mr. John Wood, Feb. 14, 1568, in the Appendix, No. X.

† In this letter Beza commends Knox for establishing not merely the purity of doctrine in the Scottish church, but also discipline and good order, without which the former could not be preserved for any time. Bezæ Epistol. Theol. ep. lxxxix. p. 344, 355, edit. 1572.

‡ Meaning Edward VI. of England and his council. See page 40.

‖ Bannatyne, 321, 325, 375. Cald. MS. ii. 269, 338, 340. Douglas, after he was made bisbop, was continued in his offices of rector of the university, and provost of the new college. James Melville says that he was "a good upright hearted man, but ambitious and simple," and that Knox spoke against him "bot sparinglie, because he loved the man." MS. Diary, p. 27.

§ Bannatyne, 331. ¶ Melville's MS. Diary, p. 26.

* i. e. thrill. † i. e. slowly and warily.

‡ i. e. arm-pit. ‖ i. e. beat the pulpit in pieces.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 23, 28 ¶ See page 27.

** See Note LX.

†† Tyrie published a reply to this, under the title of "The Refutation of ane answer made be Schir Johne Knox to ane Letter, send be James Tyrie to his vmquhyle brother. Set furth be James Tyrie. Parisiis 1573. Cvm Privilegio." H. fol. 57. 12mo. It includes Tyrie's first letter, and Knox's answer, but not the other papers originally printed along with that answer. "Mr. Knox (says Keith) makes some good and solid observations, from which, in my opinion, the Jesuit [in his reply] has not handsomely extricated himself." History, Append. p. 255.

The ardent desire which he felt to be released by death, from the troubles of the present life, appears in all that he wrote about this time. "Wearie of the world," and "thirsting to depart," are expressions frequently used by him. The dedication of the above mentioned work is thus inscribed: "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernakle, to the faithful that God of his mercie shall appoint to fight after me." In the conclusion of it he says, "Call for me, deir brethren, that God, in his mercie, will pleis to put end to my long and paneful battell. For now being unable to fight, as God sumtymes gave strenth, I thirst an end, befoir I be more troublesum to the faithfull. And yet, Lord, let my desyre be moderate be thy holy spirit." In a prayer subjoined to the dedication are these words. "To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit. For I thirst to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I shall rise agane in glorie; howsoever it be that the wicked for a tyme sall trode me and others thy servandes under their feit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto the kirk within this realme; continew with it in the light of thy evangell; augment the number of true preicheris. And let thy mercyfull providence luke upon my desolate bedfellow, the fruit of hir bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleazar.* Now, Lord, put end to my miserie." The advertisement "to the Faithful Reader," dated from St. Andrews, 12th July 1572, concludes in the following manner: "I hartly salute and take my good night of all the faithful of both realmes, earnestly desyring the assistance of their prayers, that, without any notable slander to the evangel of Jesus Christ, I may end my battel; for, *as the worlde is wearie of me, so am I of it.*"

The General Assembly being appointed to meet at Perth on the 6th of August, he took his leave of them in a letter, along with which he transmitted certain articles and questions which he recommended to their consideration. The Assembly returned him an answer, declaring their approbation of his propositions, and their earnest desires for his preservation and comfort.† The last piece of public service which he performed at their request, was to examine and approve of a sermon which had been lately preached by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. His subscription to this sermon, like every thing which proceeded from his mouth or pen about this time, is uncommonly striking. "John Knox, with my *dead hand*, but *glaid heart*, praising God, that of his mercy he levis such light to his kirk in this desolatioun."‡

From the rapid decline of our Reformer's health, in spring 1572, there was every appearance of his ending his days at St. Andrews; but it pleased God that he should be restored once more to his flock, and allowed to die peaceably in his own bed. In consequence of a cessation of arms agreed to, in the end of July, between the Regent and the adherents of the Queen, the city of Edinburgh was abandoned by the forces of the latter, and secured from the annoyance of the garrison in the castle. As soon as the banished citizens returned to their houses,* they sent a deputation to St. Andrews, with a letter to their minister, expressive of their earnest desire "that once again his voice might be heard among them," and intreating him immediately to come to Edinburgh, if his health would at all permit him.† After reading the letter, and conversing with the commissioners, he agreed to return, but under the express condition, that he should not be urged to preserve silence respecting the conduct of those who held the castle; "whose treasonable and tyrannical deeds (he said) he would cry out against, as long as he was able to speak." He, therefore, desired them to acquaint their constituents with this, lest they should afterwards repent of his austerity, and be apprehensive of ill-treatment on his account. The commissioners assured him, that they did not mean to put a bridle in his mouth, but wished him to discharge his duty as he had been accustomed to do. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he repeated this intimation to the principal persons of his congregation, and received the same assurance from them, before he would resume preaching.‡

On the 17th of August, to the great joy of the Queen's faction, whom he had overawed during his residence among them, the Reformer left St. Andrews, along with his family. He was accompanied so far on his journey by a number of his acquaintances in the town, who sorrowfully took their leave of him, in the prospect of seeing his face no more. Being obliged by his weakness to travel slowly, it was the 23d of the month before he reached Leith, from which, after resting a day or two, he came to Edinburgh. The inhabitants enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing him again in his own pulpit, on the first Sabbath after he arrived; but his voice was now so enfeebled that he could not be heard by the half of the congregation. Nobody was more sensible of this than himself. He therefore requested his session to provide a smaller house, in which he could be heard, if it were only by a hundred persons; for his voice, (he said) was not able, even in his best time, to extend over the multitude which assembled in that large church, much less now when he was so greatly debilitated. This request was readily complied with by the session.‖

During his absence, a coolness had taken place between his colleague and the parish, who found fault with him for temporizing during the time that the Queen's party retained possession of the city. In consequence of this, they had mutually agreed to separate.§ After preaching two years in Montrose, Craig removed to Aberdeen, where he acted as visitor of the churches in Buchan and Mar; and was afterwards chosen minister to the Royal household, a situation which he held until his death in 1600, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.¶ Being deprived of both their pastors, and having no prospect that Knox,

* Tyrie, in his reply, scoffs at this amiable expression of pious affection; and in doing so discovers that he was as great a stranger to conjugal and parental feelings, as he was to the rules of logic. "He [Knox] sais, that of tuay propositiones quhilkis ar verray trew, I collect ane conclusione maist false and repugnant to all veritie. Ane Dialectitian wald answer that Schir Johne knox hes nocht weill considderit the rewlis of Dialectik, to affirme ane fals conclusion to follow of trew premissis. Bot becaus I knaw his greit occupationis, and sollicitude he hes of his wyf and childrine, that he culd nocht take tent to sic trifflis, I will pas this with silence." Refutation, ut supra, fol. 4, a.

† Bannatyne, 364—369. Cald. ii. 355, 366.

‡ "Ane sermon prechit before the regent and nobilitie upon a part of the third chapter of Malachi [verses 7—12.] in the kirk of Leith, at the time of the Generall Assemblie, on Sonday the 13. of Januarie. Anno Do. 1571. Be David Fergusone, minister of the evangell at Dunfermlyne. Imprentit at Sanctandrois, be Kobert Lekpreuik. Anno Do. MDLXXII." The dedication to the regent Mar is dated 20th August, 1572.

* Previous to the cessation of arms, the banished citizens (who had taken up their residence chiefly in Leith) entered into a solemn league, by which they engaged "in the fear of God the Father, of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holie Spirit, tackand to witness his holie name," that they would, with their lives, lands, and goods, promote the gospel professed among them, maintain the authority of the king and regent, assist and concur with others against their enemies in the castle, defend one another if attacked, and submit any variances which might arise among themselves to brotherly arbitration, or to the judgment of the town-council. Bannatyne, 361—364.

† Bannatyne, 370—373. "Leath we are to diseas or hurt your persone ony wayis, and far leather to want you."

‡ Ib. 372, 373.

‖ Ibid, p. 373, 385. Smetoni Respons. p. 117, 118.

§ Bannatyne, 150, 370.

¶ Spottiswood, 464. When informed that his Majesty had made choice of Craig, the General Assembly, July 1580 "blessed the Lord, and praised the King for his zeal." Row Hist. of the Kirk, 47.

although he should return, would be capable of performing the public service among them, the kirk-session of Edinburgh had instructed their delegates to the General Assembly which lately met at Perth, to petition that court for liberty to choose from the ministry a colleague to the Reformer. The Assembly granted their request, and ordained any minister (those of Perth and Dundee excepted) who might be chosen by Knox, the superintendent of Lothian, and the church of Edinburgh, to comply with their invitation and remove to the capital.* When the commissioners came to St. Andrews, they found the superintendent along with Knox, and having consulted with them, it was agreed to nominate and recommend James Lawson, Sub-principal of the University of Aberdeen, a man eminent for piety, learning, and eloquence.† Perceiving, on his return to Edinburgh, that he would not long be able to endure the fatigue of preaching, and that he was already incapacitated for all other ministerial duties, Knox was extremely solicitous to have this business speedily settled, that the congregation might not be left "as sheep without a shepherd," when he was called away. The session and the superintendent having written letters of invitation to Lawson, the Reformer also sent a letter to him, urging his speedy compliance with their requests. Though this letter has already appeared in print,‡ yet as it is not long, and is very descriptive of the state of his mind at this interesting period, I shall lay it before the reader.

"All worldie strenth, yea ewin in thingis spirituall, decayes; and yit sall never the work of God decay. Belovit brother, seeing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatione, has callit me ones agane to Edinburgh, and yit that I feill nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luke not for a long continewance of my battell, I wald gladlie anes discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of vtheris, in whome I think the feare of God remanes. Gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie, I suld not have put you to the pane to the whilk I now requyre you, that is, anes to visite me, that we may conferre together of heawinlie thingis; for into earth there is no stabilitie, except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fight and vnder the crosse, to whose myghtie protectione I hartlie comitt you. Of Edinburgh the vii of September, 1572. Jhone Knox."

In a postscript these expressive words were added, "Haist, leist ye come to lait."

In the beginning of September, intelligence came to Edinburgh, that the Admiral of France, the brave, the generous, the pious Coligni was murdered in the city of Paris, by the orders of Charles IX. Immediately on the back of this, tidings arrived of that most detestable and unparalleled scene of barbarity and treachery, the general massacre of the protestants throughout that kingdom. Post after post brought fresh accounts of the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties. Hired cut-throats, and fanatical cannibals marched from city to city, paraded the streets, and entered into the houses of those that were marked out for destruction. No reverence was shewn to the hoary head, no respect to rank or talents, no pity to tender age or sex. Infants, aged matrons, and women upon the point of their delivery, were trodden under the feet of the assassins, or dragged with hooks into the rivers; others, after being thrown into prison, were instantly brought out and butchered in cold blood. Seventy thousand persons were murdered in one week. For several days the streets of Paris literally ran with blood. The savage monarch, standing at the windows of the palace, with his courtiers, glutted his eyes with the inhuman spectacle, and amused himself with firing upon the miserable fugitives who sought shelter at his merciless gates.*

The intelligence of this massacre (for which a solemn thanksgiving was offered up at Rome by order of the Pope)† produced the same horror and consternation in Scotland as in every other protestant country.‡ It inflicted a deep wound on the exhausted spirit of Knox. Besides the blow struck at the whole reformed body, he had to lament the loss of many individuals, eminent for piety, learning, and rank, whom he numbered among his acquaintances. Being conveyed to the pulpit, and summoning up the remainder of his strength, he thundered the vengeance of Heaven against that cruel murderer and false traitor, the king of France, and desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master, that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the divine vengeance would never depart from him, nor from his house, if repentance did not ensue; but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins would enjoy his kingdom in peace. The ambassador complained of the indignity offered to his master, and required the Regent to silence the preacher; but this was refused, upon which he left Scotland.‖

Lawson having received the letters of invitation, hastened to Edinburgh, and had the satisfaction to find that Knox was still able to receive him. Having preached to the people, he gave universal satisfaction. On the following Sabbath, 21st September, Knox began to preach in the Tolbooth church, which was now fitted up for him. He chose for the subject of his discourses, the account of our Saviour's crucifixion, as recorded in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, a theme upon which he often expressed a wish to close his ministry. On Sabbath, the 9th of November, he presided in the installation of Lawson as his colleague and successor. The sermon was preached by him in the Tolbooth church; after it was concluded, he removed, with the audience, to the large church, where he went through the accustomed form of admission, by proposing the questions to the minister and people, addressing an exhortation to both, and praying for the Divine blessing upon the connection. On no former occasion did he deliver himself more to the satisfaction of those who were able to hear him. After declaring the mutual duties of pastor and congregation, he protested, in the presence of Him before whom he expected soon to appear, that he had walked among them with a good conscience, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ in all sincerity, not studying to please men, nor to gratify his own affections; he praised God, that he had been pleased to give them a pastor in his room, when he was now unable to teach; he fervently prayed, that any gifts which had been conferred on himself might be augmented a thousand fold in his successor; and, in a most serious and impressive manner, he exhorted and charged the whole assembly to adhere steadfastly to the faith which they had professed. Having finished the service, and pronounced the blessing with a cheerful but exhausted voice, he descended from the pulpit, and, leaning upon his staff, crept down the

* Smetoni Respons. 118. Bannatyne, 370.

† Smeton, ut sup. Bannatyne, 372. James Melville thus describes Lawson: "A man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never hard preache bot he meltit my hart with teares." MS. Diary, 23. See also Note XXXIX.

‡ Bannatyne, 386.

* Memoires de Sully, tom. i. 16. Paris 1664. Brantosme Memoires, apud Jurieu, Apologie pour la Reformation, tom. i. 420. Smetoni Respons. ad Hamilt. Dial. p. 117. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 388—396.

† The Pope's Bull for the Jubilee may be seen in Strype's Life of archbishop Parker, Append. No. 68, p. 108.

‡ The regent Mar issued a proclamation on this occasion, summoning a general convention of deputies from all parts of the kingdom, to deliberate on the measures proper to be adopted for defence against the cruel and treasonable conspiracies of the papists. Bannatyne, 397—401. Strype has inserted the preamble, and one of the articles of a supplication presented by this convention to the regent and council. Annals. ii. 180, 181. This may be compared with the more full account of their proceedings, in Bannatyne, 406—411.

‖ Bannatyne, 401, 402.

street, which was lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take the last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house,—from which he never again came out alive.*

On the Tuesday following, the 11th of November, he was seized with a severe cough, which greatly affected his breathing.† When his friends, anxious to prolong his life, proposed to call in the assistance of physicians, he readily acquiesced, saying, that he would not neglect the ordinary means of health, although he was persuaded, that the Lord would soon put an end to all his sorrows. It had been his ordinary practice to read every day some chapters of the Old and New Testaments; to which he added a certain number of the Psalms of David, the whole of which he perused regularly once a month. On Thursday the 13th, he sickened, and was obliged to desist from his course of reading; but he gave directions to his wife, and to his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, that one of them should every day read to him, with a distinct voice, the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to John, the fifty-third of Isaiah, and a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This was punctually complied with during the whole time of his sickness; and scarcely an hour passed in which some part of scripture was not read in his hearing. Besides the above passages, he, at different times, fixed on certain Psalms, and some of Calvin's French Sermons on the Ephesians. Sometimes when they were engaged in reading, thinking him to be asleep, they asked him if he heard them, to which he answered, "I hear (I praise God,) and understand far better;" which words he uttered for the last time, only four hours before his death.

The same day on which he sickened, he desired his wife to discharge the servants' wages; and wishing next day to pay one of his men servants himself, he gave him twenty shillings above his fee, saying "Thou wilt never receive more from me in this life." To all of them he addressed suitable exhortations to walk in the fear of God, and as became Christians who had lived in his family.

On Friday the 14th, he rose from bed at an earlier hour than usual; and thinking that it was Sabbath, said, that he meant to go to church, and preach on the resurrection of Christ, upon which he had meditated through the whole night. This was the subject on which he should have preached in his ordinary course. But he was so weak, that he needed to be supported from his bed-side by two men, and it was with great difficulty that he could sit on a chair.

Next day at noon, John Durie, one of the ministers of Leith, and Archibald Stewart, who were among his intimate acquaintances, came into his room. Perceiving that he was very sick, they wished to take their leave, but he insisted that they should remain, and having prevailed with them to stay dinner, he rose from bed, and came to the table, which was the last time that he ever sat at it. He ordered a hogshead of wine which was in his cellar to be pierced for them; and, with a hilarity which he delighted to indulge among his friends, desired Archibald Steward to send for some of it as long as it lasted, for he would not tarry until it was all used.

On Sabbath, the 16th, he kept his bed, and mistaking it for the first day of the fast appointed on account of the French massacre, refused to take any dinner. Fairley of Braid, who was present, informed him that the fast did not commence until the following Sabbath, and sitting down, and dining before his bed, prevailed on him to take a little food.

He was very anxious to meet once more with the session of his church, to leave them his dying charge, and bid them a last farewell. In compliance with this wish, his colleague, the elders, and deacons, with David Lindsay, one of the ministers of Leith, assembled in his room on Monday the 17th, when he addressed them in the following words, which made a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all. "The day approaches, and is now before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served in the spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace, and to fight against the proud and rebellious, by the divine threatenings. I know that many have frequently complained, and still loudly complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged, but I still kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth, so boldly, without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called and of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of my discharge of the trust committed to me, when I shall stand before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talents intrusted to me for the edification of the church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time, my dearest brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel; wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed with the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou, my dear brother Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of hell shall not prevail."* Having warned them against countenancing those who disowned the King's authority, and made some observations on a complaint which Maitland had lodged against him before the session, he was so exhausted that he was obliged to desist from speaking. Those who were present were filled both with joy and grief by this affecting address.

* Smetoni Responsio, 118. The house which the Reformer possessed is situated near the bottom of the High Street, a little below the Fountain well. It has these three words inscribed on it, ΘΕΟΣ, DEUS, GOD.

† As it is unnecessary to repeat the quotations, the reader may be informed, once for all, that the account of the Reformer's last illness and death is taken from the following authorities: "Eximii viri Joannis Knoxii, Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ instauratoris, Vera extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia," published by Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow, at the end of his "Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum. Edinburgi, apud Johannem Rosseum. Pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do. 1579. Cum Privilegio Regali:"—"Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, (Annis) 1570—1573, by Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox," 413—429, edited from an authenti MS. by J. Graham Dalyell, Esq. Anno 1806:—Spottiswood's History, p. 265—267. Anno 1677: and Calderwood's MS. History, ad Ann. 1572; copy in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, transcribed Anno 1634. The two first of these works contain the most ancient and authentic narratives, both being written at the time of the event, and by persons who were eye and ear witnesses of what they relate.

* This speech is translated from the Latin of Smeton, which accounts for the difference of style which the intelligent reader must have remarked.

After reminding him of the warfare which he had endured, and the triumph which awaited him, and joining in prayer, they took their leave of him drowned in tears.

When they were going out, he desired his colleague and Lindsay to remain behind. "There is one thing that greatly grieves me," said he to them. "You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of God; but now, alas! into what a gulph has he precipitated himself! I entreat you not to refuse the request which I now make to you: Go to the castle, and tell him from me, 'That John Knox remains the same man now when he is about to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble. Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man (Maitland) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God.' That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish, if I could save it." The ministers undertook to execute this commission; and going up to the castle, they obtained an interview with the governor, and delivered their message. He at first exhibited some symptoms of relenting, but having consulted apart with Maitland, he returned, and gave them a very unpleasant answer. This being reported to Knox, he was much grieved, and said, that he had been earnest in prayer for that man, and he still trusted that his soul would be saved, although his body should come to a miserable end.*

After his interview with the session, he was much worse; his difficulty of breathing increased, and he could not speak without great and obvious pain. Yet he continued still to receive persons of every rank, who came in great numbers to visit him, and he suffered none to go away without exhortations, which he uttered with such variety and suitableness as astonished those who waited upon him. Lord Boyd came in and said, "I know, Sir, that I have offended you in many things, and am now come to crave your pardon." His answer was not heard, as the attendants retired and left them alone. But his Lordship returned next day, in company with the Earl of Morton and the laird of Drumlanrig. The Reformer's private conversation with Morton was very particular, as afterwards related by the Earl himself. He asked him, if he was previously acquainted with the design to murder the late king. Morton having answered in the negative,† he said, "Well, God has beautified you with many benefits which he has not given to every man; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the government of this realm.‡ And therefore, in the name of God, I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come than ye have done in times bypast; first to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the church of God, and his ministry; next for the weal of the King, and his realm and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you; but if ye do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame."*

On Thursday, the 20th, Lord Lindsay, the bishop of Caithness, and several gentlemen visited him. He exhorted them to continue in the truth which they had heard, for there was no other word of salvation, and besought them to have nothing to do with those in the castle. The Earl of Glencairn (who had often visited him) came in, with Lord Ruthven. The latter, who called only once, said to him, "If there be any thing, Sir, that I am able to do for you, I pray you charge me." His reply was, "I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world."

A religious lady of his acquaintance desired him to praise God for what good he had done, and was beginning to speak in his commendation, when he interrupted her. "Tongue! tongue! lady, flesh of itself is overproud, and needs no means to esteem itself." He put her in mind of what had been said to her long ago, "Lady lady, the black one has never trampit on your fute;" and exhorted her to lay aside pride, and be clothed with humility. He then protested as to himself, as he had often done before, that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. The rest of the company having taken their leave of him, he said to the laird of Braid, "Every one bids me good night, but when will you do it? I have been greatly indebted unto you; for which I shall never be able to recompense you; but I commit you to one that is able to do it, to the eternal God."

On Friday the 21st, he desired Richard Bannatyne to order his coffin to be made. During that day he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words were often in his mouth: "Come, Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Be merciful, Lord, to thy church which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors who will take the charge of thy church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy." In the midst of his meditations, he would often address those who stood by, in such sentences as these: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

On Sabbath, the 23d (which was the first day of the national fast,) during the afternoon-sermon, he, after lying a considerable time quiet, suddenly exclaimed, "If any be present, let them come and see the work of God." Richard Bannatyne, thinking that his death was at hand, sent to the church for Johnston of Elphingston. When he came to his bedside, he burst out in these rapturous expressions: "I have been these two last nights in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys where presently I am." He then repeated the Lord's prayer

* After the castle surrendered, and Kircaldy was condemned to die, Lindsay attended him at his earnest desire, and received much satisfaction from conversation with him. When he was on the scaffold, he desired the minister to repeat Knox's last words respecting him, and said that he hoped they would prove true. James Melville had this information from Lindsay. MS. Diary, p. 29, 30. See also Spottis. 266, 272.

† He acknowledged afterwards that he did know of the murder; but excused himself for concealing it. "The quene (he said) was the doare thareof," and as for the king, he was "sic a bairne, that there was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir agane." Bannatyne, 494, 497.

‡ The regent Mar died on the 29th of October preceding. The nobility were at this time assembled at Edinburgh to chuse his successor, and it was understood that Morton would be raised to that dignity. He was elected regent on the day of Knox's death. Bannatyne, 411, 412, 427. The author of the Historie of King James the Sext says, that the regent died October 18, and adds, "efter him dyed Johne Knox in that same moneth." p. 197. But he has mistaken the dates.

* Morton gave this account of his conference with the Reformer, to the ministers who attended him before his execution. Being asked by them if he had not found Knox's admonition true, he replied, "I have fand it indeid." Morton's Confession, apud Bannatyne, 508, 509.

and the creed, interjecting some devout aspiration between every article.

After sermon many came to visit him. Perceiving that he breathed with great difficulty, some of them asked if he felt much pain. He answered, that he was willing to lie there for years, if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine upon his soul through Jesus Christ. He slept very little; but was employed almost incessantly either in meditation, in prayer, or in exhortation. "Live in Christ. Live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death. Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Once, Lord, make an end of my trouble." Stretching his hands towards heaven, he said, "Lord, I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all, into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles: I do not murmur against thee." His pious ejaculations, were so numerous, that those who waited on him could only recollect a small portion of them; for seldom was he silent, when they were not employed in reading or in prayer.—During the course of that night his sickness greatly increased.

Monday, the 24th of November, was the last day that he spent on earth. That morning he could not be persuaded to lie in bed, but, though unable to stand alone, rose between nine and ten o'clock, and put on his stockings and doublet. Being conducted to a chair, he sat about half an hour, and then was put in bed again. In the progress of the day, it appeared evident that his end drew near. Besides his wife and Richard Bannatyne, Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, Johnston of Elphingston, and Dr. Preston, three of his most intimate acquaintances, sat by turns at his bed-side. Kinyeancleugh asked him, if he had any pain. "It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall, I trust, put end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you (continued he,) to whom you must be a husband in my room." About three o'clock in the afternoon, one of his eyes failed, and his speech was considerably affected. He desired his wife to read the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. "Is not that a comfortable chapter?" said he, when it was finished. "O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!" A little after, he said, "Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body (touching three of his fingers) into thy hand, O Lord." About five o'clock, he said to his wife, "Go, read where I cast my first anchor;" upon which she read the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, and afterwards a part of Calvin's sermons on the Ephesians.

After this he appeared to fall into a slumber, interrupted by heavy moans, during which the attendants looked every moment for his dissolution. But at length he awaked as if from sleep, and being asked the cause of his sighing so deeply, replied: "I have formerly, during my frail life, sustained many contests, and many assaults of Satan; but at present that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour, and make an end of me at once. Often before has he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but these weapons being broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, he could not prevail. Now he was attacked me in another way; the cunning serpent has laboured to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness, by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart, by suggesting to me such passages of scripture as these, *What hast thou that thou hast not received? By the grace of God I am what I am: Not I, but the grace of God in me.* Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ, who was pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me, but, within a short time, I shall, without any great bodily pain or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ."

He then lay quiet for some hours, except that now and then he desired them to wet his mouth with a little weak ale. At ten o'clock, they read the evening-prayer, which they had delayed beyond the usual hour, from an apprehension that he was asleep. After the exercise was concluded, Dr. Preston asked him, if he had heard the prayers. "Would to God," said he, "that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them: I praise God for that heavenly sound." The doctor rose up, and Kinyeancleugh sat down before his bed. About eleven o'clock, he gave a deep sigh, and said, *Now it is come.* Richard Bannatyne immediately drew near, and desired him to think upon those comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others; and, perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them, and that he died in peace. Upon this he lifted up one of his hands, and, sighing twice, expired without a struggle.*

He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind. Few men were ever exposed to more dangers, or underwent such hardships. From the time that he embraced the reformed religion, till he breathed his last, seldom did he enjoy a respite from these, and he emerged from one scene of difficulties, only to be involved in another, and a more distressing one. Obliged to flee from St. Andrews to escape the fury of Cardinal Beatoun, he found a retreat in East Lothian, from which he was hunted by Archbishop Hamilton. He lived for several years as an outlaw, in daily apprehension of falling a prey to those who eagerly sought his life. The few months during which he enjoyed protection in the castle of St. Andrews were succeeded by a long and rigorous captivity. After enjoying some repose in England, he was again driven into banishment, and for five years wandered as an exile on the continent. When he returned to his native country, it was to engage in a struggle of the most perilous and arduous kind. After the Reformation was established, and he was settled in the capital, he was involved in a continual contest with the Court. When he was relieved from this warfare, and thought only of ending his days in peace, he was again called into the field; and, although scarcely able to walk, was obliged to remove from his flock, and to avoid the fury of his enemies by submitting to a new banishment. He was repeatedly condemned for heresy and proclaimed an outlaw; thrice he was accused of high treason, and on two of these occasions he appeared and underwent a trial. A price was publicly set on his head; assassins were employed to kill him; and his life was attempted both with the pistol and the dagger. Yet he escaped all these perils, and finished his course in peace and in honour. No wonder that he was weary of the world, and anxious to depart; and with great propriety might it be said, at his decease, that "he rested from his labours."

On Wednesday, the 26th of November, he was interred in the church-yard of St. Giles.† His funeral

* "Manum itsque, quasi novas vires jamjam moriturus concipiens, cœlum versus erigit, duobusque emissis suspiriis, e mortali corpore emigravit, citra ullum aut pedum aut aliarum partium corporis motum, ut potius dormire quam occidisse videretur." Smetoni Responsio, p. 123.

† Cald. MS. ad Ann. 1572. Bannatyne, 429. Spottiswood, 267. The area of the parliament square was formerly the church-yard of St. Giles. Some think that he was buried in one of the aisles of his own church. The place where the Reformer preached is that which is now called *The Old Church.* It has, however, undergone a great change since his time. The space now occupied by the pulpit and the greater part of

was attended by the newly elected regent, Morton, by all the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the Regent emphatically pronounced his eulogium, in the well known words, *There lies He, who never feared the face of man.*"*

The character of this extraordinary man has been drawn in very opposite colours, by different writers, and at different times. The changes which have taken place in the public opinion about him, with the causes which have produced them, form a subject not uncurious, nor unworthy of attention.

The interest excited by the ecclesiastical and political revolutions of Scotland, in which he acted so conspicuous a part, caused his name to be known throughout Europe, more extensively than those of most of the reformers. When we reflect that the Roman Catholics looked upon him as the principal instrument in overthrowing their religious establishment in this country, we are prepared to expect that the writers of that persuasion would represent his character in an unfavourable light; and that, in addition to the common charges of heresy and apostacy, they would describe him as a man of a restless, turbulent spirit, and of rebellious principles. We will not even be greatly surprised though we find them charging him with whoredom, because, being a priest, he entered into wedlock, once and a second time; and imputing his change of religion to a desire of releasing himself from the bonds by which the popish clergy were professionally bound to chastity. But all this is nothing to the portraits which they have drawn of him, in which, to the violation of all credibility, he is unblushingly represented as a man, or rather a monster, of the most profligate character, who gloried in depravity, who avowedly indulged in the most vicious practices, and upon whom Providence fixed the most evident marks of reprobation at his death, which was accompanied with circumstances that excited the utmost horror in the beholders.† This might astonish us, did we not know, from undoubted documents, that there were at that time a number of writers, who, by inventing or retailing such malignant calumnies, attempted to blast the fairest and most unblemished characters among those who appeared in opposition to the church of Rome, and that, absurd and outrageous as the accusations were, they were greedily swallowed by the numerous slaves of prejudice and credulity. The memory of no one was loaded with a greater share of this obloquy than our Reformer's. But these accounts have long ago lost every degree of credit; and they now remain only as a proof of the spirit of lies or of strong delusion, by which these writers were actuated, and of the deep and deadly hatred which they had conceived against Knox, on account of his strenuous and successful exertions in overthrowing the fabric of papal superstition and despotism.

Knox was known and esteemed by the principal persons among the reformed in France, Switzerland, and Germany. We have had occasion repeatedly to mention his friendship with the Reformer of Geneva. Beza, the successor of Calvin, was also personally acquainted with him; the letters which he wrote to him abound with expressions of the warmest regard, and highest esteem; and he afterwards raised an affectionate tribute to our Reformer's memory, in his *Images of Illustrious men.* This was done, at a subsequent period, by the German biographer, Melchior Adam, the Dutch Verheiden, and the French La Roque. The late historian of the literature of Geneva, (whose religious sentiments are very different from those of his countrymen in the days of Calvin and Beza), although he is displeased with the philippics which Knox sometimes pronounced from the pulpit, says, that he "immortalized himself by his courage against popery, and his firmness against the tyranny of Mary;" and that though a violent, he was always an open and honourable enemy to the Catholics.*

The affectionate veneration in which his memory continued to be held in Scotland after his death, evinces that the influence which he possessed among his countrymen during his life was not constrained, but founded on the opinion which they entertained of his virtues and talents. Bannatyne has drawn his character in the most glowing colours; and, although allowances must he made for the enthusiasm with which a favourite servant wrote of a beloved and revered master, yet, as he lived long in the Reformer's family, and was himself a man of respectability and learning, his testimony is by no means to be disregarded.† "In this manner (says he) departed this man of God: the light of Scotland, the comfort of the church within the same, the mirror of godliness, and pattern and example of all true ministers, in purity of life, soundness in doctrine, and boldness in reproving of wickedness; one that cared not the favour of men, how great soever they were. What dexterity in teaching, boldness in reproving, and hatred of wickedness was in him, my ignorant dulness is not able to declare, which if I should preis‡ to set out, it were as one who would light a candle to let men see the sun; seeing all his virtues are better known, and notified‖ to the world a thousand fold than I am able to express."§

Principal Smeton's character of him, while it is less liable to the suspicion of partiality, is equally honourable and flattering. "I know not (says he) if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright, to the comfort of the church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigues of body and mind: none was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him." And again, addressing his calumniator Hamilton, he says, "This illustrious, I say *illustrious* servant of God, John Knox, I will clear from your feigned accusations and slanders, rather by the testimony of a venerable assembly than by my own denial. This pious duty, this reward of a well spent life, all of them most cheerfully discharge to their excellent instructor in Christ Jesus. This testimony of gratitude they all owe to him, who, they know, ceased not to deserve well of all till he ceased

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the seats, was then an aisle; and the church was considerably more to the north of the building than at present. The small church fitted up for him a few weeks before his death is called, by Bannatyne, the *Tolbooth.* Whether it was exactly that part of the building now called the Tolbooth church, I do not know.

* Some verses written to the Reformer's memory may be seen in Note LXI.

† See Note LXII.

* Mons. Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Geneve, i. 377.

† The reader should observe, that the word servant, or servitor, was then used with greater latitude than it is now, and in old writings often signifies the person whom we call by the more honourable names of clerk, secretary, or man of business. As the drawing of the principal ecclesiastical papers, and the compiling of the history of public proceedings, was committed to our Reformer, from the time of his last return to Scotland, he kept a person of this description in his family, and Bannatyne held the situation.

In a speech which he made to the General Assembly, 10th March, 1571, Bannatyne says: "It has pleasit God to mak me a servant to that man Johne Knox, whom I serve, as God beiris me witnes, not so mekle in respect of my worldlie commoditie, as for that integrity and vprytness which I have ever knowin, and presentlie vnderstandis to be in him, especiallie in the faythfull administratione of his office, in teaching of the word of God; and gif I vnderstude, or knew that he ware a fals teacher, a seducer, a rasere of schisme, or ane that makis divisione in the kirk of God, as he is reported to be by the former accusationes, I wald not serve him for all the substance in Edinburgh." Journal, p. 104, 105.

‡ i. e. labour.

‖ In the printed book it is "not hid." I suppose it should be "notified."

§ Bannatyne, 427, 429.

to breathe. Released from a body exhausted in Christian warfare, and translated to a blessed rest, where he has obtained the sweet reward of his labours, he now triumphs with Christ. But beware, sycophant, of insulting him when dead; for he has left behind him as many defenders of his reputation, as there are persons who were drawn, by his faithful preaching, from the gulph of ignorance to the knowledge of the gospel."*

The divines of the church of England who were contemporary with Knox, entertained a great respect for his character, and ranked him along with the most eminent of their own Reformers.† I have already produced the mark of esteem which bishop Bale conferred on him.‡ Aylmer, in a work written to confute one of his opinions, bears a voluntary testimony to his learning and integrity.‖ And Ridley, who stickled more for the ceremonies of the church than any of his brethren at that period, and who was displeased with the opposition which Knox made to the introduction of the English liturgy at Frankfort, expressed his high opinion of him, as "a man of wit, much good learning, and earnest zeal."§ Whatever dissatisfaction they felt at his pointed reprehensions of several parts of their ecclesiastical establishment, the English dignitaries rejoiced at the success of his exertions, and without scruple expressed their approbation of many of his measures which were afterwards severely censured by their successors.¶ I need scarcely add, that his memory was held in veneration by the English Puritans. Some of the chief men among them were personally acquainted with him during his residence in England and on the continent; others corresponded with him by letters. They greatly esteemed his writings, sought for his manuscripts with avidity, and published them with testimonies of the warmest approbation.**

But towards the close of the sixteenth century, there arose another race of prelates, of very different principles from the English reformers, who began to maintain the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, with the intrinsic excellency of a ceremonious worship, and to adopt a new language respecting other reformed churches. Dr. Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the first writer among them who spoke disrespectfully of Knox,†† after whom it became a fashionable practice among the hierarchical party. This was resented by the ministers of Scotland, who warmly vindicated the character of their Reformer.‡‡ In discharging this duty they incurred the frowns and resentment of their sovereign. Though educated under one of the greatest scholars of the age, and a warm friend to popular liberty, James, in spite of the instructions of Buchanan, turned out a pedant, and cowardice alone prevented him from becoming a tyrant. His early favourites flattered his vanity, fostered his love of arbitrary power, and inspired him with the strongest prejudices against the principles and conduct of those men who, during his early years, had been the instrument of preserving his life and supporting his authority. To secure his succession to the English crown, he entered into a private correspondence with Bancroft, and concerted with him the scheme of introducing episcopacy into the church of Scotland. The presbyterian ministers incurred his deep and lasting displeasure by their determined resistance to this design, and by the united and firm opposition which they made to the illegal and despotic measures of his government. He was particularly displeased at the testimony which they publicly bore to the characters of Knox, Buchanan, and the regent Murray, who "could not be defended (he said) but by traitors and seditious theologues." Andrew Melville told him that they were the men who had set the crown on his head, and deserved better of him than to be so traduced. James complained that Knox had spoken disrespectfully of his mother; to which Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, replied, "if a king or a queen be a murderer, why should they not be called so?" Walter Balcanquhal, another minister of the city, having, in one of his sermons, rebuked those who disparaged the Reformer, the King sent for him, and in a passion protested, that "either he should lose his crown, or Mr. Walter should recant his words." Balcanquhal "prayed God to preserve his crown, but said, that if he had his right wits, the King should have his head, before he recanted any thing he spake."*

James carried his antipathies to the presbyterian church and reformers along with him to England, and he found it an easy matter to infuse them into the minds of his new subjects. Incensed at the freedom which Buchanan had used in his history of the Scottish Reformation, and of the transactions during the reign of Mary, he had formerly procured the condemnation of that work by an act of parliament. And now he did not think it enough that he had got Cambden's history of that period manufactured to his mind, but employed agents to induce the French historian, De Thou, to adopt his representations; and because that great man scrupled to receive the royal testimony respecting events which happened before James was born, or when he was a child, in opposition to the most credible evidence, his Majesty was pleased to complain that he had been treated disrespectfully.† Charles I. carried these prejudices even farther than his father had done. During his reign, passive obedience, arminianism, and semi-popery formed the court-religion; Calvinism and presbytery were held in the greatest detestation, and proscribed both as political and religious heresies. In the reign of the second Charles, the court, the bench, the pulpit, the press, and the stage, united in loading presbyterians with every species of abuse, and in holding them forth as a gloomy, unsocial, turbulent, and fanatical race. And a large share of these contumelies uniformly fell on the head of Knox, who, it was alleged, had brought the obnoxious principles of the sect from Geneva, and planted them in his native country, from which they had spread into England. The Revolution was effected in England by a coalition of parties of very different

* Smetoni Resp. ad Hamilt. Dial. p. 95, 115.

† Calfhill's Answere to the Treatise of the Crosse: Preface to the Readers, fol. 18, a. Lond. 1565. This writer was cousin to Toby Matthews, archbishop of York; and in the Convocation which met in 1562, sat as a representative of the clergy of London, and the canons of Oxford. Strype, Annals, i. 289, 292—3.

‡ See page 67.

‖ Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects, B. B 2. C. C 2. Life of Aylmer, p. 238.

§ Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 19, 20.

¶ Burnet, vol. ii. Appendix, part iii. B. vi. p. 351, 352.

** In a dedication of Knox's *Exposition of the Temptation of Christ*, John Field, the publisher, says: "If ever God shall vouchsafe the church so great a benefite; when his infinite letters, and sundry other treatises shall be gathered together, it shall appear what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderfull losse that church of Scotland susteined when that worthie man was taken from them.—If, by yourselfe or others, you can procure any other his writings or letters here at home, or abroad in Scotland, be a meane that we may receive them. It were great pittie that any the least of his writinges should be lost; for he evermore wrote both godly and diligently, in questions of divinitie, and also of church pollicie; and his letters being had togeather, would togeather set out an whole historie of the churches where he lived."

†† In a sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, before the Parliament of England, Feb. 9, 1588, on 1 John iv. 1. and which was afterwards published. He enlarged on the subject in two posterior treatises, the one entitled, "Dangerous Positions; or Scottish Genevating, and English Scottizing:" The other "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline."

‡‡ John Davidson, minister first at Libberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans, answered Bancroft in a book entitled, "Dr. Bancroft's Rashness in Railing against the Kirk of Scotland."

* Cald. MS. ad an. 1590. Quarto copy in Adv. Lib. vol. ii. p. 260, 261.

† De Thuani Histor. Successu apud Jacobum I. Mag. Brit. Regem. Thuani Hist. Tom. vii. pars. v. Buckley 1733. Laing's Hist. of Scotland, i. 228—241. 2nd edit.

principles, some of which were not of the most liberal kind. Though this event abated the force of the prejudices alluded to, it by no means removed them; and a considerable time after it took place, the great, the fashionable, and even the learned among the English regarded the Scots as only beginning to emerge from that inelegance and barbarism which had been produced among them by the peculiar sentiments of Knox and his followers.

The great body of his countrymen, however, continued long to entertain a just sense of the great obligations which they were under to Knox. After the government of the church of Scotland was conformed to the English model, the Scots prelates still professed to look back to their national Reformer with gratitude and veneration; and archbishop Spottiswood describes him, in his History, as "a man endued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times."* For a considerable time after the Revolution, the Scottish Presbyterians treated with deserved contempt the libels which English writers had published against him; and blushed not to avow their admiration of a man to whose labours they were indebted for an ecclesiastical establishment, more scriptural and more liberal than that of which their neighbours could boast. The union first produced a change in our national feelings on this subject. The short-lived jealousy of English predominance felt by many of our countrymen on that occasion, was succeeded by a passion for conformity to our southern neighbours; and so fond did we become of their good opinion, and so eager to secure it, that we were disposed to sacrifice to their taste and their prejudices, those sentiments which truth as well as national honour required us to retain. Our most popular writers are not exempt from this charge; and even in works professing to be executed by the united talents of our literati, the misrepresentations and gross blunders of which English writers had been guilty in their accounts of our Reformation, and the false and scandalous accusations which they had brought against our reformers, have been generally adopted and widely circulated, instead of meeting with the exposure and reprobation which they justly deserved.

The prejudices entertained against our Reformer by the friends of absolute monarchy were taken up in all their force, subsequent to the Revolution, by the adherents of the Stuart family, whose religious notions approximating very nearly to the popish, joined with their slavish principle respecting non-resistance to kings, led them to disapprove of almost every measure adopted at the time of the Reformation, and to condemn the whole as a series of disorder, sedition, and rebellion against lawful authority. The spirit by which the Jacobitish faction was actuated, did not become extinct with the family which was so long the object of their devotion; and while they transferred their allegiance to the house of Hanover, they retained those principles which had incited them repeatedly to attempt its expulsion from the throne. The alarm produced by that revolution which of late has shaken the thrones of so many of the princes of Europe, has greatly increased this party; and with the view of preserving the present constitution of Britain, principles have been widely disseminated, which, if they had been generally received in the sixteenth century, would have perpetuated the reign of popery and arbitrary power in Scotland. From persons of such principles, nothing favourable to our Reformer can be expected. But the greatest torrent of abuse, poured upon his character, has proceeded from those literary champions who have come forward to avenge the wrongs, and vindicate the innocence of the peerless, and immaculate Mary, Queen of Scots. Having conjured up in their imagination the image of an ideal goddess, they have sacrificed, to the object of their adoration, all the characters which, in that age, were most estimable for learning, patriotism, integrity, and religion. As if the quarrel which they had espoused exempted them from the ordinary laws of controversial warfare, and conferred on them the absolute and undefeasible privilege of calumniating and defaming at pleasure, they have pronounced every person who spoke, wrote, or acted against that Queen, to be a hypocrite or a villain. In the raving style of these writers, Knox was "a fanatical incendiary—a holy savage—the son of violence and barbarism—the religious Sachem of religious Mohawks."*

I cannot do justice to the subject without adverting here to the influence of the popular histories of those transactions, which have been written by two of our own countrymen. The political prejudices and sceptical opinions of Mr. Hume are well known, and appear prominently in every part of his History of England. Regarding the various systems of religious belief and worship as distinguished from one another merely by different shades of falsehood and superstition, he has been led, by a strange but not inexplicable bias, uniformly to shew the most marked partiality to the grosser and more corrupt forms of religion; has spoken with greater contempt of the Protestants than of the Roman Catholics, and treated the Scottish with greater severity than the English Reformers. Forgetting what was due to the character of a philosopher, which he was so ambitious to maintain in his other writings, he has acted as the partizan and advocate of a particular family; and, in vindicating some of the worst measures of the Stuarts, has done signal injustice to the memory of the most illustrious patriots of both kingdoms. Though convinced that the Queen of Scotland was guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, he has laboured to screen her from the infamy to which a fair and unvarnished statement of facts must have exposed her, by fixing the attention of his readers on an untrue and exaggerated representation of the rudeness of Knox and the other reformers by whom she was surrounded, and by absurdly imputing to their treatment of her the faults into which she was betrayed. No person who is acquainted with the writings of Dr. Robertson will accuse him of being actuated by such improper motives. But the warmest admirers of his History of Scotland cannot deny, that he has been misled by the temptation of making Mary the heroine of his story, and of thus interesting his readers deeply in his narrative, by blending the tender and romantic with the more dry and uninteresting detail of public transactions. By a studious exhibition of the personal charms and accomplishments of the Queen, by representing her faults as arising from the unfortunate circumstances in which she was placed, by touching gently on the errors of her conduct, while he dwells on the cruelty and the dissimulation of her rival, and by describing her sufferings as exceeding the tragical distresses which fancy has feigned to excite sorrow and commiseration, he throws a veil over those vices which he could not deny; and by the sympathy which his pathetic account of her death naturally awakens in the minds of his readers, effaces the impressions of her guilt which his preceding narrative had produced. However amiable the feelings of the author might be, the tendency of such a representation is evident. "The Dissertation on the murder of King Henry" has, no doubt, convinced many of Mary's accession to the perpetration of that deed; but the History of Scotland has done more to prepossess the public mind in favour of that princess

* Spottiswood 261.

* Whitaker's vindication of Queen Mary, *passim*. The same writer designs Buchanan "a serpent—daring calumniator—leviathan of slander—the second of all human forgers, and the first of all human slanderers." Dr. Robertson he calls "a disciple of the old school of slander—a liar—and one for whom bedlam is no bedlam."

than all the defences of her most zealous and ingenious advocates, and consequently to excite prejudices against those men, who, on the supposition of her guilt, acted a most meritorious part, and who, in other respects, are entitled to the gratitude and veneration of posterity.

The increase of infidelity and of indifference to religion in modern times, especially among the learned, has contributed, in no small degree, to swell the tide of prejudice against our Reformer. Whatever satisfaction such persons may express or feel at the reformation from popery, as the means of emancipating the world from superstition and priestcraft, they naturally despise and dislike men who were inspired with the love of religion, and in whose plans of reform the acquisition of civil liberty, and the advancement of literature, held a subordinate place to the revival of primitive Christianity.

Nor can it escape observation, that prejudices against the characters and proceedings of our reformers are now far more general than they formerly were among those who still profess to adhere to their doctrine and system of church government. Impressed with the idea of the high illumination of the present age, and having formed a very low estimate of the attainments of those which preceded it; imperfectly acquainted with the enormity and extent of the corrupt system of religion which existed in this country at the era of the Reformation; inattentive to the spirit and principles of the adversaries with whom our reformers were obliged to contend, and to the dangers and difficulties with which they had to struggle,—they have too easily received the calumnies which have been circulated to their prejudice, and rashly condemned measures which will be found, on examination, to have been necessary to secure, and to transmit, the invaluable blessings which we now enjoy.

Having given this account of the opinions entertained respecting our Reformer, I shall endeavour to sketch with as much truth as I can, the leading features of his character.

That he possessed strong natural talents is unquestionable. Inquisitive, ardent, acute; vigorous and bold in his conceptions; he entered into all the subtleties of the scholastic science then in vogue, yet, disgusted with its barren results, sought out a new course of study, which gradually led to a complete revolution in his sentiments. In his early years he had not access to that finished education which many of his contemporaries obtained in foreign universities, and he was afterwards prevented, by his unsettled and active mode of life, from prosecuting his studies with leisure; but his abilities and application enabled him in a great measure to surmount these disadvantages, and he remained a stranger to none of the branches of learning cultivated in that age by persons of his profession. He united in a degree the love of study with a disposition to active employment. The truths which he discovered he felt an irresistible impulse to impart to others, for which he was qualified by a bold, fervid, and impetuous eloquence, singularly adapted to arrest the attention, and govern the minds of a fierce and unpolished people.

From the time that he embraced the reformed doctrines, the desire of propagating them, and of delivering his countrymen from the delusions and corruptions of popery, became his ruling passion, to which he was always ready to sacrifice his ease, his interest, his reputation, and his life. An ardent attachment to civil liberty held the next place in his breast to love of the reformed religion. That the zeal with which he laboured to advance these was of the most disinterested kind, no candid person who has paid attention to his life can doubt for a moment, whatever opinion may be entertained of some of the means which he employed for that purpose. "In fact, he thought only of advancing the glory of God, and promoting the welfare of his country."* Intrepidity, independence and elevation of mind, indefatigable activity, and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the hazardous and difficult post which he occupied. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption: his firmness proof equally against the solicitations of friends, and the threats of enemies. Though his impetuosity and courage led him frequently to expose himself to danger, we never find him neglecting to take prudent precautions for his safety. The confidence reposed in him by his countrymen shews the high opinion which they entertained of his sagacity as well as of his honesty. The measures taken for advancing the reformation were either adopted at his suggestion, or submitted to his advice; and we must pronounce them to have been as wisely planned, as they were boldly executed.

His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified, by an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and by the happy art of applying them, in the most striking manner, to the existing circumstances of the church and of his hearers. His powers of alarming the conscience, and arousing the passions, have been frequently mentioned; but he also excelled in unfolding the consolations of the gospel, and in calming the breasts of those who were either agitated by a sense of guilt, or suffering under the ordinary afflictions of life. When he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs of genuine Christians, he declared what he himself had known and experienced. The letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances breathe the most ardent piety. The religious meditations in which he spent his last sickness were not confined to that period of his life; they had been his habitual employment from the time that he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and his solace amidst all the hardships and perils through which he had passed.

With his brethren in the ministry he lived in the most cordiality. We never read of the slightest variance between him and any of his colleagues. While he was dreaded and hated by the licentious and profane, whose vices he never spared, the religious and sober part of his countrymen felt a veneration for him, which was founded on his unblemished reputation, as well as his popular talents as a preacher. In private life, he was both beloved and revered by his friends and domestics. He was subject to the illapses of melancholy and depression of spirits, arising partly from natural constitution, and partly from the maladies which had long preyed upon his health; which made him (to use his own expression) *churlish*, and less capable of pleasing and gratifying his friends than he was otherwise disposed to be. This he confessed, and requested them to excuse;† but his friendship was sincere, affectionate, and steady. When free from this morose affection, he relished the pleasures of society, and, among his acquaintances, was accustomed to unbend his mind, by indulging in innocent recreation, and in the sallies of wit and humour, to which he had a strong propensity, notwithstanding the graveness of his general deportment. Although in the course of his public life, the severer virtues of his character were more frequently called into action, yet have we met with repeated instances of his acute sensibility; and the unaffected tenderness which occasionally breaks forth in his private letters shews that he was no stranger to "all the charities" of human life, and that he could "rejoice with them that rejoiced, and weep with them that wept."

* Mons. Senebier, ut supra.

† See Extracts from his Letters to "Mrs. Locke, 6th April, 1559;" and to "A Friend in England, 19th August, 1569;" published in the Appendix, No. XII.

Most of his faults may be traced to his natural temperament, and to the character of the age and country in which he lived. His passions were strong; he felt with the utmost keenness on every subject which interested him; and as he felt he expressed himself, without disguise and without affectation. The warmth of his zeal was apt to betray him into intemperate language; his inflexible adherence to his opinions inclined to obstinacy; and his independence of mind occasionally assumed the appearance of haughtiness and disdain. In one solitary instance, the anxiety which he felt for the preservation of the great cause in which he was so deeply interested, betrayed him into an advice which was not more inconsistent with the laws of strict morality, than it was contrary to the stern uprightness, and undisguised sincerity, which characterized the rest of his conduct. A stranger to complimentary or smooth language, little concerned about the manner in which his reproofs were received provided they were merited, too much impressed with the evil of the offence to think of the rank or character of the offender, he often "uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim." But he protested, at a time when persons are least in danger of deception, and in a manner which should banish every suspicion of the purity of his motives, that, in his sharpest rebukes, he was influenced by hatred of vice, not of the vicious, that his great aim was to reclaim the guilty, and that, in using those means which were necessary for this end, he frequently did violence to his own feelings.

Those who have charged him with insensibility and inhumanity, have fallen into a mistake very common with superficial thinkers, who, in judging of the characters of persons who lived in a state of society very different from their own, have pronounced upon their moral qualities from the mere aspect of their exterior manners. He was austere, not unfeeling; stern, not savage; vehement, not vindictive. There is not an instance of his employing his influence to revenge any personal injury which he had received. Rigid as his maxims respecting the execution of justice were, there are numerous instances on record of his interceding for the pardon of criminals; and, unless when crimes were atrocious, or when the welfare of the state was in the most imminent danger, he never exhorted the executive government to the exercise of severity. The boldness and ardour of his mind, called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the times, led him to push his sentiments on some subjects to an extreme, and no consideration could induce him to retract an opinion of which he continued to be persuaded; but his behaviour after his publication against female government proves, that he was not disposed to employ them to the disturbance of the public peace. His conduct at Frankfort evinced his moderation in religious differences among brethren of the same faith, and his disposition to make all reasonable allowances for those who could not go the same length with him in reformation, provided they abstained from imposing upon the consciences of others. The liberties which he took in censuring from the pulpit the actions of individuals, of the highest rank and station, appear the more strange and intolerable to us, when contrasted with the timidity of modern times; but we should recollect that they were then common, and that they were not without their utility, in an age when the licentiousness and oppression of the great and powerful often set at defiance the ordinary restraints of law.

In contemplating such a character as that of Knox, it is not *the man*, so much as *the reformer*, that ought to engage our attention. The talents which are suited to one age and station would be altogether unsuitable to another; and the wisdom displayed by providence, in raising up persons endowed with qualities singularly adapted to the work which they have to perform for the benefit of mankind, demands our particular consideration. We must admire the austere and rough reformer, whose voice once "cried in the wilderness" of Judea, who was "clothed with camel's hair, and girt about the loins with a leathern girdle," who "came neither eating nor drinking," but "laying the axe to the root of every tree, warned a generation of vipers to flee from the wrath to come," saying even to the tyrant upon the throne, "It is not lawful for thee." And we must consider him as fitted for serving the will of God in his generation," according to his rank and place, as well as his Divine Master, whose advent he announced, who "did not strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets, nor break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax." To those who complain, that they are disappointed at not finding, in our national Reformer, courteous manners, and a winning address, we may say, in the language of our Lord to the Jews concerning the Baptist; "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A reed shaken with the wind? What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in kings' courts. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." To "the men of this generation," as well as to the Jews of old, we may apply the parable of the "children sitting in the market-place, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not wept." Disaffection to the work often lurks under cavils against the instruments by which it is carried on; and had Knox been soft and yielding in his temper, he would have been pronounced unfit for his office by the very persons who now censure his harshness and severity. "But Wisdom is justified of all her children."* Before the Reformation, superstition, shielded by ignorance, and armed with power, governed with gigantic sway. Men of mild spirits, and of gentle manners, would have been as unfit for taking the field against this enemy, as a dwarf or a child for encountering a giant. "What did Erasmus in the days of Luther? What would Lowth have done in the days of Wicliffe, or Blair in those of Knox?" It has been justly observed concerning our Reformer, that "those very qualities which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face danger, and surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."† Viewing his character in this light, if we cannot regard him as an amiable man, we may, without hesitation, pronounce him a Great Reformer.

The most disinterested of the nobility, who were embarked with him in the same cause, sacrificed on some occasions the public good to their private interests, and disappointed the hopes which he had formed of them. The most upright of his associates in the ministry relaxed their exertions, or suffered themselves at times to be drawn into measures that were unsuitable to their station, and hurtful to the reformed religion. Goodman, after being adopted by the church of Scotland, and ranked among her reformers, yielded so far to the love of his native country as to desert a people who were warmly attached to him, and return to the bosom of a less pure church which received him with coldness and distrust. Willock, after acquitting himself honourably from the commencement of the interesting conflict, withdrew before the victory was completely secured, and, wearied out with the successive troubles in which his country was involved, sought a retreat for himself in England. Craig, being left without the assistance of his colleague, and placed between two conflicting parties, betrayed his fears by having recourse to temporizing measures. Douglas,

* Luke vii. 35. † Robertson, Hist. of Scotland.

in his old age, became the dupe of persons whose rapacity had empoverished the protestant church. And each of the superintendents was, at one time or another, complained of for neglect or for partiality, in the discharge of his functions. But from the time that the standard of truth was first raised by Knox in his native country, till it dropped from his hands at death, he never shrunk from danger, never consulted his own ease or advantage, never entered into any compromise with the enemy, never was bribed or frightened into cowardly silence; but keeping his eye singly and steadily fixed on the advancement of religion and of liberty,—supported throughout the character of the Reformer of Scotland.

Knox bore a striking resemblance to Luther in personal intrepidity, and in popular eloquence. He approached nearest to Calvin in his religious sentiments, in the severity of his manners, and in a certain impressive air of melancholy which pervaded his character. And he resembled Zuinglius in his ardent attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and in combining his exertions for the reformation of the church with uniform endeavours to improve the political state of the people. Not that I would place our Reformer on a level with this illustrious triumvirate. There is a splendour which surrounds the great German Reformer, partly arising from the intrinsic heroism of his character, and partly reflected from the interesting situation in which his long and doubtful struggle with the court of Rome placed him in the eyes of Europe, which removes him at a distance from all who started in the same glorious career. The Genevan Reformer surpassed Knox in the extent of his theological learning, and in the unrivalled solidity and clearness of his judgment. And the Reformer of Switzerland, though inferior to him in masculine elocution, and in daring courage, excelled him in self-command, in prudence, and in that species of eloquence which steals into the heart, which persuades without irritating, and governs without assuming the tone of authority. But although "he attained not to the first three," I know not, among all the eminent men who appeared at that period, any name which is so well entitled to be placed next to theirs as that of Knox, whether we consider the talents with which he was endowed, or the important services which he performed.

There are perhaps few who have attended to the active and laborious exertions of our Reformer, who have not been insensibly led to form the opinion that he was of a robust constitution. This is however a mistake. He was of a small stature, and of a weakly habit of body;* a circumstance which serves to give us a higher idea of the vigour of his mind. His portrait seems to have been taken more than once during his life, and has been frequently engraved.† It continues still to frown in the anti-chamber of Queen Mary, to whom he was often an ungracious visitor. We discern in it the traits of his characteristic intrepidity, austerity, and keen penetration. Nor can we overlook his *beard*, which, according to the custom of the times, he wore long, and reaching to his middle; a circumstance which I mention the rather, because some writers have gravely assured us, that it was the chief thing which procured him reverence among his countrymen.‡ A popish author has informed us, that he was gratified with having his picture drawn, and has expressed much horror at this, seeing he had caused all the images of the saints to be broken.‖

There is one charge against him which I have not yet noticed. He has been accused of setting up for a prophet, of presuming to intrude into the secret counsel of God, and of enthusiastically confounding the suggestions of his own imagination, and the effusions of his own spirit, with the dictates of inspiration, and immediate communications from heaven. Let us examine this accusation a little. It is proper, in the first place, to hear his own statement of the grounds on which he proceeded in many of those warnings which have been denominated predictions. Having, in one of his treatises, denounced the judgments to which the inhabitants of England exposed themselves, by renouncing the gospel, and returning to idolatry, he gives the following explication of the warrant which he had for his threatenings. "Ye wald knaw the groundis of my certitude. God grant that, hering thame, ye may understand, and stedfastlie believe the same. My assurances ar not the mervalles of Merlin, nor yit the dark sentences of prophane prophesies; but the plane trenth of Godis word, the invincibill justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinarie cours of his punismentis and plagis frome the beginning, ar my assurance and groundis. Godis word threatneth destructioun to all inobedient; his immutabill justice man requyre the same; the ordinar punishments and plaguis schawis exempillis. What man then can ceis to prophesie?"* We find him expressing himself in a similar way, in his defence of the threatenings which he uttered against those who had been guilty of the murder of king Henry, and the regent Murray. He refused that he had spoken "as one that entered into the secret counsel of God," and insisted that he had merely declared the judgment which was pronounced in the divine law against murderers, and which had often been exemplified in the vengeance which overtook them even in this life.† In so far then his threatenings, or predictions, (for so he repeatedly calls them) do not stand in need of an apology.

There are, however, several of his sayings that cannot be vindicated upon these principles, and which he himself rested upon different grounds.‡ Of this kind were the assurance which he expressed, from the beginning of the Scottish troubles, that the cause of the Congregation would ultimately prevail; his confident hope of again preaching in his native country and at St. Andrews, avowed by him during his imprisonment on board the French galleys, and frequently repeated during his exile; with the intimations which he gave respecting the death of Thomas Maitland, and Kircaldy of Grange. It cannot be denied that his contemporaries considered these as proceeding from a prophetic spirit, and have attested that they received an exact accomplishment. Without entering on a particular examination of these instances, or venturing to give a decisive opinion repecting any of them, I shall confine myself at present to a few general observations.

The most easy way of getting rid of this delicate subject is to dismiss it at once, and summarily to pronounce that all pretensions to extraordinary premonitions, since the completing of the canon of inspiration, are unwarranted, and that they ought, without examination, to be discarded and treated as fanciful and vis-

* "Haud scio an unquam—magis ingenium *in frugili et imbecillo corpusculo* collocarit." Smet. Resp. ad Dial. Hamilt. p. 115.

† A print of him, cut in wood, was inserted by Beza, in his *Icones*. There is another in *Verheideni Imagines*. See also Grainger's Biographical History of England, i. 164.

‡ Henry Fowlis, apud Mackenzie's Lives of Scottish Writers, ii. 132. The *learned* Fellow of Lincoln College had perhaps discovered that the magical virtue, which the popish writers ascribed to Knox, resided in his beard.

‖ "Audivi mente captos hereticos Scotos eo etiam insaniæ aliquando venisse, quod sceleratissimi, atque omnium literarum imperitissimi nebulonis Knox, pessimi hæretici, qui omnes imagines sanctorum frangi præceperat, imaginem suam non tam fabricari passum fuisse, quam iam fabricatam non parum probasse." Laingæus de Vita et Moribus Hæretic. p. 65–6. The same writer tells us, as a proof of Calvin's vain-glory, that he allowed his picture to be carried about on the necks of the men and women, like that of a god; and that, when reminded that the picture of Christ was as precious as his, he returned a profane answer; "fertur eum hoc tantum respondisse, Qui huic rei invidet *crepet medius*." Ibid.

* Letter to the Faithful in Londoun, Newcastell, and Berwick, apud MS. Letters, p. 113.

† Bannatyne, 111, 112, 420, 421.

‡ See the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his Sermon, Append. to History, p. 113. Edin. 1644, 4to.

ionary. Nor would this fix any peculiar imputation on the character or talents of our Reformer, when it is considered that the most learned persons of that age were under the influence of a still greater weakness, and strongly addicted to the belief of judicial astrology. But I doubt much if this method of determining the question would be doing justice to the subject. *Est periculum, ne, aut neglectis his, impia fraude, aut susceptis, anili superstitione, obligemur.** On the one hand, the disposition which mankind discover to pry into the secrets of futurity, has been always accompanied with much credulity and superstition; and it cannot be denied, that the age in which our Reformer lived was prone to credit the marvellous, especially as to the infliction of divine judgments on individuals. A prudent enquirer who is aware of this, will not be disposed to acknowledge as preternatural whatever was formerly regarded in this light, and will be on his guard against the illusions of imagination as to impressions which may be made on his own mind. But, on the other hand, there is danger of running into scepticism, and of laying down general principles which may lead us obstinately to contest the truth of the best authenticated facts, and to limit the operations of divine providence. This is the extreme to which the present age inclines. That there have been instances of persons having had presentiments as to events which afterwards did happen to themselves and others, there is, I think, the best reason to believe. The *esprits forts*, who laugh at vulgar credulity, and exert their ingenuity in accounting for such phenomena, on ordinary principles, have been exceedingly puzzled with some of these facts, a great deal more puzzled than they have confessed; and the solutions which they have given are, in some instances, as mysterious as any thing included in the intervention of superior spirits, or in preternatural and divine intimations.† The canon of our faith, as Christians, is contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; we must not look to impressions or new revelations as the rule of our duty; but that God may, on particular occasions, forewarn persons of some things which shall happen, to testify his approbation of them, to encourage them to confide in him in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, or to serve other important purposes, is not, I think, inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion. If to believe this be enthusiasm, it is an enthusiasm into which some of the most enlightened and sober men, in modern as well as ancient times, have fallen.‡ Some of the reformers were men of singular piety; they were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform; they were endued with extraordinary gifts, and, I am inclined to believe, were occasionally favoured with extraordinary premonitions, with respect to certain events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church in general. But whatever intimations of this kind they received, they did not rest the authority of their mission upon these, nor appeal to them as constituting any part of the evidence of those doctrines which they preached to the world.

Our Reformer left behind him a widow, and five children. His two sons, Nathanael and Eleazar, were born to him by his first wife, Mrs. Marjory Bowes. We have already seen that, about the year 1566, they went to England, where their mother's relations resided. They received their education at St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge; their names being enrolled in the matriculation-book only eight days after the death of their father. Nathanael, the eldest of them, after obtaining the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and being admitted Fellow of the College, died in 1580. Eleazar, the youngest son, in addition to the honours attained by his brother, was created Bachelor of Divinity, ordained one of the preachers of the University, and admitted to the Vicarage of Clacton-Magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College.* It appears that both of them died without issue, and the family of the Reformer became extinct in the male line. His other children were daughters by his second wife. The General Assembly testified their respect for his memory by allotting a pension to his widow and three daughters;† and the regent Morton, although charged with great avarice during his administration, treated them with uniform attention and kindness.‡ Dame Margaret Stewart, his widow, afterwards married Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, a strenuous supporter of the Reformation.‖ One of our Reformer's daughters was married to Robert Pont, minister of St. Cutberts;§ another of them to James Flemming, also a minister of the church of Scotland;¶ Elizabeth, the third daughter, was married to John Welch, minister of Ayr.**

Mrs. Welch seems to have inherited a considerable portion of her father's spirit, and she had her share of hardships similar to his. Her husband was one of those patriotic ministers who resisted the arbitrary measures pursued by James VI. for overturning the government and liberties of the presbyterian church of Scotland. Being determined to abolish the General Assembly, James had, for a considerable time, prevented the meetings of that court by successive prorogations. Perceiving the design of the court, a number of the delegates from synods resolved to keep the diet which had been appointed to be held at Aberdeen in July 1605. They merely constituted the Assembly and appointed a day for its next meeting, and being charged by Laurieston, the King's Commissioner, to

* Cicero de Divinat. lib. i. 4.

† This is acknowledged by one who had attempted this more frequently, and with greater acuteness, than any of them. "De tels faits, dont l'univers est tout plein, embarassent plus les esprits forts qu'ils ne le temoignent." Bayle, Dictionnaire, Art. Maldonat, Note G. What he says, elsewhere, of dreams may be applied to this subject; "they contain infinitely less mystery than the multitude believe, and a little more than sceptics believe; and those who reject them wholly give reason either to suspect their sincerity, or to charge them with prejudice and incapacity to discern the force of evidence." Ibid. Art. Majus. Note, D.

‡ "Setting aside these sorts of divination as extremely suspicious, (says a modern author, who was not addicted to enthusiastic notions) there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses, upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural by many of the learned pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected." Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 93. See also p. 45, 77. Lond. 1805. The learned reader may also consult the *epicrisis* of Witsius on this question; the whole dissertation, intended chiefly to expose the opposite extreme, is well entitled to a perusal. Miscellanea Sacra, tom. i. p. 391.

* Newcourt's Repert. Londin. ii. 154. Communications from Mr. Thomas Baker, apud Life of Knox, prefixed to Historie of the Reformation, edit. 1732, p. xli. xlii.

† In the records of the General Assembly, March 1573, is the following act. "The Assemblie, considering that the travels of umqll Johne Knox merits favourablie to be remembrit in his posteritie, gives to Margaret Stewart, his relict, and hir thrie daughters of the said umqll Johne, the pensione qlk he himselfe had, in his tyme, of the kirk, and that for the year aproachand, and following his deceis, of the year of God 1573, to their education and support, extending to five hundreth merks money, twa ch. quhait, sax ch. beir, four ch. aittes." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 56.

‡ Melville's MS. Diary, p. 39.

‖ Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, p. 522.

§ See Note LXIII.

¶ He was the grandfather of Mr. Robert Fleming, minister in London, and author of the well known book, The Fulfilling of the Scriptures. But Mr. Robert's father was of a different marriage. Fleming's Practical Discourse on the Death of King William, preface, p. 14. Lond. 1702.

** Life of Mr. John Welch, p. 9. printed at Edinburgh, 1703. He was the father of Mr. Josias Welch, minister of Templepatrick in Ireland, and grandfather of Mr. John Welch, minister of Irongray, in Galloway, who lived during the Scots episcopal persecution. [For some additional particulars, see Note LXIV.—Ed.]

dissolve, immediately obeyed. But the Commissioner having antedated the charge, several of the leading members were thrown into prison. Welch and five of his brethren, when called before the Privy Council, declined that court as incompetent to judge the offence of which they were accused, according to the laws of the kingdom; on which account they were indicted to stand trial for treason at Linlithgow. Their trial was conducted in the most illegal and unjust manner. The King's Advocate told the jury that the only thing which came under their cognizance was the fact of the declinature, the judges having already found that it was treasonable; and threatened them with an *azize of error*, if they did not proceed as he directed them. After the jury were empannelled, the Justice-Clerk went in and threatened them with his Majesty's displeasure, if they acquitted the prisoners. The greater part of the jurors being still reluctant, the Chancellor went out and consulted with the other judges, who promised that no punishment should be inflicted on the prisoners, provided the jury brought in a verdict agreeably to the court. By such disgraceful methods, they were induced, at midnight, to find by a majority of three that the prisoners were guilty, upon which they were condemned to suffer the death of traitors.*

Leaving her children at Ayr, Mrs. Welch attended her husband in prison, and was present at Linlithgow, with the wives of the other prisoners, on the day of trial. When informed of the sentence, these heroines, instead of lamenting their fate, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand the cause of their Master, adding, that, like Him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night.†

The sentence of death having been changed into banishment, she accompanied her husband to France, where they remained for sixteen years. Mr. Welch applied himself with such assiduity to the acquisition of the language of the country, that he was able, in the course of fourteen weeks, to preach in French, and was chosen minister to a protestant congregation at Nerac, from which he was translated to St. Jean D'Angely, a fortified town in Lower Charente. War having broken out between Lewis XIII. and his protestant subjects, St. Jean D'Angely was besieged by the King in person. On this occasion, Welch not only animated the inhabitants of the town to a vigorous resistance by his exhortations, but he appeared on the walls and gave his assistance to the garrison. The king was at last admitted into the town in consequence of a treaty, and being displeased that Welch preached during his residence in it, sent the Duke D'Espernon, with a company of soldiers, to take him from the pulpit. When the preacher saw the Duke enter the church, he ordered his hearers to make room for the Marshal of France, and desired him to sit down and hear the word of God. He spoke with such an air of authority that the Duke involuntarily took a seat, and listened to the sermon with great gravity and attention. He then brought him to the King, who asked him, how he durst preach there, since it was contrary to the laws of the kingdom for any of the pretended reformed to officiate in places where the court resided. "Sir," replied Welch, "if your Majesty knew what I preached, you would not only come and hear it yourself, but make all France hear it; for I preach not as those men you use to hear. First, I preach that you must be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, and not your own (and I am sure your conscience tells you that your good works will never merit heaven:) Next, I preach, that, as you are a king of France, there is no man on earth above you; but these men whom you hear, subject you to the Pope of Rome, which I will never do." Pleased with this reply, Lewis said to him, *He bien, vous seriez mon Ministre*;* and addressing him by the title of *Father*, assured him of his protection. And he was as good as his word; for St. Jean D'Angely being reduced by the royal forces in 1621, the king gave directions to De Vitry, one of his generals, to take care of *his Minister*; in consequence of which, Welch and his family were conveyed at his Majesty's expense to Rochelle.†

Having lost his health, and the physicians informing him that the only prospect which he had of recovering it was by returning to his native country, Mr. Welch ventured, in the year 1622, to come to London. But his own sovereign was incapable of treating him with the generosity which he had experienced from the French monarch; and, dreading the influence of a man who was far gone with a consumption, he absolutely refused to give him permission to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, by means of some of her mother's relations at court, obtained access to James, and petitioned him to grant this liberty to her husband. The following singular conversation took place on that occasion. His Majesty asked her, who was her father. She replied, "Mr. Knox." "Knox and Welch!" exclaimed he, "the Devil never made such a match as that."—"Its right like, Sir," said she, "for we never speired‡ his advice." He asked her, how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said, three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands; "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked‖ my three kingdoms in peace." She again urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied the king, "Give him the devil!" a morsel which James had often in his mouth. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profaneness. He told her at last, that, if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the King, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kep§ his head there."¶

* Matthew Crawfurd's History of the church of Scotland, MS. vol. i. 258—283. The Reformation of Religion in Scotland, written by Mr. John Forbes. MS. p. 131—151. The copy of this last history which is in my possession was transcribed "ex Authoris authographo," in the year 1726. The author was one of the condemned ministers. His narrative properly begins at the year 1580, but is chiefly occupied in detailing the transactions which preceded and followed the Assembly at Aberdeen. † Row's MS. Historie, p. 111, 122.

* "Very well, you shall be my Minister."

† History of Mr. John Welch, p. 31—33. Edinburgh. 1703. Characteristics of Eminent ministers, subjoined to Livingston's Life. Art. *John Welch*. Mr. Livingston received his account of the above transactions in France, from Lord Kenmure, who resided in Mr. Welch's house. It does not appear who was the author of the History of Welch, but he says that he received his information from the personal acquaintances of that minister. That tract contains an account of an extraordinary occurrence in the life of the first Lord Castlestewart, (ancestor of Lord Castlereagh) who, when a young man, lodged with Mr. Welch in France.

‡ 'Tis very likely—for we never asked, &c.

‖ If they had been three lads, I would never have enjoyed, &c.

§ "I would rather receive his head" in my apron, when severed from his body by the executioner.

¶ I met with the account of this conversation in a MS. written by Mr. Robert Traill. minister in London, entitled, "An Accompt of Several Passages in the Lives of some Eminent Men in the Nation, not recorded in any history." It is inserted in the heart of a common-place book, containing notes of sermons, &c. written by him when a student of divinity at St. Andrews, between 1659 and 1663. He received the account from aged persons, and says. that the conference between king James and Mrs. Welch "is current to this day, in the mouths of many." I have since seen the same story in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. Life of Welch, p. 27. Bibl. Coll. Glas. James stood much in awe of Mr. Welch, who often reproved him for his habit of profane swearing. It is said, that if he had, at any time, been swearing in a public place, he would have turned round, and asked, if Welch was near. Traill's MS. ut supra.

The account of our Reformer's publication has been partly anticipated in the course of the preceding narrative. Though his writings were of great utility, it was not by them, but by his personal exertions, that he chiefly advanced the Reformation, and transmitted his name to posterity. He did not view this as the field in which he was called to labour. "That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the scriptures (says he,) I have ever thought myself to have most just reason. For, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come (seeing that so much is written, and by men of most singular erudition, and yet so little well-observed;) I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation whereunto I found myself especially called."* This resolution was most judiciously formed. His situation was very different from that of the first protestant reformers. They found the whole world in ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity. Men were either destitute of books, or such as they possessed were calculated only to mislead. The oral instructions of a few individuals could extend but a small way; it was principally by means of their writings, which circulated with amazing rapidity, that they benefited mankind, and became not merely the instructors of the particular cities and countries where they resided and preached, but the reformers of Europe. By the time that Knox appeared on the field, their translations of Scripture, their judicious commentaries on its different books, and their able defences of its doctrines, were laid open to the English reader.† What was more immediately required of him was to use the peculiar talent in which he excelled, and, "by tongue and lively voice," to imprint the doctrines of the Bible upon the hearts of his countrymen. When he was deprived of an opportunity of doing this during his exile, there could not be a more proper substitute than that which he adopted, by publishing familiar epistles, exhortations, and admonitions, in which he briefly reminded them of the truths which they had embraced, and warned them to flee from the abominations of the popish church. These could be circulated and read with far more ease, and to a far greater extent, than large treatises.

Of the many sermons preached by him during his ministry, he published but one, which was extorted from him by peculiar circumstances. It affords a very favourable specimen of his talents; and shews, that if he had applied himself to writing, he was qualified for excelling in that department. He had a ready command of language, and expressed himself with great perspicuity, animation, and force. Though he despised the tinsel of rhetoric, he was acquainted with the principles of that art, and when he had leisure and inclination to polish his style, wrote with propriety and even with elegance. Those who have read his Letter to the Queen Regent, his Answer to Tyrie, or his papers in the account of the dispute with Kennedy, will be satisfied of this. During his residence in England, he acquired the habit of writing the language according to the manner of that country; and in all his publications which appeared during his life-time, the English and not the Scottish orthography, and mode of expression, are used.* In this respect, there is a very evident difference between them and the vernacular writings of Buchanan.

The freedoms which have been used with his writings, in the editions commonly read, have greatly injured them. They were translated into the language which was used in the middle of the seventeenth century, by which they were deprived of the antique costume which they formerly wore, and contracted an air of vulgarity which did not originally belong to them. Besides this, they have been reprinted with innumerable omissions. interpolations, and alterations, which frequently affect the sense, and always enfeeble the language. Another circumstance which has impaired his literary reputation is, that the two works which have been most read, are the least accurate and polished, as to style, of all his writings. His tract against female government was hastily published by him, under great irritation of mind at the increasing cruelty of Queen Mary of England. His History of the Reformation was undertaken during the confusions of the civil war, and was afterwards continued by him at intervals snatched from numerous avocations. The collection of historical materials is a work of labour and time; the digesting and arranging of them into a regular narrative require much leisure and undivided attention. The want of these sufficiently accounts for the confusion that is often observable in that work. But notwithstanding this, and particular mistakes from which no work of the kind can be free, it still continues to be the principal source of information as to ecclesiastical proceedings in that period; and although great keenness has been shewn in attacking its authenticity and accuracy, it has been confirmed, in all the leading facts, by an examination of those ancient documents which the industry of later times has brought to light.†

His defence of *Predestination*, the only theological treatise of any size which was published by him, is rare, and has been seen by few. It is written with perspicuity, and discovers his controversial acuteness, with becoming caution, in handling that delicate question. A catalogue of his publications, as complete as I have been able to draw up, shall be inserted in the notes.‡

I have thus attempted to give an account of our national Reformer, of the principal events of his life, of his sentiments, his writings, and his exertions in the cause of religion and liberty. If what I have done shall contribute to set his character in a more just light than that in which it has been generally represented, and to correct the erroneous views of it which have long been prevalent; if it shall tend to elucidate the ecclesiastical history of that period, or be the means of illustrating the superintendence of a wise and merciful Providence, in the accomplishment of a revolution of all others the most interesting and beneficial to this country, I shall not think any labour which I have bestowed on the subject to have been thrown away, or unrewarded.

* Preface to his Sermon, apud History, p. 113. Edin. 1644.

† Those who have not directed their attention to this point cannot easily conceive to what extent the translation of foreign theological books into our language was carried at that time. There was scarcely a book of any celebrity published in Latin by the continental reformers, that did not appear in an English version. Bibliographers, and the annalists of printing, are very defective in the information which they communicate on this branch.

* It is to this that Ninian Winget refers, in one of his letters addressed to Knox. "Gif ye, throw curiositie of novationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lernit zow, in tymes cuming I sall wrytt to zow my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht acquyntit with *zour Southeroun*." Keith, Append. 254.

† See Note LXV.

‡ See Note LXVI.

NOTES

TO THE

LIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

Note I. p. 21.

Of the place of Knox's birth.—Although this is not a question of very great importance, I shall state the authorities for the different opinions which are entertained on that subject.

Beza, who was contemporary, and personally acquainted with our Reformer, designs him "Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordiensis," evidently meaning that he was a native of the town of Gifford. Icones, seu Imagines Illustrium Virorum, Ee. iij. An. 1580. Spottiswood, who was born in 1565, and could receive information from his father, and other persons intimately acquainted with Knox, says that he was "born in Gifford within Lothian." History, p. 265, edit. 1677. David Buchanan, in his Memoir of Knox prefixed to the edition of his History, which he published in 1644, gives the same account; which has been followed in the Life written by Matthew Crawfurd, and prefixed to the edition of the History, 1732; and by Wodrow in his MS Collections respecting the Scottish Reformers, in Bibl. Coll. Glas. In a Genealogical Account of the Knoxes, which is in the possession of the family of the late Mr. James Knox, minister of Scoon, the Reformer's father is said to have been a brother of the family of Ranferlie, and "proprietor of the estate of Gifford." Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 94.

On the other hand, Archibald Hamilton, who was his countryman as well as his contemporary and acquaintance, says, that Knox was born in the town of Haddington: "Obscuris natus parentibus in Hadintona oppido in Laudonia." De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos Dialogus, fol. 64, a. Parisiis 1577. Another Scotsman, who wrote in that age, says that he was born near Haddington; "*prope* Haddintonam." Laingæus De vita, et moribus, atque rebus gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis, fol. 113, b. Parisiis, 1581. Dr. Barclay, late minister of Haddington, advanced an opinion which reconciles the two last authorities (although it is probable that he never saw either of them), by asserting that our Reformer was born in one of the suburbs of Haddington, called the *Giffordgate*. Transactions of the Society of antiquaries in Scotland, p. 69, 70.

The testimony of Archibald Hamilton is not altogether without weight; for although he has retailed a number of gross falsehoods in the work referred to, there does not seem to be any reason for supposing that he would intentionally mislead his readers in such a circumstance as the birth-place of the Reformer. But I consider Spottiswood's statement as going far to set aside Hamilton's; for as the archbishop could scarcely be ignorant of *his* work, and as he fixes Knox's birth at a different place, it is reasonable to suppose that he had good reasons for varying from a preceding authority. The grounds of Dr. Barclay's opinion are, that according to the tradition of the place the Reformer was a native of Haddington; that the house in which he was born is still pointed out in the Giffordgate; and that this house, with some adjoining acres of land, belonged for a number of generations to a family of the name of Knox, who claimed kindred with the Reformer, and who lately sold the property to the Earl of Wemyss. I acknowledge that popular tradition may be allowed to determine a point of this nature, provided it is not contradicted by other evidence. In the present case it is not altogether free from this objection. As the sons of the Reformer died without issue, there is no reason to think that the family which resided in the Giffordgate was lineally descended from him. Still, however, the property might have belonged to his elder brother, which is consistent with the supposition of his being born in the house which tradition has marked out. But I have lately been favoured, with extracts from the title-deeds of that property, now in the possession of the Earl of Wemyss, extending from the year 1598 downwards, which are not favourable to that supposition. On the 18th of February 1598, William Knox in Morehame, and Elizabeth Schortes his wife, were infeft in subjects in Nungate (of Haddington), in virtue of a crown charter. This charter contains no statement of the warrants on which it proceeded, farther than that the lands formerly belonged to the Abbey of Haddington, and were annexed to the crown. Having communicated to the Rev. Mr. Scott of Perth the names of the persons mentioned in the first charter and subsequent deeds, with a request to be informed, if any such names occur in the genealogy of the Knox family which belonged to the late Mr. Knox, minister of Scoon, I have been favoured with an answer, saying, that neither the name of William Knox at Morehame, nor that of any other person answering to the description in my letter, is to be found in that genealogy. But farther, the charter expressly states, that the lands in question belonged to the Abbey of Haddington, and, as they must have been annexed to the crown subsequent to the Reformation, they could not be the property of the family at the time of our Reformer's birth. The tradition of his having been born in the Giffordgate is therefore supported merely by the possibility, that his parents *might* have resided in that house while it was the property of the Abbey. In opposition to this, we have the authorities mentioned above in support of the opinion that he was born in the village of Gifford.

Note II. p. 21.

Of Knox's parentage.—David Buchanan says, that our Reformer's "father was a brother's son of the house of Ranferlie." Life prefixed to History of the Reformation, 1644. In a conversation with the Earl of Bothwell, Knox gave the following account of his ancestors: "My Lord, (says he) my great grandfather, gudeschir, and father, have served your Lordship's predecessours, and some of them have dyed under their standards; and this is a pairt of the obligatioun of our Scottish kindnes."—Historie of the Reformatioun, p. 306. edit. 1732. Matthew Crawfurd says, that "these words seem to import that Mr. Knox's predecessors were in some *honourable* station under the Earls of Bothwell, at that time the most powerful family in East Lothian." Life of the Author, p. ii. prefixed to Historie, edit. 1732. The only thing which I would infer from his words is, that his ancestors had settled in Lothian as early as the time of his great-grand-father. I do not wish to represent the Reformer as either of noble or of gentle birth, and cannot place much dependance on the assertion in the preceding note, which makes his father "proprietor of the estate of Gifford." John Davidson, in the poem written in his commendation, says,

First, he descendit bot of linage small,
As commounly God usis for to call
The sempill sort his summoundis til expres.

At the same time, the statement given by some authors of the meanness and poverty of his parents is not supported by good evidence, and can in part be disproved. Dr. Mackenzie says, the Reformer was "the son of a poor countryman, as we are informed by those who knew him very well: his parents, though in a mean condition, put their son to the grammar-school of Haddington; where, after he had learned his grammar, he served for some time the laird of Langniddrie's children, who being sent by their parents to the university of St. Andrews, he thereby had occasion of learning his philosophy." Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. iii. p. 111. As his authorities for these assertions, the Doctor has printed on the margin, "Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Baillie, and many others;" popish writers, who, regardless of their own character, fabricated or retailed such tales as they thought most discreditable to the Reformer, many of which Mackenzie himself is obliged to pronounce "ridiculous stories that are altogether improbable," p. 132. "Dr. Baillie" was Alexander Baillie, a Benedictine monk in the Scottish monastery of Wirtsburgh; and, as he published the work to which Mackenzie refers in the year 1628, it is ridiculous to talk of his being well acquainted with either the Reformer or his father. Hamilton, (the earliest authority) instead of supporting Mackenzie's assertions, informs us, so far as his language is intelligible, that Knox was in priest's orders before he undertook the care of children: "quo victum sibi pararet magis, quam ut deo serviret (Simonis illius magi huc usque sequutus vestigia) presbyter primum fieri de more quamvis illiteratus tum in privatis ædibus puerorum in vulgaribus literis formandorum curam capere coactus est." De Confusione Calv. p. 64. The fact is, that Knox entered into the family of Langniddrie as tutor, *after* he had finished his education at St. Andrews; and as late as 1547, he was employed in teaching the young men their grammar. Historie, p. 67.

Note III. p. 22.

Of the early state of Grecian literature in Scotland.—In this note I shall throw together such facts as I have met with relating to the introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, and the progress which it made during the sixteenth century. They are bare gleanings; but such as they are, I trust they will not be altogether unacceptable to those who take an interest in the subject. Let not any who are proud of the present state of literature in this country disdain the poor appearance which it made at its commencement. The corn which covers the fields of an extensive country, and which supplies millions with food, might be traced back to a single grain thrown into the earth.

In the year 1522, Boece mentions *George Dundas* as a good Greek scholar. He was master of the Knights of St. John in Scotland, and had, most probably, acquired the knowledge of the language on the continent. "Georgius Dundas *grecas* atq, latinas literas apprime doctus, equitum Hierosolymitanorum intra Scotorum regnum magistratum multo sudore (superatis emulis) postea adeptus." Boetii Vitæ Episcop. Murth. et Aberdon. fol. xxvii. b. It is reasonable to suppose that other individuals in the nation might acquire it in the same way; but Boece makes no mention of Greek among the branches taught at the universities in his time, although he is minute in his details. Nor do I find any other reference to the subject previous to the year 1534, when Erskine of Dun brought a learned man from France, and employed him to teach Greek in Montrose, as mentioned in that part of the Life, to which this note refers. At his school, George Wishart, the martyr, must have obtained the knowledge of the language, and he seems to have been successor to his master. But the bishop of Brechin (William Chisholm), hearing that Wishart taught the *Greek New Testament*, summoned him to appear before him on a charge of heresy, upon which he fled the kingdom. This was in 1538, Petrie, part ii. p. 182. It is likely that Knox first derived his knowledge of Greek from George Wishart after his return from England. Buchanan seems to have acquired the language during his residence on the continent, Buch. Ep. p. 25. Oper. edit. Rudd.

Lesly says that when James V. during his progress through the kingdom in 1540, came to Aberdeen, among other entertainments which were given to him, the students of the university "recited orations in the *Greek* and Latin tongue, composed with the greatest skill." "Orationes in Græca Latinaque lingua, summo artificio instructæ." Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum, lib. ix. 430. anno 1675. When we consider the state of learning at that period in Scotland, there is strong reason to suspect that the bishop's description is highly coloured, yet as he entered that university a few years after, we may conclude from it that some attention had been paid to the Greek language at that time in Aberdeen. It had most probably been introduced by means of Hector Boece, the learned principal of that university. If the king was entertained with the great learning of the students of Aberdeen, the English ambassador was no less diverted, on the very same year, with the ignorance which our bishops discovered of the Greek tongue. The ambassador who was a scholar as well as a statesman, had caused his men to wear on their sleeves the following Greek motto, ΜΟΝΩ ΑΝΑΚΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΥΩ, I *serve the king only*. This the Scottish bishops (whose knowledge did not extend beyond Latin) read Monachulus, *a little monk*, and thereupon circulated the report that the ambassador's servants were monks, who had been taken out of the monasteries lately suppressed in England. To counteract this report, Sadler was obliged to furnish a translation of the inscription. "It appeareth, (says he) they are no good Grecians. And now the effect of my words is known, and they be well laughed at for their learned interpretation." Sadler's letters, i. 48, 49. Edinburgh 1809. In the Parliament which met in 1543, individuals among the nobility and other lay members discovered more knowledge of Greek, in a debate which occurred, than all the ecclesiastical bench. Knox, Historie, 34. Foreign writers have been amused with the information, that many of the Scottish clergy affirmed, "that Martin Luther had lately composed a wicked book called the *New Testament*; but that they, for their part, would adhere to the *Old Testament*." Perizonii Hist. Seculi xvi. p. 233. Gerdesii Histor. Reform. Tom. iv. p. 314. Buchanani Oper. i. 291. Ignorant however as our clergy were, they were not more so than many on the continent. A foreign monk, declaiming one day in the pulpit against Lutherans and Zuinglians, said to his audience: "A new language was invented some years ago, called *Greek*, which has been the mother of all heresies. A book is printed in this language, called the New Testament, which contains many dangerous things. Another language is now forming, the Hebrew; whoever learns it immediately becomes a Jew." No wonder, after this, that the commissioners of the senate of Lucern should have confiscated the works of Aristotle, Plato, and some of the Greek poets, which they found in the library of a friend of Zuinglius, concluding that every book printed in that language must be infected with Lutheranism. J. von Mullers Schw. Gesch. apud. Hess, Life of Ulrich Zuingle, p. 213.

To return to the seminary at Montrose: it was kept up, by the public spirit of its patron, until the establishment of the Reformation. Some years before that event, the celebrated linguist Andrew Melville, received his education at this school, under *Pierre de Marsiliers*, a Frenchman. And he had made such proficiency in Greek, when he entered the university of St. Andrews, about the year 1559, that he was able to read Aristotle in the original language, "which even his masters themselves understood not." Life of Andrew Melville, p. 2. in Wodrow's MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. i. Mr. James Melville's Diary, p. 32. For although the logics, ethics, &c. of Aristotle were then read in the colleges, it was in a Latin translation. The regent of St. Leonard's (says James Melville) "tauld me of my uncle Mr. Andro Melvill whom he knew in the tyme of his cours in the new collag, to use the Greik logicks of Aristotle, quhilk was a wounder to them, he was so fyne a scholar, and of sic expectation." MS. Diary, p. 25.

By the First Book of Discipline, it was provided, that there should "be a reader of Greek" in one of the colleges of each university, who "shall compleat the grammar thereof in three months," and "shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some places of the New Testament, and shall compleat his course the same year." Dunlop's confessions, ii. 553. The small number of learned men, deficiency of funds, and the confusions in which the country was afterwards involved, prevented, in a great degree, the execution of this wise measure. Owing to the last of these circumstances, some learned Scotsmen devoted their talents to the service of foreign seminaries, instead of returning to their native country. Buchanani Epist. p. 7, 9, 10, 33. One of these was Henry Scrimger, a good Grecian. Some particulars respecting him not commonly known, may be seen in Senebier, Hist. Litter. de Geneve, tom. i. art. Scrimger. See also Teissier, Eloges. tom. iii. 383—385. Leide, 1715. On account of the scarcity of preachers it was also found necessary to settle several learned men in towns which were not the seat of a university. Some of these undertook the instruction of youth, along with the pastoral inspection of their parishes. John Row taught the Greek tongue in Perth. See Note XXXIX. The

venerable teacher, Andrew Simson, (See p. 22.) does not appear to have been capable of this task; but he was careful that his son Patrick should not labour under the same defect. He was sent to the university of Cambridge, in which he made great proficiency, and after his return to Scotland, taught Greek at Spot, a village in East Lothian, where he was minister for some time. Row's MS. p. 96. of a copy in the Divinity Lib. Edin. It is reasonable to suppose, that this branch of study would not be neglected at St. Andrews during the time that Buchanan was Principal of St. Leonard's College, from 1565 to 1570. Patrick Adamson, to whom he demitted his office, and whom he recommended for his "literature and sufficiency," (Buch. Op. i. 10.) was not then in the kingdom; and the state of education languished for some time in that university. James Melville, who entered it in 1570, gives the following account. "Our Regent begoud, and teacheth us the a, b, c, of the Greik, and the simple declinationis, but went no farder." MS. Diary, p. 26. *Græcum est, non legitur*, was at this time an adage, even with persons who had received an university-education. Row's MS. ut supra.

The return of Andrew Melville in 1573 gave a new impulse to literature in Scotland. That celebrated scholar had perfected himself in the knowledge of the languages during the nine years which he spent on the continent, and had astonished the learned at Geneva by the fluency with which he read and spoke Greek. MS. Diary, ut. sup. p. 33. He was first placed principal of the university of Glasgow, and afterwards removed to the same situation in St. Andrews. Such was his celebrity, that he attracted students from England and foreign countries, whereas formerly it had been the custom for the Scottish youth to go abroad for their education. Spottiswood, with whom he was no favourite, and Calderwood, equally bear testimony to his profound knowledge of this language. Soon after Melville, Thomas Smeton, another Greek scholar, returned to Scotland, and was principal of the university of Glasgow. I may mention here, although it belongs to the subject of typography, that there appear to have been neither Greek nor Hebrew types in this country printed; when Smeton's Answer to Archibald Hamilton was in 1579, for blanks are left for all the phrases and quotations in these languages, which the author intended to introduce. In my copy of the book a number of the blanks have been filled up with a pen.

Note IV. p. 22.

Of Major's political sentiments.—The following are some of the passages from which the account of these, given in the text has been drawn. Similar sentiments occur in his History of Scotland; but as it has been insinuated that he, in that work, merely copied Boece, and as his other writings are more rarely consulted, I shall quote from them.

"Ad policiam regalem non requiritur quod rex sit supra omnes sui regni tam regulariter quam casualiter—sed sat est quod rex sit supra unumquamlibet, et supra totum regnum regulariter, et regnum sit supra eum casualiter et in aliquo eventu." Again, "Similiter in regno: et in toto populo libero est suprema fontalis potestas inabrogabalis; in rege vero potestas mysterialis [*ministerialis?*] honesto ministerio. Et sic aliquo modo sunt duo potestates; sed quia una ordinetur propter aliam, potest vocari una effectualiter, et casu quo regnum rex in tyrannidem convertat et etiam incorrigibilis, potest a populo deponi, tanquam a superiore potestate." Expos. Matth. fol. 71, a, c. Paris. 1518. To the objection urged against this principle from the metaphorical designation of *Head* given to a king, he answers: "Non est omnino simile inter caput verum et corpus verum, et inter caput mysticum et corpus mysticum. Caput verum est supra reliquam partem sui corporis, et tamen nego regem esse majoris potestatis quam reliquam partem sui regni," &c. Ibid. fol. 62, b. "Rex utilitatem reipublicæ dissipans et evertens incorrigibilis, est deponendus a communitate cui præest.—Rex non habet robur et auctoritatem nisi a regno cui libere præest." Ibid. fol. 69. c. Speaking of the excision of a corrupt member from the human body, in illustration of the treatment of a tyrant, he says: "Cum licentia totius corporis veri tollitur hoc membrum; etiam facultate totius corporis mystici, tu, tamque minister comitatis, potes hunc tyrannum occidere, dum est licite condempnatus." Tert. Sentent. fol. 139, c, d. Paris. 1517.

Note V. p. 23.

Concerning the popish ordination of Knox.—Some have hesitated to admit that Knox was in priests orders in the church of Rome: I think it unquestionable. The fact is attested both by Protestant and popish writers. Beza says, "Cnoxus, igitur, (ut manifeste appareat totum hoc admirabile Domini opus esse) ad *Joannis* illius *Majoris*, celeberrimi inter Sophistas nominis, veluti pedes in Sanctandreæ oppido educatus, atque adeo SACERDOS FACTUS, appertaque celebri schola, quum jam videretur illo suo præceptore nihil inferior Sophista futurus, lucem tamen in tenebris et sibi et aliis accendit." Iconcs Illustr. Viror. Ec. ij. Comp. Spottiswood's History, p. 265. Lond. 1677. *Ninian Winget*, in certain letters sent by him to Knox in the year 1561, says, "Ye renunce and estemis that ordination null or erar wikit, be the quhilk sumtyme ye war callit *Schir Johne*." And again: "We can persave, be your awin allegiance, na power that ever ye had, except it quhilk was gevin to you in the *sacrament of ordination*, be auctoritie of priesthed. Quhilk auctoritie give ye esteme as nochtis, be reasoun it was gevin to you (as ye speik) by ane Papist Bishope," &c. Wenzet's Letteris and Tractatis, apud Keith, Append. p. 212, 213. Winget's drift was to prove, that Knox had no lawful call to the ministry; consequently, he would not have mentioned his popish ordination, if the fact had not been notour and undeniable. *Nicol Burne*, arguing on the same point, allows that he had received the *order of priesthood* from the Romish church. Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 128. Paris 1581. And in a scurrilous poem against the ministers of Scotland, printed at the end of that book, he calls him,

> ——————that fals apostat *priest*,
> Enemie to Christ, and mannis salvatioun,
> Your Maister *Knox*.

The objection of the Roman Catholics to the legality of our Reformer's vocation, was, that although he had received the power of *order*, he wanted that of *jurisdiction*; these two being distinct, according to the canon-law. "The power of ordere is not sufficient to ane man to preache, bot he man have also jurisdictione over thame to whom he preaches. *Johann Knnox* resavit never sic jurisdictione fra the Roman kirk to preache in the realme of Scotland: thairfoir suppoise he receavit from it the ordere of priesthcade, yet he had na pouar to preache, nor to lauchfullie administrat the Sacramentes." Nicol Burne's Disputation, ut supra, p. 128.

Note VI. p. 24.

Number of Scottish monks.—We have no good *Monasticon* of Scotland; and it is now impossible to ascertain the exact number of regular clergy, or even religious houses that were in this country. The best and most particular account of the introduction of the different monastic orders from England and the continent is contained in the first volume of Mr. Chalmers's Caledonia. Dr. Jamieson, in his history of the ancient Culdees, lately published, has traced, with much attention, the measures pursued for suppressing the ancient monks, to make way for the new orders which were immediately dependent upon Rome. In Spottiswood's Account, published at the end of Keith's catalogue of Bishops, 170 religious houses are enumerated; but his account is defective. Mr. Dalyell, upon the authority of a MS. has stated the number of the monks in this country as amounting only to 1114, about the period of the reformation. Cursory Remarks prefixed to Scottish poems of the 16th century, vol. i. p. 38, 39. Edin. 1801. Taking the number of monasteries according to Spottiswood's account, this would allow only seven persons to each house on an average, a number incredibly small. It will be still smaller, if we suppose that there were 260 religious houses, as stated by Mr. Dalyell in another publication. Fragments of Scottish History, p. 11, 28. In the year 1542, there were 200 monks in Melrose alone. Ibid. The number in Dunfermline seems to have varied from 30 to 59. Dalyell's Tract on Monastic Antiquities, p. 13. And Paisley, Elgin, and Arbroath, were not inferior to it in their endowments.

In general it may be observed, that the passion for the monastic life appears not to have been on the increase even in the early part of the 16th century. But if we would form an estimate of the number of the monks, we must allow for a great diminution of them from 1538 to 1559. During that period, many of them, especially the younger ones, embraced the reformed opinions, and deserted the convents. Cald. MS. i. 97, 100, 151. When the monastery of the Greyfriars at Perth was destroyed in 1559, only eight monks belonged to it. Knox, Historie, p. 128.

Note VII. p. 25.

Of the corps-present.—This was a forced benevolence, not due by any law, or canon of the church, at least in Scotland. It was demanded by the vicar, and seems to have been distinct from the ordinary dues exacted for the interment of the body, and deliverance of the soul from purgatory. This perquisite consisted, in country parishes, of the best cow which belonged to the deceased, and the uppermost cloth or covering of his bed, or the finest of his body clothes. It has been suggested, that it was exacted on pretext of dues which the person might have failed to pay during his life-time. But whatever might afterwards be made the pretext, I think it most probable that the clergy borrowed the hint from the perquisites common in feudal times. The "cors-presant kow" answers to the "hereyield horse," which was paid to a landlord on the death of his tenant. The uppermost cloth seems to have been a perquisite belonging to persons occupying different offices. When Bishop Lesly was relieved from the Tower of London, a demand of this kind was made upon him. "The gentleman-porter of the Tower (says he) retained my satin gown as due to him, because it was my *uppermost-cloth* when I entered in the Tower." Negociations, apud Anderson's Collections, iii. 247.

The corps-present was not confined to Scotland. We find the English House of Commons complaining of it, anno 1530. Fox, 907. edit. 1596. It was exacted with great rigour in Scotland; and if any vicar, more humane than the rest, passed from the demand, he gave an unpardonable offence to his brethren. Lindsay of Pitscottie's Hist. p. 151. fol. ed. Edin. 1728. Fox, 1153. It was felt as a very galling oppression, and is often mentioned with indignation in the writings of Sir David Lindsay.

> Schir, be quhat law, tell me quharefor, or why,
> That ane vickar suld tak fra me three ky?
> Ane for my father, and for my wyfe ane uther,
> And the third cow he tuke for Mald my mother.
> Thay haif na law, exceptand consuetude,
> Quhilk law, to thame, is sufficient and gude.
> * * * * * *
> And als the vicar, as I trow,
> He will nocht faill to tak ane kow
> And upmaist claith, thocht babis thame ban,
> From ane puire selie husbandman;
> Quhen that he lyis for til de,
> Having small bairnis twa or thre,
> And hes thre ky withoutin mo,
> The vicar must have ane of tho,
> With the gray cloke that happis the bed
> Howbeit that he be purelye cled;
> And gif the wyfe de on the morne,
> Thocht all the babis suld be forlorne,
> The uther kow he cleikis away,
> With hir pure cote of roplock gray;
> And gif, within twa days or thre,
> The eldest chyld hapnis to de,
> Of the thrid kow he will be sure.
> Quhen he his all then under his cure,
> And father and mother baith ar deid,
> Beg mon the babis, without remeid.
>
> Chalmers's Lindsay, ii. 7, 8. iii. 105.

When the alarming progress of the new opinions threatened the overthrow of the whole establishment, the clergy professed themselves willing to remit, or at least to moderate, this shameful tribute. But they did not make this concession, until a remonstrance on the subject was presented by a number of persons who were attached to the Roman Catholic faith. This Remonstrance was laid before the Provincial Council in 1558-9, and contains the following article, which serves to corroborate the strong statement which the poet has given of the rigour of the clergy in extorting these benevolences. "Item, Because yat ye corps presentes, kow, and finest claith, and the silver commonlie callit the kirk ritchts, and Pasch offrands, quhilk is takin at Pasch fra men and women for distribution of ye sacraments of ye blessit body and blud of Jesus Christ, were at ye beginning but as offrands and gifts, at the discretion and benevolence of the givar only; and now be distance of tym, ye kirkmen usis to compell men to ye paying yarof be authority and jurisdiction, sua that yai will not only fulminat yar sentence of cursing, but als stop and debar men and women to cum to ye reddy using of ye sacraments of haly kirk, quhile yai be satisfiet yarof, with all rigour; quhilk thing has na ground of ye law of God, nor halie kirk, and als is veray sclandrous, and givis occasion to the puir to murmur gretymly againes ye state ecclesiastick for the doing of ye premissis; and therefore it is thocht expedient yat ane reformation be maid of ye premissis, and that sick things be na mair usit in tymes to cum within this realm, at ye lest yat na man be compellit be authority of haly kirk to pay ye premissis: but yat it shall only remane in the free will of the giver to gif and offir sic things be way of almons, and for uphalding of ye priests and ministers of the halie kirk, as his conscience and charitie moves him to: and quhair ye curatis and ministers forsaids, hes not eneuch of yar sustentation by the saids kirk ritchts, that ye ordinares every man within his awin diocesie take order, that the persons and uplifters of ye uther deutys perteining to the kirk, contributs to yar sustentation effeirindlie." Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, Tom. iv. p. 208.

Upon this, the council came to the following curious resolution on the subject: That, to "take away the murmurs of those who spoke against mortuaries," when any person died, his goods, after paying his debts, should be divided into due portions (debitas partes), and if the *dead's part*, "defuncti pars," [See Note 23.] did not exceed ten pounds Scots, the vicar should compound for his mortuary and uppermost cloth by taking forty shillings; if it was under ten pounds, and not below twenty shillings, that he should compound according to the above proportion, (pro rata quadraginta solidorum de decem libris); but if it was under twenty shillings, that the vicar should make no demand. With respect to barons and burgesses, and all persons whose portion exceeded ten pounds; the old custom was to remain in force; and the ordinary remedy was to be used against those who should make wrong inventaries; i. e. they should be subject to excommunication and its penalties.—With respect to the *pasch-offerings*, and *small tithes*, the council decreed, that "for avoiding popular murmur, especially at the time of Easter," the vicars should a little before Lent, in the month of February, settle (or, make an estimate, rationem ineant) with their parishioners for their small tithes, both personal and mixed, and also for other offerings due to the church, (aliis quoque oblationibus ecclesiæ debitis), and that there should be no exactions during Easter, although spontaneous oblations might still be received at that time. Can. Concil. 21. and 32. apud Wilkins, Concil. ut supra, p. 214, 216.

It appears from this, how very cautious the clergy were in their plans of reform, and how eagerly they clung to the most illegal and invidious claims, even at the very time when they were in the utmost danger of being deprived of all their usurped prerogatives and possessions. Lord Hailes's words need explication, when he says that "the 32d canon (of this council) abolishes oblations at Easter." Provincial Councils, p. 40.

I need scarcely add, that all these exactions were abolished at the establishment of the reformation. "The uppermost claith, corps-present, clerk-maile, the pasche-offering, teind-aile, and all handlings upaland, can neither be required nor received of good conscience." First book of Discipline, p. 48. printed Anno 1621. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 563.

Note VIII. p. 27.

Additional particulars concerning Scottish Martyrs.—We are indebted to John Fox, the industrious English martyrologist, for the greater part of the facts respecting our countrymen who suffered for the reformed doctrine. John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, composed, in Latin, an account of Scottish martyrs, which, if it had been preserved, would have furnished us with more full information respecting them. Calderwood, however, had the use of it when he compiled his history. A late author has said, that "most of those martyred seem to have been weak illiterate men; nay they appear even to have been deficient in intellect." Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems of 16th century, i. 24. I must take it for granted, that this author had not in his eye Patrick Hamilton, whose vigorous understanding discovered truth in the midst of darkness worse than Cimmerian, who obtained the praises of Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert of Avignon, and of whom a modern historian has said that he received "the eternal fame of being the proto-martyr of the freedom of the human mind." Nor George Wishart, whose learning, fortitude, and mild benevolence, have been celebrated by writers of every description. But even among those who suffered from Hamilton to Wishart, there was scarcely one who was not above the ordinary class, both as to talents and learning.

Henry Forrest, who suffered at St. Andrews in 1530, for possessing a copy of the New Testament, and affirming that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr, had been, though a young

man, invested with the orders of Bennet and Colet. Fox, 895. Knox, 19. Spottis. 65. David Straiton was a gentleman, and brother to the laird of Lauriston. He was instructed in the Protestant principles by John Erskine of Dun, who had newly arrived from his travels. In 1534, he was committed to the flames at Greenside, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. His fellow sufferer, Norman Gourlay, was in secular orders, and "a man of reasonabell eruditioun." He had been abroad, and had married upon his return, which was the chief offence for which he suffered. "For (says Pitscottie) they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish, and burn him to the dead; but if he had used then ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt." History, p. 150, 152. Fox, 896. Knox, 21, 22. Spottiswood, 66. In 1538, two young men of the most interesting characters suffered, with the greatest heroism, at Glasgow. The one was Jerom Russel, a cordelier friar, "a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and of good letteris;" the other was a young gentleman of the name of Kennedy, only eightcen years of age, and "of excellent ingyne for Scottische poetry." Knox, 22. Spottis. 67. Keith, 9. During the same year, five persons were burned on the Castlehill of Edinburgh: Robert Forrester was a gentleman; Sir Duncan Simpson* was a secular priest; Beveridge and Kyllor were friars. The last of these had, (according to the custom of the times) composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which he painted, in a very lively manner, the conduct of the popish clergy, under that of the Jewish priests. Ut supra.

The other person who suffered at the same time was *Thomas Forrest*, commonly called *the Vicar of Dollar*. I shall add some particulars respecting this excellent man, which are not to be found in the common histories. He was of the house of Forret, or Forest, in Fife, and his father had been master-stabler to James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in Scotland, he was sent abroad by the kindness of a rich lady, and prosecuted his education at Cologne. Returning to his native country, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the Canons, respecting the allowance due to them, and the latter got the book of foundation to examine into their rights. The abbot, with the view of inducing them to part with this, gave them a volume of Augustine's works, which was in the monastery. "O happy and blessed was that book to me (did Forrest often say afterwards) by which I came to the knowledge of the truth!" He then applied himself to the reading of the scriptures. He converted a number of the young canons: "but the old bottles (he used to say), would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord, (was his answer) ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, in which situation he rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parish, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you: this is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us, either from pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." He composed a short catechism. It was his custom to rise at six o'clock in the morning, and study till mid-day. He committed three chapters of the Bible to memory every day, and made his servant hear him repeat them at night. He was often summoned before the bishops of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. These facts were communicated by his servant Andrew Kirkie, in a letter to John Davidson, who inserted them in his account of Scottish martyrs. Cald. MS. i. 99, 100, 151.

An amusing account of the vicar's examination before the bishop of Dunkeld may be seen in Fox, 1153; and an interesting account of his trial, in Pitscottie, 150—152. But both these authors are wrong as to the time of his martyrdom, the latter placing it in 1530, and the former in 1540, instead of 1538. Fox says, that three or four men of Sterling suffered death at the same time, because they were present at the marriage of "the vicar of Twybodye, (Tullybody) near Stirling, and did eat flesh in lent, at the said bridal," p. 1154.

Note IX. p. 27.

Exiles from Scotland.—I shall, in this note, mention a few facts respecting those eminent men who were obliged to forsake their native country, at an early period, in consequence of having expressed sentiments favourable to the Reformation.

Gawin Logie, who, in his important station of rector of St. Leonard's College, was so useful in spreading the reformed doctrine, drew upon himself the jealousy of the clergy. More decided in his sentiments, and more avowed in his censure of the prevailing abuses, than the sub-prior of the abbey (who maintained his situation until the establishment of the reformation), Logie found it necessary to consult his safety by leaving the country in 1533. Cald. MS. i. 82. I have not seen any notice taken of him after this. *Robert Logie*, a kinsman of his, was a canon regular of Cambuskenneth, and employed in instructing the noviciates. Having embraced the reformed sentiments, he, in 1538, fled into England, and became a preacher there. *Thomas Cocklaw*, parish priest of Tullibody, seems to have accompanied him, and was also employed as a preacher in England. Ibid. p. 97.

Alexander Seatoun was confessor to James V. The cause of his flight from Scotland, his letter to the king, and his retiring to England, are recorded in our common histories. Fox, (p. 1000.) informs us that he was accused of heresy before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in 1541, and induced to recant certain articles which he had preached. Spottiswood (p. 65.) speaks of "the treatises he left behind him," and among others "his examination by Gardiner and Bonner," from which it appears that "he never denied any point which formerly he taught." Fox had not seen this. We learn from another quarter, that after his trial he continued to preach the truths of which he had been accused. Bale mentions "Processum suæ examinationis" among his works, and says, that he died in the family of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who retained him as his chaplain. He places his death in 1542. Balei Script. Brytan. post. pars, p. 224.

Alexandr Aless was a canon of the metropolitan church of St. Andrews. His conversion to the protestant faith was very singular. Being a young man of quick parts, and well versed in scholastic theology, and having studied the Lutheran controversy, he undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from heresy, and held several conferences with him for this purpose. But instead of making a convert of Hamilton, he was himself staggered by the reasoning of that gentleman. His doubts were greatly strengthened by the constancy with which he saw the martyr adhere to his sentiments to the last, amidst the scorn, rage, and cruelty of his enemies. Alesii Præfat. Comment. in Joannem. Jacobi Thomasii Oratio de Alex. Alesio. Lipsiæ, 1683. apud Bayle, Dictionnaire, Art. *Ales.* A short time after, he delivered a Latin oration before an ecclesiastical synod, in which he censured the vices of the clergy and exhorted them to diligence and a godly life. This was enough to bring him under the suspicion of heresy, and he was thrown into prison, from which after a year's confinement, he made his escape, and, getting into a vessel which lay on the coast, eluded his persecutors. He escaped in 1532. Cald. MS. i. 76. On leaving his native country, Aless went to Germany, where he was virulently attacked by Cochlæus, whom the Scots bishops hired to abuse him. On the invitation of Lord Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, he came to England in 1535, and was appointed Professor of Theology in the university of Cambridge. But he had scarcely commenced his lectures, when the patrons of popery excited such opposition to him, that he resolved to relinquish his situation. Having at a former period of his life applied to medical studies, he went to Dr. Nicol, a celebrated physician in London, and after remaining with him for some years, commenced practice, not without success. In 1537 Lord Cromwell having met him one day accidentally on the street, carried him along with him to the Convocation, and persuaded him to engage, without any preparation, in a Dispute with the Bishop of London on the subject of the sacraments; of which Aless has given a particular account in one of his publications. *De Authoritate Verbi Dei Liber Alexandri Alesi, contra Episcopum Lundensem, p.* 13—31. *Argentorati, apud Cratonem Mylium An. M.D.XLII.* Henry VIII. used to call Aless *his scholar;* and Archbishop Parker calls him, *virum in theologia perductum.* In 1540, he returned to Germany, and was made professor of Divinity at Leipsic. He assisted at a public conference between the Roman Catholics and protestants; wrote many books which were much esteemed; and was alive in 1557. Strype's Cranmer, p. 402, 403. Bayle, Dict. ut supra. Bishop Bale was personally acquainted with him, and has enumerated his works, ut supra, p. 176.

John Fife also fled from St. Andrews, accompanied Aless to Germany, and shared in his honours at Leipsic. He returned

* *Sir*, was a title given to priests. Spottis. 95.

to Scotland, acted as a minister, and died at St. Leonards, soon after the establishment of the Reformation. Cald. MS. i. 78. Knox. 20. Strype's Cranmer, 403.

John M'Bee, known on the continent by the name of *Dr. Macabæus*, fled to England in 1532, and was entertained by Bishop Shaxton. He afterwards retired to Denmark, and was of great use to Christian III. in the settlement of the reformed religion in his dominions. He was made a professor in the university of Copenhagen. Gerdesii Historia Evang. Renovat. iii. 417—425. The Danish monarch held him in great esteem, and, at his request, wrote to queen Mary of England, in behalf of his brother-in-law, Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and the venerable translator of the bible, who was released from prison through his importunity. Bale, ut supra, p. 226. Fox, 1390. Maccabæus was acquainted with the Danish and German languages, and assisted in the translation of the Bible into Danish (according to Luther's first German translation), which was printed in folio at Copenhagen, in 1550, by Ludov. Diest, accompanied with a marginal index, parallel places, and plates. Maittaire, apud Chalmers's Lindsay, i. 82. Gerdes. Hist. Tom. iii. Præfatio, * * 3. An edition of Lindsay's "Monarchie" bears on the title-page that it was "imprintit at the command and expensis off Dr. Machabæus, in Capmanhouin." But the editor of Lindsay insists that this is "a deceptious title-page. Ut supra. 80, 81. That Maccabæus was alive in 1557 appears from the following passage of a Danish literary work: "In facultate Theologica, Doctores creati sequentes in Academia Hafniæ A°. 1557, a *D. Joh. Maccabeo*, M. Nic. Hemmingius Theolog. Professor," &c. Albert Thura, Idea Histor. Literar. Danorum, p. 333. Hamburgi, 1723. This writer (p. 274.) mentions "Annot. in Matthæum" as written by him, but does not say whether it was a MS. or a printed book. Bale mentions another work of his, entitled *De vera et falsa Religione*. Ut supra, p. 226. Those who have access to the *Bibliotheca Danica* will find some of his writings inserted in that work, Part. v. and viii. Gerdes. iii. 417.

We learn from Bale, that Maccabæus was well-born ("præclara familia,") and that, having discovered from his infancy a strong propensity to learning, his parents provided him with the best teachers. But I have an additional piece of information to communicate which cannot fail to be gratifying to some readers. The proper name of this divine was neither Maccabæus nor M'Bee, but *Macalpine*, and he belonged to the noble and celebrated Clan Alpine! In what degree of kindred he stood to the noted "Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu," and whether he was obliged to change his name on account of the outrage which caused that chieftain and his whole clan to be proclaimed rebels, I cannot determine, as I have met with no northern Scald, or Gaelish bard, who has touched on these circumstances. But the following are my authorities for the statement which I have given. "Ad docendas sacras literas accersivit [Daniæ Rex) Johannem Maccabæum, proprio nomine *Macalpinum*, Scotum, virum doctrina et pietate gravem, Regique ac bonis omnibus modestia longe carissimum." Vinding. Descript. Acad. Hafniæ, p. 71—73. "Reliquerat is, qui *ex nobili antiqua Macalpinorum* in Scotia *familia* ortum trahebat, Religionis ergo Scotiam, et migraverat Witebergam, atque ibi cum Luthero et Melanchthone, familiaritatem contraxerat, unde Hafniam vocatus Academiæ præfuit per annos sedecim, mortuus d. 6. Decemb. 1557." Gerdes. iii. p. 417. See also Verses on Maccabæus in Supplement.

Macdowal repaired to Holland, and was so much esteemed, that he was raised, though a stranger, to the chief magistracy in one of its boroughs. Knox, 20.

John Mackbray, or *Mackbrair*, a gentleman of Galloway, fled to England about 1538, and at the death of Edward VI. retired to Frankfort, where he preached to the English congregation. Troubles at Frankford, p. 13, 20, 25. Spottiswood, 97. He afterwards became pastor of a congregation in Lower Germany, and wrote an account of the formation and progress of that church. Balei Scriptores M. Brytan. p. 229. On the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and officiated as a preacher in that country. He is called "an eminent exile," in Strype's Annals, i. 130. Grindal. p. 26. On the 13th of November 1568, he was inducted to the vicarage of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, and was buried there on November 16, 1584. Dr. Jackson complains that "Mackbray, Knox, and Udale had sown their tares in Newcastle." Heylin speaks in the same strain. Brand's Hist. of Newcastle, p. 303. Bale, (p. 229.) mentions several works of Mackbray, and says that he "wrote elegantly in Latin." Spottiswood also mentions some of his works. Ut supra.

The causes of *Buchanan's* imprisonment and escape from Scotland, and his reception and employments on the continent, may be found in other publications which are accessible to the reader. See Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, and Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman. Some facts which have not been fully stated by his biographers will be found in a subsequent part of this work.

James Harrison was a native of the south of Scotland, and liberally educated, says Bale. He seems to have gone to England at a period somewhat later than the others mentioned in this note. He wrote a treatise *De regnorum unione*, in which he warmly recommended to his countrymen the advantages of an union with England. It was dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, in 1547. Bale (p. 225.) gives the first words of it, *Comminiscens, ut soleo per ocium*; and calls it "elegans ac mellitum opus."

Robert Richardson was a canon of the monastery of Cambuskenneth, and fled to England in 1538. Cald. MS. i. 97. I suppose this to be the same person who is called "Sir Robert Richardson, priest," in Sadler's Letters. He was sent into Scotland in 1543, by Henry VIII. with a recommendation to the regent Arran, who employed him in preaching through the kingdom, along with Guillaume and Rough. When the regent apostatized from the reformed cause, he withdrew his protection from Richardson, who was obliged to flee a second time into England, to escape the cardinal's persecution. Sadler's State papers, i. 210, 217, 344.

Note X. p. 27.

Influence of poetry in promoting the Reformation.—As the influence which the poets and satirists of the age had upon the Reformation is a subject which is curious in itself, and to which little attention has been paid, the following illustrations of what has been generally stated in the text may not be unacceptable to some readers. Dante, Petrarch, Boccacio, and other Italian writers, by descanting upon the ambition, luxury, and scandalous manners of the clergy, had contributed greatly to lessen the veneration in which they had been long held, and to produce in the minds of men a conviction of the necessity of a reformation. "There was (says John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris) one called Johannes Meldinensis who wrote a book called *The Romaunt of the Rose*, which book, if I only had, and that there were no more in the world, I would rather burn it than take five hundred pounds for the same, and if I thought the author thereof did not repent of that book before he died, I would no more pray for him, than I would for Judas that betrayed Christ." Catal. MSS. in Adv. Lib. The writings of Chaucer, and especially those of Langland, had the same effect in England. When the religious struggle had actually commenced, and became hot, a diversion, by no means inconsiderable, was made in favour of the reformers by the satirists and poets of the age. A pantomime, intended to degrade the court of Rome and the clergy, was acted before Charles V. at the Augustan assembly. Lud. Fabricius de ludis scenicis, p. 231. Gerdesii Historia Evangel. Renovat. tom. ii. Docum. No. 7. p. 48. In 1524, a tragedy was acted at Paris, in the presence of Francis I. in which the success of Luther was represented, and the pope and cardinals were ridiculed, by kindling a fire which all their efforts could not extinguish. Jacob. Burchard. de Vita Ulrici Hutteni. Pars. ii. 293. pars iii. p. 296. see also Gerdes. iv. 315. As late as 1561, the pope's ambassador complained to the queen mother of France, that the young king, Charles IX. had assisted at a shew, in which he had counterfeited a friar. Letters of the cardinal de St. Croix, prefixed to Aymons, Synodes Nationaux de France, tom. i. p. 7—11. In Switzerland, Nic. Manuel wrote certain comedies of this description in the year 1522, which were published under the title of *Fastnachts Spielen*, at Berne, in 1525. Gerdes. ii. 451. There were similar compositions in Holland. Brand's Hist. of the Reformation, i. 127. 128. Lond. 1720. And also in England. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. i. 318.

In Scotland, the same weapons were employed in attacking the church. The first protestant books circulated in Scotland came chiefly from England. Mr. Chalmers has mentioned "the very first reforming treatise which was, probably, written in Scotland," compiled by "Johne Gau," and printed at Malmoe in Sweden, anno 1533. We would have been still more obliged to the learned author, if he had given us some idea of its contents, instead of dismissing it with the flourish, "Had all been like this!" which, whether he meant to apply to the elegance of printing, or the orthodoxy of the sentiments, it is dif-

ficult to say. Caledonia, ii. 616. Calderwood seems to say that books against popery began to be printed in this country in 1543. MS. ad h. ann. But previous to that period the reformed sentiments were diffused by metrical and dramatic writings. The satire of Buchanan against the Franciscan friars for which he was thrown into prison, was elegant and pungent, but, being written in Latin, it could be felt only by the learned. The same may be said as to his *Baptistes*. But a passion for Scottish poetry had been lately produced in the nation by the compositions of some of our ingenious countrymen, and this now began to be improved by the friends of the Reformation. Kennedy and Kyllor distinguished themselves in this line. See above, p. 354. Kyllor's scripture-drama was exhibited before James V. at Stirling, about the year 1535; and the most simple perceived the resemblance between the Jewish priests and the Scottish clergy, in opposing the truth, and persecuting its friends. Knox, 22. Soon after this, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, wrote his epistle from the Hermit of Lareit to the grey-friars. Ibid. 24, 25. James Stewart, son of Lord Methven, composed poems and ballads in a similar strain, after the death of the vicar of Dollar; and Robert Alexander, advocate, published the Earl of Errol's Testament, in Scots metre, which was printed at Edinburgh. Cald. MS. i. 103. James Wedderburn, son of a merchant in Dundee, converted the history of the beheading of John the Baptist into a Dramatic form, and also the history of the tyrant Dionysius, which were acted at Dundee. In both of these, the popish religion was attacked. Cald. MS. ad ann. 1540. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 31.

But the poet who had the greatest influence in promoting the Reformation was Sir David Lindsay. His "Satyre on the three Estates" and his "Monarchies" had this for their principal object. The former was acted at Cupar in Fife, in the year 1535; at Linlithgow, before the king and queen, the court, and country, in 1540; and at Edinburgh, before the queen regent, a great part of the nobility, and an exceeding great number of people, in 1554. Chalmers's Lindsay, i. 60, 61. Row says, that it was also acted "in the amphitheatre of St. Johstoun." MS. history of the Kirk, p. 3. It exposed the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the religious orders; the temporal power and opulence of the bishops, with their total neglect of preaching; the prohibition of the reading of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, the extolling of pardons, relics, &c. In his "Monarchies," composed by him at a subsequent period, he traced the rise and progress of the papacy, and has discovered a knowledge of history, and of the causes that produced the corruption of Christianity, which would not disgrace any modern author. The poems of Lindsay were read by "every man, woman, and child." Row has preserved an anecdote which serves to illustrate their influence, and the manner in which the Reformed sentiments were propagated at that period. Some time between 1550 and 1558, a friar was preaching at Perth in the church where the scholars of Andrew Simson attended public worship. In the course of his sermon, after relating some of the miracles wrought at the shrines of the saints, he began to inveigh bitterly against the Lutheran preachers who were going about the country, and endeavouring to withdraw the people from the Catholic faith. When he was in the midst of his invective, a loud hissing arose in that part of the church where the boys, to the number of three hundred, were seated, so that the friar, abashed and affrighted, broke off, and fled from the pulpit. A complaint having been made to the master, he instituted an inquiry into the cause of the disturbance, and to his astonishment found, that it originated with the son of a craftsman in the town, who had a copy of Lindsay's *Monarchy*, which he had read at intervals to his school-fellows. When the master was about to administer severe chastisement to him, both for the tumult which he had occasioned, and also for retaining in his possession such a heretical book, the boy very spiritedly replied, that the book was not heretical, requested his master to read it, and professed his readiness to submit to punishment, provided any heresy was found in it. This proposal appeared so reasonable to Simson that he perused the work, which he had not formerly seen, and was convinced of the truth of the boy's statement. He accordingly made the best excuse which he could to the magistrates for the behaviour of his scholars, and advised the friar to abstain in future from extolling miracles, and from abusing the protestant preachers. From that time Simson was friendly to the Reformation. MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 3, 4.

In every protestant country, a metrical version of the Psalms, in the vernacular language, appeared at a very early period. The French version begun by Clement Marot, and completed by Beza, contributed much to the spread of the Reformation in France. The Psalms were sung by Francis I. and Henry II. and by their courtiers: even Catholics flocked for a time to the assemblies of the protestants to listen to their psalmody. Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. Marot, Notes N, O, P. At a later period, Cardinal Chastillon proposed to the papal ambassador, as the best method for checking the progress of heresy, that his holiness should authorize some good and godly songs to be sung by the French, "cantar alcune cose in lingua Francese, le quali pero fossero parole buono et sante, et prima approvate de sua Beatitudine." Lettres de St. Croix, chez Aymons, ut supra, tom. i. 7, 9, 11. It has been said, that there was a Scots version of the Psalms at a very early period. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 35. It is more certain that before the year 1546, a number of the Psalms were translated in metre; for George Wishart sung one of them in the house of Ormiston, on the night in which he was apprehended. Knox, Historie, p. 49. The two lines quoted by Knox answer to the beginning of the second stanza of the 51st Psalm, inserted in Scottish poems of the 16th century, p. 111. They were commonly sung in the assemblies of the protestants, in the year 1556. Knox, 96. John and Robert Wedderburn, brothers to the poet mentioned above, appear to have been the principal translators of them. Cald. MS. i. 108, 109. The version was not completed; and at the establishment of the Reformation, it was supplanted in the churches, by the version begun by Sternhold and Hopkins, and finished by the English exiles at Geneva.

But the most singular measure adopted for circulating the reformed opinions in Scotland was the composition of "Gude and godly ballates, changed out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie." John and Robert Wedderburn were also the chief authors of this work. Cald. ut supra. Row's Hist. of the Kirk, p. 4. The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as these associations must appear to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes at that time. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reforming countrymen. Spiritual songs constructed upon the same principle obtained in Italy. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, i. 309. 4to. At the beginning of the Reformation in Holland the very same practice was adopted as in Scotland. "The protestants first sung in their families, and private assemblies, the Psalms of the noble lord of Nievelte, which he published in 1540, ut hominis ab amatoriis, haud rare obscœnis, aliisque vanis canticis, quibus omnia in urbibus et vicis personabat, avocaret. Sed quia modulationes vanarum cautionum (alias enim homines non tenebant) adhibuerat," &c. Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. i. p. 534. Amstælod. 1663. 4to. Florimond de Remond objected to the psalms of Marot, that the airs of some of them were borrowed from vulgar ballads. A Roman Catholic version of the Psalms in Flemish verse, printed at Anvers, by Simon Cock, an. 1540, has the first line of a ballad printed at the head of every psalm. Bayle, Dict. art. Marot. Note N. The spiritual songs of Colletet, although composed a century after our *Godly Ballates*, were constructed on still more exceptionable models. "Et moy, Monsieur, je vous feray voir quand il vous plaira, les cantiques spirituels de Colletet imprimes a Paris, ches Antoine de Rafle, avec privilege du Roy, de l' an 1660. Livre curieux, ou vous trouveres des Noels sur le chant de ce vaudeville infame qui commence, *Il faut chanter une histoire de la femme d'un manant*, &c. le reste est un conte scandeleux autant qu'il y en ait dans le Satyricon de Petrone. Vous en trouveres un autre sur l'air de ces paroles libertines d'une chanson de l'opera:

A quoy bon, tant de raison, dans un bel ange.

Un autre sur ce vaudeville impudent:

Alles vous . . . . .
Un galant tout nouveau, &c.

Des le temps de Henri II. parce que toute la cour chantoit les Pseaumes de Marot, le Cardinal de Lorraine jugea que pour arrester un si grand desordre, il seroit tres edifiant de faire tourner des odes d'Horace en rime Francoise, pour nourrir la piete de cette cour si devote." Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. tom. i. 129, 4to. A Rotterdam, 1683.

Note XI. p. 29.

Of George Wishart.—The following graphic description of this interesting martyr is contained in a letter written by a

person who had been one of his pupils at Cambridge, and transmitted by him to Fox, who inserted it in his work, p. 1155. edit. 1596.

"About the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, five hundreth, fortie and three, there was, in the universitie of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, who was a man of tall stature, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melancholye complexion by his physiognomie, blacke haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well trauailed, hauing on him for his habit or clothing, neuer but a mantell frise gowne to the shoes, a blacke Millian fustian dublet, and plaine blacke hosen, course new canuasse for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gaue to the poore, some weekly, some monethly, some quarterly as hee liked, sauing his Frenche cappe which hee kept the whole yeare of my beeing with him. Hee was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating couetousnesse: for his charitie had neuer ende, night, noon, nor daye, he forbare one meal in three, one day in foure for the most part, except something to comfort nature. [When accused, at his trial, of contemning fasting, he replied, "My Lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the scriptur.—And not so only; bot I have leirnit by experience, that fasting is gude for the healthe and conservation of the body." Knox, 60.] Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw: course new canuasse sheetes, which, when he changed, he gaue away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himselfe, as I being very yong, being assured offen heard him, and in one light night discerned him, he loved mee tenderly, and I him, for my age as effectually. He taught me with great modestie and gratuitie, so that some of his people thought him seuere, and would haue slaine him, but the Lord [illegible] his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poore boy, that hee might haue finished that he had begunne! For in his Religion he was as yon see heere in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with diuers of the Nobilitie, that came for a treatie to king Henry the eight. His learning was no less sufficient, then his desire, always prest and readie to do good in that he was able both in the house priuately, and in the schoole publikely, professing and reading divers authours.

If I should declare his loue to me and all men, his charitie to the poore, in giuing, relieuing, caring, helping, prouiding, yea infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

All this I testifie with my whole heart and trueth of this godly man. He that made all, gouerneth all, and shall iudge all, knoweth I speake the troth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

τέλος.

Emery Tylney."

A very particular account of Wishart's trial and execution was published in England, apparently soon after the assassination of Beatoun. This very rare little book does not appear to have been seen by any of the writers who have mentioned it. The following account is taken from a copy, belonging to Richard Heber, Esq. which he communicated to me with that liberality for which he is so eminently distinguished. The general title is: "The tragical death of Dauid Beato Bishoppe of sainct Andrewes in Scotland: Whereunto is ioyned the martyrdom of maister George Wyscharte gentleman, for whose sake the aforesayed bishoppe was not longe after slayne. Wherein thou maist learne what a burnynge charitie they shewed not only towardes him: but vnto al suche as come to their hades for the blessed Gospels sake." On the next leaf begins, "Roberte Burrant to the reader," being a preface extending to 12 leaves, ending on B. iiiii. After this is the following title of the Tragedy or poem: "Here foloweth the Tragedy of the late moste reuerende father Dauid, by the mercie of God Cardinall and archbishoppe of sainct Andrewes. And of the whole realme of Scotland primate, Legate and Chaunceler. And administrator of the bishoprich of Merapois in Fraunce. And comendator perpetuall of the Abbay of Aberbrothoke, compiled by Sir Dauid Lyndsaye of the mounte knyghte. Alias, Lione, kyng of armes. Anno M.D.xlvi. Ultimo Maii. The wordes of Dauid Beaton the Cardinall aforesaied at his death. Alas alas, slaye me not, I am a Priest." The poem begins on the reverse, and ends on the first page of C. vii. On the back of that leaf is,—"The accusation of maister George Wyschart gentlema, who suffered martyrdome for the faith of Christ Jesu, at St. Andrewes in Scotlad the first day of March. In the yere of our Lorde, M. D.xlvi. wyth the articles, which he was accused of, and his swete answeres to the same, wherunto are ioyned his godly oratios and praiers.—With most tendre affection and unfeyned herte, considere," &c. The narrative ends on the first page of F, vi, with these words, "complayning of thys innocent labes slaughter."—"Imprinted at London, by John Day, and William Seres, dwellynge in Sepulchres parish, at the signe of the Resurrection, a litle aboue Holbourne conduite. Cum gratia et priuilegio ad imprimendum solum." The book is in eights, and the Tragedy of Beatoun is printed in small, and the account of Wishart's trial in large black letter.

The date of printing is not mentioned. Those who have fixed on the year 1546 have been influenced by the occurring of this date on the title to the Tragedy, which evidently refers to the time of Beatoun's death. It is probable, however, from some expressions in the preface, as well as from other considerations, that it was printed soon after that event. Fox has embodied the whole account of Wishart's trial, word for word, in his Acts and Monuments, p. 1154—1158, and he informs his reader that he took it "*Ex Histor. Impressa.*" Knox has transcribed it from Fox. Historie, p. 52.

Wishart travelled on the continent, but whether previous to his banishment, anno 1538, or after it, does not appear. Knox, 56. Buchanan calls him *Sophocardius*, supposing his name to be *Wischeart*, a mistake which has been corrected by an intelligent foreign historian, who says that the original name was *Guiscard*, a name common in France, from which country the *Wischards* (for so Knox writes it) originally came to Scotland. Gerdesii Hist. Reformat. tom. iv. p. 314. See also Ruddiman's *Propriorum nominum Interpretatio*, subjoined to Buch. Hist.

Note XII. p. 30.

Of Knox's language respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beatoun.—Mr. Hume has, not very philosophically, inferred the savageness of Knox's temper from the evident satisfaction with which he wrote of Cardinal Beatoun's assassination: and in this judgment he has been followed by many. If to express satisfaction at cutting off one who was regarded as a public enemy be viewed as an infallible mark of cruelty, we must pronounce this verdict upon many who were never suspected of such a disposition. The manner in which the Christian fathers expressed themselves, respecting the death of the persecutors of the church, is not unknown. See Julian the apostate, chap. vii. viii. in works of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, p. 22—24. Bayle, Critique Generale de l'histoire du Calvinisme, p. 295. Even the mild and philosophical Erasmus could not refrain from declaring his joy at the violent death of two of the most learned and eminent reformers. Bene habet (says he) quod duo Coriphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Oecolampadius paulo post febri et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset Evangelios, actum est de nobis." Epist. 1205, apud Jortin's Life of Erasmus, ii. 28. Mr. Walter Scot, in his *Cadyow Castle* (See Lyrical Pieces) has lately exerted all his poetic powers to invest Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh with the character of a hero, in assassinating the regent Murray, a person who is no more to be compared to Cardinal Beatoun than "Hyperion to a Satyr." I know the apology that will be made for the poet (although I think he might have found, in this, and in many other instances, a subject infinitely more worthy of his muse); but what shall we say of the historian, who narrates the action of Bothwellhaugh *approvingly*, celebrates the "happy pencil" of the poet in describing it, and insults over the fall of Murray, by quoting a sarcastic line from the poem, in the very act of relating his death! Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 571. Yet this same writer is highly displeased that Sir David Lindsay, in his *Tragedy of Beaton*, has "no burst of indignation" at the Cardinal's murder; and twice over in the same work has related with triumph, that on the margin of one edition of Knox's history, the part which James Melvin acted in that scene is called a "godly fact." He also pronounces the assassination of Beatoun to be "the *foulest* crime which ever stained a country, except perhaps the similar murder of Archbishop Sharpe, within the same shire, in the subsequent cen-

tury, by similar miscreants." Chalmers's Works of Lindsay, vol. i. 34, 35. ii. 231. How marvellously does prejudice distort the judgment even of learned men! And how surprising to find the assassination of two sanguinary persecutors represented as more criminal than the murder of the brave Admiral Coligni, the generous Henry IV. and the patriotic prince of Orange! There are not a few persons who can read in cold blood of thousands of innocent persons being murdered under the consecrated cloak of authority, but who "burst into indignation" at the mention of the rare fact (occurring once in a century) of a person, who, goaded by oppression and reduced to despair, has been driven to the extreme of taking vengeance on the proud and tyrannical author of his wrongs.—I mention these things to shew the need which certain writers have to look at home, and to judge of characters and actions with a little more impartiality, or at least consistency.

Honest Keith, whose personal feelings do not appear to have been violent, has with much simplicity expressed the feelings of his party, in the reflections which he makes on the Cardinal's assassination. "What might have proved (says he), to be the issue of such procedure [Beatoun's severe measures against the Reformers], had he enjoyed his life for any considerable time, I shall not pretend to judge: Only this seems to be certain, that by his death the reins of the government were much loosned; and *some persons* came to be considerable soon after, who probably, if he had lived, had never got the opportunity to perpetrate such Villanies, under the cloak of religion, as 'tis certain they did; he being at least no less a *Statesman* than a *Clergyman*." History, p. 45. This language needs no commentary; and the callousness to the interests of (I say not *the Reformation*, for that is entirely out of the question, but of) *humanity*, implied in the prospect that Keith takes of the cruelties which the protestants must have suffered from the Cardinal, if his life had been spared, is far more reprehensible than any satisfaction which Knox expressed at his death.

"It is *very horrid* (says Hume), but at the same time *somewhat amusing* to consider the joy, alacrity, and pleasure which that historian [Knox] discovers in his narrative of this assassination." History of England, vol. vi. chap. iv. Mr. Hume makes a partial apology for Knox by the description which he gives of his own feelings; while he allows that what, in the main, excites horror, may produce some amusement. It is well known that there are writers who can treat the most *sacred* subjects with a *levity* bordering upon profaneness. Must we at once pronounce them profane? and is nothing to be set down to the score of natural temper inclining them to wit and humour? The Reformer rejoiced at the death of Beatoun. And even those who could not approve of the act of the conspirators were happy that he was taken away.

> As for the Cardinal we grant,
> He was a man we weell might want,
> And we'll forget him sone:*
> And yet I think the sooth to say,
> Although the lown is weell away,
> The deed was foully done.

The pleasantry which Knox has mingled with the narrative of his death and burial is unseasonable and unbecoming. But it is to be imputed, not to any pleasure which he took in describing a bloody scene, but to the strong propensity which he had to indulge his vein of humour. Those who have read his history with attention must have perceived that he is not able to check this, even on very serious occasions. I shall at present refer to one instance only. None will doubt that his mind was deeply affected in relating the trial and execution of his esteemed friend, and revered instructor, George Wishart. Yet, even in the midst of his narrative of this, he could not abstain from inserting the truly ludicrous description of a quarrel which arose on that occasion between the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; for which he apologizes thus: "Gif we interlace merrines with ernest matters, pardone us, gude reidare; for the fact is sa notable, that it deserves lang memorie." See Historie, p. 51. ed. 1732.

* In some copies this line reads, *God will forgive it sone.*

Note XIII. p. 34.

I shall transcribe Knox's account of the exercise of his mind, during his confinement in the galleys, from the MS. copy of his Treatise on *Prayer* in my possession, preserving the original orthography, which is altered in the printed edition. Those who have access to the latter can compare the two.

"I mene not (says he) that any man, in extreamitie of trubill, can be without a present dolour, and without a greater feir of trubill to follow. Trubill and feir are the verie spurris to prayer. For when man, compassit about with vehement calamities, and vexit with continewall solicitude, having by help of man no hope of deliverance, with soir oppressit and punisset hart, feirng also greater punishment to follow, from the deip pit of tribulation, doith call to God for comfort and support, such prayer ascendeth into Godis presence, and returneth not in vane." Having illustrated this from the exercise of David, as described in the viith psalm, he proceeds. "This is not written for David onlie, but for all such as sall suffer tribulatioun to the end of the world. For I, the wryter hereof, (lat this be said to the laude and prais of God allone) in angusche of mynd, and vehement tribulatioun and afflictioun, called to the Lord, when not only the ungodlie, but evin my faithfull brether, ye and my awn self (that is, all natural understanding) judgeit my cause to be irremeadable; and yit in my greatest calamitie, and when my panis wer most cruell, wold his eternall wisdome that my handis suld wryt far contrarie to the judgement of carnall reasone, whilk his mercie hath pruved trew. *Blessit be his halie name.** And therefore dar I be bold, in the veritie of Godis word, to promeis that, notwithstanding the vehemencie of trubill, the long continewance thairof, the desperatioun of all men, the feirfulness, danger, dolour, and angusche of oure awn hartis, yit, yf we call constantlie to God, that, beyound expectatioun of all men, hie sall delyver," p. 52—54. After shewing that prayers for temporal deliverance ought always to be offered up with submission to the divine will, that God often delays the deliverance of the body while he mitigates the distress of the spirit, and sometimes permitteth his saints "to drink, before the maturity of age, the bitter cupe of corporall death, that thairby they may receive medicine, and cure from all infirmitie," he adds: "Albeit we sie thairfoir no appeirand help to our selves, nor yit to otheris afflictit, lat ws not ceis to call (thinking our prayeris to be vane), for whatsoever cum of our bodeis, God sall gif unspeakabill comfort to the spreit, and sall turne all to our comodities beyound our awn expectatioun. The caus that I am so long and tedious in this matter is, for that I knaw how hard the batell is between the spreit and the flesche, under the heavie cros of afflictioun, whair no warldlie defence, but present death dois appeir. I knaw the grudging and murmuring complaints of the fleshe; I knaw the anger, wrath, and indignatioun, whilk it consaveth aganis God, calling all his promissis in dout, and being readie everie hour utterlie to fall from God: aganis whilk restis onlie faith provoking us to call ernistlie, and pray for assistance of Godis spreit, whairin if we continew, our maist disperat calamiteis sall hie turne to gladnes, and to a prosperous end.† To the, O Lord, allone be prais; for with experience I wryt this, and speak." MS. Letters, p. 65, 66.

The edition was printed most probably in England (*Rome* is on the title-page) during the persecution, from a MS. sent by Knox from Dieppe, and so incorrectly that it is often impossible to make sense of it. The following are specimens. "Diffysed," fol. 2. "difficil," MS. "A pure word of God," fol. 2. "a puritie allowit of God," MS. "Consent," fol. 3. "conceat," MS. "May any other Jesus Christ, except I, in these wordes make intercession for sinners?" fol. 11. "May any other (Jesus Christ except) in these wordis mak intercession for sinneris?" MS. The transcriber having mistaken the concluding mark of parenthesis for the pronoun *I*. "Carkese slepe," fol. 16. "careleslie slepeth," MS. In quoting Isa. lxiv. 5. the printed edition has employed a word which I have not seen in any old version of the Bible. "Thou art *crabbid*, O Lord, because we have sinned," fol. 4. and again verse 9. "Be not *crabbid*, O Lord, remember not our iniquities for ever." In the MS. it is *angrie*, in both instances. In fol. xvi. is a greater variation. "For with such as do aleage that God may not chaunge his sentence, and our prayers therefore to be vayne, can I no wyse agree." Instead of this the MS. has, "whilk thing if we do unfeanedlie, he will revoke his wrath, and in the middis of his furie think upon mercie."—There are similar variations between

* The words in italics are not in the printed copies.

† The P. C. instead of "end" have "fyne," a word sometimes used in the MS. Letters.

the MS. and the printed copies of most of his other tracts. They show that the MS. which I possess has not been transcribed from these copies, according to a custom pretty common in that age.

Note XIV. p. 35.

Extracts from Balnave's Treatise on Justification.—In reading the writings of the first reformers there are two things which must strike our minds. The first is the exact conformity between the doctrine maintained by them respecting the justification of sinners, and that of the apostles. The second is the surprising harmony which subsisted among the reformers as to this doctrine. On some questions respecting the sacraments, and the external government and worship of the church, they differed; but upon the article of free justification, Luther and Zuinglius, Melanchthon and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox, spoke the very same language. This was not owing to their having read each others writings, but because they copied from the same divine original. The clearness with which they understood and explained this great truth is also very observable. More learned and able defences of it have since appeared; but I question if it has ever been stated in more scriptural, unequivocal, decided language, than it was in the writings of the early reformers. Some of their successors, by giving way to speculations, gradually lost sight of this distinguishing badge of the Reformation, and landed at last in Arminianism, which is nothing else but the popish doctrine in a protestant dress. Knox has informed us, that his design, in preparing for the press the Treatise written by Sir Henry Balnaves, was to give, along with the author, his "confession of the article of justification therein contained." I cannot, therefore, lay before the reader a more correct view of our Reformer's sentiments upon this fundamental article of faith, than by quoting from a book which was revised and approved by him.

Having given the philosophical definition of justice or righteousness, and explained what is meant by civil and ceremonial justice, the author proceeds as follows. "The justice of the law morall or Moses's law, which is the law of God, exceedeth and is far above the other two justices. It is the perfite obedience required of man, according to all the works and deeds of the same. Not only in externall and outward deeds, but also with the inward affections and motions of the hart, conforme to the commandment of the same (saying), thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy hart, with all thy mind, with all thy power, and strength, and thy neighbour as thyselfe. This is no other thing but the law of nature, prented in the hart of man, in the beginning; nowe made patent by the mouth of God to man, to utter his sin, and make his corrupted nature more patent to himselfe. And so is the lawe of nature and the law of Moyses joyned together in a knot; which is a doctrine, teaching all men a perfite rule, to know what he should do, and what he should leave undone, both to God and his neighbour. The justice of the lawe, is to fulfill the law; that is, to doo the perfite workes of the law as they are required, from the bottome of the hart, and as they are declared and expounded by Christ; and whosoever transgresseth the same, shall never be pronounced just of the law. But there was never man that fulfilled this lawe to the uttermost perfection thereof (except onely Jesus Christ). Therefore, in the lawe can we not find our justice, because of the deedes of the lawe no flesh shall be made just before God." p. 57, 58.

"For transgression of the commandment of God, our forefather Adam was exiled and banished forth of paradise, and spoiled of the integrity, perfection, and all the excellent qualities, dignities, and godlie vertues, with which he was indued by his creation, made rebell, and disobedient to God in his owne default. And therefore he might not fulfill the law to the perfection as the same required. For the lawe remaining in the owne perfection, just, holye, and good, requireth and asketh the same of man, to be indeed fulfilled. But all men proceeding from Adam, by natural propagation, have the same imperfection that hee had; the which corruption of nature resisteth the will and goodnes of the law, which is the cause that wee fulfill not the same, nor may not of our power and strength, through the infirmitie and weaknes of our flesh, which is enemie to the spirit, as the apostle saith." p. 79, 80.

"Notwithstanding, after the fall of man, remained with our first parents some rest and footsteppes of this lawe, knowledge, and vertues, in the which he was created, and of him descended in us; by the which, of our free will and power, we may do the *outward* deeds of the law, as is before written. This knowledge deceaved and beguiled the philosophers; for they looke but to the reason and judgement of man, and could not perceave the inward corruption of nature, but ever supponed man to bee clean and pure of nature, and might of his own free wil and naturall reason, fulfill all perfection. And when they perceaved the wickedness of man from his birth, they judged that to be by reason of the planete under whome he was borne, or through evill nourishing, upbringing, or other accidents, and could never consider the corrupted nature of man, which is the cause of all our wickedness; and therefore they erred, and were deceaved in their opinions and judgements: but the perfite Christian man should looke first in his corruption of nature, and consider what the law requireth of him, in the which he finding his imperfection and sinnes accused, (for that is the office of the law, to utter sinne to man, and giveth him no remedy) then of necessitie is he compelled either to despaire, or seek Christ, by whom he shall get the justice that is of value before God, which can not be gotten by any law or works, because by the deedes of the law no fleshe shall be justified before God." p. 81—83.

"This proposition of the holy spirite is so perfite, that it excludeth (if ye will understande the same right) all the vaine foolish arguments of sophistrie made by the justifiers of them selfes, which perverte the words of S. Paule (as they doo the other scriptures of God) to their perversed sence and mind; (saying), that the apostle excludeth by these wordes the workes of the law ceremonial, and not the deeds of the law of nature, and morall law of Moyses. The which shameless sayings are expressly evacuat by the wordes of the apostle, insomuch that no man of righteous judgement can deny, but shall feel the same as it were in their hands, by this probation. The law speaketh to all, that is, accuseth all men that are under the law. All men are under the law of nature, or the law of Moyses, therefore the apostle speaketh of the law of nature and Moyses, and of all men which he comprehendeth under Jewe and Gentill, as he proveth by his argumentes in the first and second chap. to the Romans, and concludeth in the third chap. all men are sinners. If all men bee sinners, none is just; if none bee just, none fulfill the lawe; if none fulfill the lawe, the lawe can pronounce none just; therefore concludeth he, that of the deedes of the lawe no fleshe shall be fonde just before God. The same is proved by David in the 13. Psalme, Here ye see by the words of the apostle, he intends to prove and declare all men sinners; that is, to stoppe all mens mouths, and to dryve them to Christ by the accusation of the law. No law may make or declare all men sinners, and subdue the whole world to God, but the law of nature and Moyses; therefore, under that word (law) the apostle comprehended the law morall, and not the law ceremonial only." p. 84, 85.

"But think not that I intende through these assertions to exclude good works; no, God forbid, for good workes are the gift of God, and his good creatures, and ought and should be done of a Christian, as shalbe showen hereafter at length in their place; but in this article of justification, yee must either exclude all workes, or els exclude Christ from you, and make your selfes just, the which is impossible to do. Christ is the end of the law (unto righteousnes) to all that beleeve, that is, Christ is the consummation and fulfilling of the lawe, and that justice whiche the lawe requireth; and all they which beleeve in him, are just by imputation through faith, and for his sake are repute and accepted as just. This is the justice of faith of the which the apostle speaketh, Rom. the 10. chapter: therefore, if yee wilbee just, seeke Christ, and not the law, nor your invented workes, which are lesse than the law. Christ shall have no mixtion with the law, nor works thereof, in this article of justification; because the law is as contrarie to the office of Christ, as darknes to light, and is as farre different as heaven and earth; for the office of the law is to accuse the wicked, feare them, and condemne them, as transgressours of the same; the office of Christ is to preache mercy, remission of sinnes, freely in his bloude through faith, give consolation, and to save sinners; for hee came not in to this world to call them which ar just, or think themselves just, but to call sinners to repentance." p. 100, 126, 127, 128.

"This faith which only justifieth and giveth life, is not idle nor remaineth alone; nevertheless, it alone justifieth, and then it works by charitie; for unfained faith may no more abyde idle from working in love, than the good tree may from bringing foorth her fruit in due time; and yet the fruite is not the

cause of the tree, nor maketh the tree good, but the tree is the cause of the fruit: and the good tree bringeth forth good fruite, by the which it is knowen goode; even so it is of the faithfull man, the workes make him not faithfull nor just, nor yet are the cause thereof; but the faithfull and just man bringeth forth and maketh good works, to the honour and glorie of God, and profit of his neighbour, which beare witnesse of his inward faith, and testify him to be just before man," p. 131, 132. In the following part of the treatise, the author shews at large, that the doctrine of gratuitous justification does not release Christians from obligation to perform good works, and inculcates the duties incumbent upon them in the different spheres of life in which they may be placed. *Confession of Faith; conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God; compiled by M. Henry Balnaves of Halhill, and one of the Lords of Session of Scotland, being a prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the year* 1548. *T. Vautrollier, Edin.* 1548. *See above, p.* 72.

Note XV. p. 37.

Extracts from Knox's Defence before the Bishop of Durham.—Since the publication of the first edition of this Life, I have seen a copy of this Defence in print. Its title will be found in the catalogue of Knox's works, to be inserted in the last note of volume second. The printed edition agrees more exactly with the MS. in my possession than any of his other works which I have had the opportunity of comparing. The extracts given in this note are continued in their original form, to preserve the orthography of the MS. which constitutes almost the only difference between it and the printed edition.

"The fourt of Apryle in the yeir 1550, was appoyntit to Johne Knox, preacher of the halie evangell of Jesus Chryst, to gif his confessioun why hie affirmed the mes idolatrie, whilk day, in presence of the consale and congregatioun, amangis whome was also present the bischope of Duram and his doctors, on this manner hie beginneth.

"This day I do appeir in your presence, honourabill audience, to gif a reasone why so constantlie I do affirme the mes to be, and at all tymes to haif bene, idolatric and abominatioun before God; and becaus men of great eruditioun, in your audience, affirmed the contrarie, most gladlie wold I that heir thay wer present, either in proper persone, or els by thair learnit men, to ponder and wey the causis moveing me thairto: for unles I evidentlie prufe myne intent be Goddis halie scriptures, I will recant it as wickit doctrine, and confes my self maist worthie of grevous punisment. How difficill it is to pull furth of the hartis of the pepill the thing whairin opinioun of holines standeth, declareth the great tumult and uprore moveit aganis Paule by Demetrius and his fellowis, who by idolatrie gat great vantage, as oure priestis have done be the mase in tymes past. The pepill, I say, heiring that the honor of thair great goddes Diana stude in jeopardie, with furious voces cryit, 'great is Diana of the Ephesians;'—and heirunto wer thay movcit be lang custome and fals opinioun. I knaw, that in the mass hath not onlie bene estemit great holines and honoring of God, but also the ground and fundatioun of oure religioun: so that, in opinioun of many, the mass taken away, thair resteth no trew wirschipping nor honouring of God in the erth. The deiper hath it persit the hartis of men yat it occupyith the place of the last and misticall supper of our Lord Jesus. But yf I sal, be plane and evident scriptures, prove the mess, in hir maist honest garment, to haif bene idolatrie befoir God, and blasphemous to the death and passioun of Chryst, and contrarie to the supper of Jesus Chryst, than gude hope have I, honorable audience and belovit brethrene, that the feir, love, and obedience of God, who in his scriptures hath spokin all veritie necessarie for oure salvatioun, sall move yow to gif place to the same, O Lord eternal! move and governe my toung to speak the veritie, and the hartis of thir pepill to understand and obey the same." p. 1, 2.

In proof of his position, he laid down and defended two syllogisms. The first is thus stated: "All wirschiping, honoring, or service inventit by the brane of man in the religioun of God, without his awn expres commandement, is idolatrie. The masc is inventit by the brane of man without any commandment of God. Thairfoir it is idolatrie." The second syllogism is thus framed: "All honoring or service of God, whairunto is addit a wickit opinioun, is abominatioun. Unto the mes is addit a wickit opinioun. Thairfoir it is abominatioun," p. 3, 21. In support of the major proposition of his first syllogism, he argues from 1 Sam. xiii. 11—14. xv. 22, 23. Deut. iv. 2. xii. 8, 32. 1 Cor. xi. 23. Take the following as a specimen. "We may not think ws so frie nor wyse that we may do unto God, and unto his honour, what we think expedient. No: the contrarie is commandit by God, saying, *Unto my word eall ye add nothing, nothing sall ye deminische thairfrome, that ye might observe the preceptis of your Lord God.* Whilk wordis ar not to be understand of the decalogue and law moral onlie, but of statutis, rytes, and ceremonyis; for equall obedience of all his lawis requyreth God. And in witnes thairof, Nadib and Abihu offiring strange fyre, whairof God had gevin unto thame na charge, wer instantlie, as they offirit, punisset to death by fyre.—In the punisment of theis two afoirsaid is to be observit, that Nadab and Abihu wer the principal priestis nixt to Aron thair father, and that thay wer comprehendit neither in adulterie, covetousnes, nor desyre of warldlie honor, but of a gud zeall and simpill intent wer making sacrifice, desyreing no profit of the pepill thairby, but to honor God, and to metigat his wraith. And yit in the doing of this self same act and sacrifice wer thay consumit away with fyre; whairof it is plane, that nether the preeminence of the persone or man that maketh or setteth up any religioun without the express commandment of God, nor yet the intent whairof hie doith the same, is acceptit befoir God: for nothing in his religioun will hie admit without his awn word, but all that is addit thairto doith hie abhor, and punisseth the inventoris and doeris thairof, as ye haif hard in Nadab and Abihu." MS. Letters, p. 6, 7.

The following extracts will exemplify the irony with which he treated the popish tenets. "Jesus Chryst sayeth, *I will lay upon yow none other burdene than I haif alredie;* and, *that whilk ye haif observe diligentlie.* O God eternall! hast thow laid none uther burdene upon our backis than Jesus Chryst laid be his word? Then who hath burdenit ws with all theis ceremonyis? prescrybid fasting, compellit chastitie, unlawfull vowis, invocatioun of sanctis, and with the idolatrie of the mese? The divill, the divill, brethrene, inventit all theis burdenis to depres imprudent men to perditioun," p. 10. Speaking of the canon of the mass, he saith, "I will preve, that thairin is indigest, barbarous, folische congestioun of wordis, imperfectioun of sentences, ungodlie invocationis, and diabolicall conjurationis. And this is that holie canon whois autoritie precelleth all scriptures. O! it was so holie it might not be spokin planelie as the rest, but secreitlie it behoved to be whisperet! That was not evil devysit; for yf all men had hard it, sum wold have espyit the vanitie thairof.—Thay say, *hoc est enim corpus meum.* I pray thame schew whair find thay *enim?* O! heir mak thay a great matter; and heir lyeth a secreit misterie, and hid operatioun! For in *fyve* wordis conceaved the virgin Marie, say thay, when sche conceavit the Sone of God. What yf sche had spoken sevin, ten, or twentie words? or what yf sche had spoken thrie? Suld thairby the determinat consalle bene impedit? O papists! is God a juglar? Useth he certane noumer of wordis in performing his intent?" p. 18, 19.

Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, in an Oration, composed by him, in 1561, made some remarks on Knox's book against the Mass. "Shortlie (says he) will we call to remembrance ane notable syllogisme (or argument) sett furth be ane famouss prechour, callit John Knox, in his sermon aganis the mess, in maner as efter follows." And having quoted the first syllogism as already expressed in his note, he answers: "As to the first part of his syllogisme, quhar he dois affirme all worschipping of God inuentit be the brayne of manne without express command of God to be ydolatrie, it is als falss as Goddis wourd is trew; for quhy did not Abel, Abraham, Noe, and diuerse vtheris of the aulde fatheris, inuent meanis and ways to the worschiping of God without expres commande of God, and wes acceptable to the Lord God, as the Aulde Testament techis vs? Did not Cornelius centurio inlikewise invent meanis and ways to the worschipping of God, without expres commande of God, quhilk wes acceptable to God, as the New Testament plainly teachis ws? Thus ma we cleirle persaue that this wickit syllogisme aboue rehersit is expres aganis the scripture of Almychti God, bath Aulde Testament and New. Secondlie, to preve his fals and wickit syllogisme, impropirlie callis he to remembrance the scripture of Almychti God, quhar mentione is maid how king Saule made sacrifice unto God of his owne brayne, and wes nocht acceptable to the Lorde God. Mark this place of the scripture, and it salbe casely persavit that it is all wayis impropirlie appliit; for quhy, his syllogisme makis mentione of the worschipping of Gode inuentit be the brayne of manne, without

expres commande of God; and this place of scripture testifeis plainly of the worschipping of God inuentit be the brayne of manne, expres contrar to the commande of God. And sua may we cleirlie vnderstand that this first part of his syllogisme differis far fra the testimonie of scripture, adducit be him for confirmatione of the samin; bicaus thair is ane grete difference betuix the worschipping of God inuentit be manne, without expres commande of God, and the worschipping of God inuentit be manne, expres contrar to the command of God; the ane may neuer stand with the scripture; the vther aggreis with the scripture, bayth Aulde Testament and New, as I haif all reddy declarit." In fine, the abbot insists that Saul "committit na ydolatrie," for "albeit the scripture dois affirme that stubbornes is as the wicketnes of ydolatrie, nochttheles stubbornes is nocht ydolatrie." Ane Oratioune set furth be Master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Corsraguell, ye zeir of Gode 1561, p. 5—8. Edinburgh, 1812.

Note XVI. p. 38.

Changes on the English Liturgy.—In the communion-book, as set forth in 1548, the words pronounced by the minister at delivering the bread were, "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life." And at the delivery of the cup, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve," &c. As altered in the corrected Prayer-book of Edward VI. the words pronounced were, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith.—Drink this in remembrance Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." A rubric was also added, to be read at the celebration of the communion, declaring, that, although the posture of kneeling was retained to signify our humble and grateful acknowledgement of the benefits of Christ, and to prevent profanation and disorder; yet "no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood; for the bread and wine retained their natural substances, and Christ's natural body was in heaven, and could not be in more places than one at the same time." Collier, ii. 310. Records, No. 70.

In the settlement of religion, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, the old form of words at delivering the elements was superinduced upon the new, which, like the patching of old and new cloth in a garment, marred the whole, and pleased neither protestants nor papists. And the rubric, explanatory of kneeling, was thrown out. At the restoration of Charles II. "the church thought fit (says Collier) to *condescend so far* as to restore the rubric of King Edward's reign," to please "some people either of weak judgments or contentious humours." A piece of *condescension* with which the historian pretty plainly intimates his dissatisfaction.—In the liturgy which was attempted to be imposed upon the Scottish church, in 1637, all the qualifications and explications in the last prayer book of Edward VI. were completely excluded, and various expressions, postures, and gestures, favourable to the popish notions and superstition, were unblushingly borrowed from the mass-book. But the rulers of the church in the three kingdoms were then posting fast to Rome, when they were overturned in their mad career.

Note XVII. p. 42.

Sentiments of English Reformers respecting the government and worship of the church.—I shall endeavour to compress the body of evidence which can be produced for the conformity between the private sentiments of the English reformers respecting worship and church-government, and those of Knox along with the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated Feb. 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that "the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely bent on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing IN ALL THINGS with the Helvetic churches." Burnet, iii. 201. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, Feb. 4, 1573, fervently exclaims, "O! would to God, would to God, once at last, all the English people would in good earnest propound to themselves to follow the church of Zurich as the most absolute pattern." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 342.

Cranmer expressed his opinion formally in writing, that "the bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both ONE OFFICE in the beginning of Christ's religion."—"The bishop of St. David's, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redman, say that *at the beginning they were all* ONE." Collier, ii. Records, No 49. Burnet, i. Append. p. 223—225. Thirteen bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics, subscribed this proposition, "that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops." Burnet, ut supra, p. 324. Cranmer says, "In the New Testament he that is appointed a bishop or a priest needeth not consecration by the scripture, for election or appointment thereto is sufficient." And of the same judgment was the bishop of St. David's. Ibid. 228, 230. Latimer and Hooper maintained the identity of bishops and presbyters, by divine institution. Voetii Polit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 837. This was also the opinion of Pilkington, bishop of Durham. Treatise on the burning of St. Paul's, apud Cald. Altare Damas. p. 204. Bishop Jewel assents to it in his Answer to Harding, p. 121. And on the accession of Elizabeth, he expressed his hope, that "the bishops would become pastors, labourers, and watchmen, and that the great riches of bishoprics would be diminished and reduced to mediocrity, that, being delivered from regal and courtly pomp, they might take care of the flock of Christ." Burnet, iii. 288. In the same year, Dr. Aylmer addressed the right reverend bench in these terms: "Come of, you bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where there be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike, and not princelike. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these warres which you procured, and your mistresse left her; and with the reste builde and found scoales thorow outte the realme: that every parishe church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously; which will never be onles your landes be dispersed and bestowed upon many which now feedeth and fatteth but one. —I would our countryman Wickliefe's boke which he wrote, *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worthie. It was my chaunce to happen of it in ones hand that brought it out of Bohemia." An Harborowe for faithful and trew subjects, O, 4. Cranmer expressed himself in a similar strain respecting the "glorious titles, styles and pomps" which were come into the church through the working of the spirit of Diotrephes, and professed his readiness to lay them aside. Strype's Cranmer, Append. p. 20. Burnet, iii. 105. Append. p. 88. In fact, the title of *bishop* was very generally disused in common speech, during the reign of Edward VI. and that of *superintendent* substituted in its place. And this change of language was vindicated by Ponet, bishop of Winchester, in an answer which he published to a popish writer. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 444, 445.

It was proposed by Cranmer to erect courts similar to the kirk-sessions and provincial synods afterwards introduced into the Scottish church. Burnet, iii. 214. Reformatio Leg. Eccles. cap. 8, 10. He ardently wished the suppression of *prebendaries*, "an estate (he said) which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the church of Christ." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 157, 158. All the protestant bishops and divines, in the reign of Edward VI. were anxious for the introduction of ecclesiastical discipline. Dr. Cox (Oct. 5, 1552.) complains bitterly of the opposition of the courtiers to this measure, and says, that, if it was not adopted, the kingdom of God would be taken away from them." Latimer's Sermons, fol. cix. b. Lond. 1570. Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 366. Repository of Orig. p. 150.

Cranmer, with his colleagues, were far from being satisfied with the purity of the last common-prayer book of Edward, and he had drawn up one which is said to have been "an hundred times more perfect." Troubles at Frankfort, p. 50. He and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the sacerdotal habits; "for they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness." Burnet's Letters respecting Switzerland, &c. p. 52. Rotterdam, 1686. When Grindal was appointed to the bishoprick of London, he "remained under some scruples of conscience about some things, especially the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used of such as were bishops. For the reformed in these times (says Strype) generally went upon the ground, that, in order to the complete freeing of the church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous church should be abolished,—and that the service of

God should be most simple, stript of all that show, pomp, and appearance that had been customarily used before, esteeming all that to be no better than superstitious and antichristian." Life of Grindal, p. 28. Horn and others had the same views and scruples. "By the letters (says bishop Burnet) of which I read the originals, [in the archives of Zurich] it appears that the bishops preserved the habits rather in compliance with the Queen's inclinations than out of any liking they had to them; so far were they from liking, that they plainly expressed their dislike of them." Burnet's Letters, ut supra, p. 51. Before they accepted the office they endeavoured to obtain the abrogation of the ceremonies, and when the act enjoining them passed, they were induced to comply chiefly by their fears that the Papists or Lutherans would occupy their places. Strype's Annals, i. 175. Burnet, ii. 376. and his Sermon on Psal. cxlv. 15. preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 1688. Cox writes to Bullinger, 5th May 1551, "I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of the world. But in this our church what can I do in so low a station." Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 305. Burnet, iii. 202. Jewel, in a letter to Martyr, Nov. 5, 1559, calls the clerical habits "a stage-dress" (*vestis scenica*), to which those alone were attached who "had nothing else to recommend them to the people, but *a comical dress*,—stipites sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari." He engages that no exertions of his should be wanting to banish utterly these *ludicrous fooleries*, "ludicris ineptiis, and *relics of the Amorites*, as his correspondent (he says) had well designed them. And, at a period still later, (Feb. 8, 1566.) he writes to Bullinger, that he "wished that the very slightest footsteps of popery might be removed out of the church and minds of men; but the queen would at that time suffer no change in religion." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 291. ii. Append. p. 351. Strype's Annals, i. 174. Grindal and Horn wrote to Zurich, that they did not approve of, but merely *suffered*, kneeling in the eucharist, and signing with the cross in baptism, with some other ceremonies, hoping that they would speedily obtain their abrogation. Burnet, ii. 310, 314. As to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, Pilkington of Durham, and Sands of Worcester, the non-conformists bear testimony, that these prelates discovered the greatest zeal in endeavouring to procure their abrogation. Ibid. iii. 316. The most respectable of the clergy in the lower house were of the same sentiments with the bishops on this subject. In the year 1562, the abrogation of the most offensive ceremonies was, after long reasoning, put to the vote in the convocation, and carried by a majority of those present, but, when the proxies were included, there was found a majority of ONE for retaining them. The arguments used by arshbishop Parker's chaplains, to prevail upon the house to agree to this, derived their chief force from their being understood to be the sentiments of the queen. Burnet, ii. Append. p. 319, 320. Strype's Annals, i. 298—300.

From these facts, (and a collection much more ample could easily be made) the reader will see who were the first puritans, and how very different the sentiments of the English reformers were from those of their successors. Those good men who had the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward VI. thought it most prudent to proceed gradually and slowly, in removing the abuses, and correcting the evils, which had overspread the church: and to indulge the people for a season with those external forms to which they had been habituated, that they might draw them more easily from their superstitious notions and practices, and in due time perfect the reformation to the satisfaction of all. The plan was plausible; but its issue was very different from what was intended by those who proposed it. This was not unforeseen by those who wished well to the church of England. After the bishops had resolved to rest satisfied with the establishment which they had obtained, and felt themselves disturbed by the complaints of the puritans (as they were afterwards called), they endeavoured to engage the foreign divines on their side; and having, by partial representations, and through the respect entertained for the government of England, obtained letters from them somewhat favourable to their views, they employed these to bear down such as pleaded for a more pure reformation. Whitgift made great use of this weapon in his controversy with Cartwright. Bishop Parkhurst wrote to Gualter, a celebrated Swiss divine, cautioning him on this head, adding, that he had refused to communicate some of Gualter's letters to Whitgift: because, "if any thing made for the ceremonies, he presently clapped it into his book, and printed it." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 287. But these divines had formerly delivered their unbiassed judgment, disapproving of such temporizing measures. Cranmer having signified to the Genevan Reformer, that he "could do nothing more profitable to the church than to write often to the king," Calvin wrote a letter to the archbishop in 1551, in which he lamented the procrastination used, and expressed his fears, that "a long winter would succeed to so many harvests spent in deliberation." Epist. p. 62. Oper. tom. ix. Strype's Cranmer, p. 413. Peter Martyr, in June 1550, expressed it as his opinion, that "the innumerable corruptions, infinite abuses, and immense superstition, could be reformed only by a simple recurrence to the pure fountain, and unadulterated original principles." And the prudential advice, that as few changes as possible should be made, he called "a device of Satan to render the regress to popery more easy." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 200. Gualter, in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1559, says, that such advices, though "according to a carnal judgment full of modesty, and apparently conducive to the maintainance of concord," were to be ascribed to "the public enemy of man's salvation," and prophetically warns those who suffered abuses to remain and strengthen themselves in England, that "afterwards they would scarcely be able to eradicate them by all their efforts and struggles." Ibid. iii. 273. Append. p. 265.

Fuller says, that the English Reformers "permitted ignorant people to retain some fond customs, that they might remove the most dangerous and destructive superstitions; as mothers, to get children to part with *knives*, are content to let them play with *rattles*." Very good: but if mothers suffer their children to play too long with rattles, they are in great danger of not parting with them all their days.

Note XVIII. p. 42.

Plan of Edward VI. for advancing the Reformation of the church of England.—A plan of improvements in the English church, which Edward VI. drew with his own hand, may be seen in Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 341—343. He was desirous of the establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, but sensible that the incumbent bishops were in general of such a description as to be unfit for its exercise. "Some for papistry (says he), some for ignorance, some for their ill-name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline." Accordingly, he adds, "as for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops; but that commission be given to those of the best sort of them to exercise it in their dioceses." King Edward's Remains, apud Burnet, ii. Records, p. 69.

Omitting other proofs of his intentions, I shall produce the decisive one of his conduct towards the foreign church settled in London under the inspection of *John A Lasco*. A Lasco was a Polish nobleman, who had forsaken his native country, from love to the reformed religion. In his youth, he enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus, who, in one of his letters, passes a high encomium on him. "Senex, juvenis convictu, factus sum melior, ac sobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, prudentiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici." Erasmi Epist. lib. 28. ep. 3. He was offered two bishoprics, one in his native country, and another in Hungary; but he rejected both, and retiring into Friesland, became pastor of a protestant congregation at Embden. Gerdes. Hist. Reform. iii. 145—160. The protestant churches in the Low Countries being dissipated in consequence of the troubles produced by the *Interim*, he came to England at the pressing invitation of Cranmer, and was chosen superintendent of the German, French, and Italian congregations erected in London, which consisted of between 3000 and 4000 persons. Strype's Cranmer, p. 234—241. Gerdes. ut. sup. p. 150, 235.

A Lasco afterwards published an account of the form of government and worship used in these congregations, which greatly resembled that which was introduced into Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. The affairs of each congregation were managed by a minister, ruling elders, and deacons; and each of these offices was considered as of divine institution. Ut infra, fol. i. 6, b. II. A superintendent had the inspection of the different congregations, "who was greater only in respect of his greater trouble and care, not having more authority than the other elders, either as to the ministry of the

word and sacraments, or as to the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, to which he was subject equally with the rest."—"Cestuy est appelle au preuilege du Roy, Superintendant, lequel est plus grand que les autres, seulement en ce qu'il a plus de peine & de soing que tous les autres: non seulement au gouuernement de toute l'Eglise, mais aussy a la defendre cotre les effortz de tous ses aduersaires, & a retenir vn consentement vnanime de tous, aux differens de la doctrine. D'advantage il n'a point plus d'autorite que les autres Ancies, au Ministere de la parolle, & des sacremens, & en l'usage de la discipline de l'Eglise, a la quelle il est subiect come tous les autres. Et comme il a seing des autres a cause de son Ministere, parcillement il se soubmet au soing des autres, en l'obeissance de la parolle de Dieu, & obseruation de la discipline." Ut infra, fol. i. b. It is proper, however, to mention that A Lasco, although he allows no superiority of office or authority to superintendents, considered that they were of divine appointment, and that Peter held this rank among the apostles. "Premierement que le Ministere de Superintendant, ou Inspecteur, est vne ordonnance diuine en l'Eglise de Christ, instituee du Seigneur Iesus Christ etre les Apostres mesmes: quad il commanda a Pierre specialement, de confirmer ses autres freres en la foy. Et non pas qu'il luy ait donne autorite sus les autres Apostres: comme le Pape de Rome songe: mais qu'il failloit retenir en l'Eglise vne puissance egalle de tous les Apostres, auec Pierre par vng certain ordre d'une solicitude, des vns pour les autres: ainsy que tres bien l'enseigne sainct Ciprian martyr. Et aussy nous voyons manifestement, qu'un mesme Ministere est egalement attribue a tous les Anciens de l'Eglise, qui sont nommez Inspecteurs, et en Grec Euesques. Nous entendons aussy Iean & Iaques auoir tel honneur que Pierre en l'Eglise de Ierusalem. Mais a fin qu'il y ait quelque ordre, en vn mesme gouuernement Ecclesiastique, entre tous les Anciens, & que tout soit faict par ordre & honnestement, il le faut commencer a vn. Or pource qu'il ya bien a faire de quelz on doit comencer le gouuernement en toute l'Eglise: ores que tous les Anciens ayent vne mesme puissance." Toute la forme & maniere du Ministere Ecclesiastique en l'Eglise des estragers, dressee a Londres en Angleterre. Par M. Jean a Lasco. Baron de Polonie. Traduit de Latin en Francois, & imprime par Giles Ctematius. 1556. fol. 8, ib. 9, a. Imposition of hands was used in the ordination of superintendents, ministers, ruling elders, and deacons. Ibid. fol. 27, 31, 35. The communicants *sat* at the Lord's table, and A Lasco spends a number of pages in proving that this posture is preferable to kneeling. fol. 80—88. In fine, he says, "We have laid aside all the relics of Popery, with its mummeries, and we have studied the greatest possible simplicity in ceremonies." Ibid. fol, 79, b.

Notwithstanding these sentiments, and these pieces of disconformity to the practice of the church of England, A Lasco was held in the greatest esteem, and warmly patronized, not only by Cranmer, but also by the young king, who granted him letters patent, erecting him and the other ministers of the foreign congregations into a body corporate. The patent runs in these terms: "Edward, &c.—We being specially induced, by great and weighty considerations, and particularly considering how much it becomes Christian princes to be animated with love and care of the sacred gospel of God, and apostolical religion, begun, instituted, and delivered by Christ himself, without which policy and civil government can neither subsist long, nor maintain their reputation, unless princes and illustrious persons whom God hath appointed for the government of kingdoms do first of all take care, that *pure and uncorrupted religion* be diffused through the whole body of the commonwealth, and that a church instituted in *truly Christian and apostolical doctrines and rites*—be preserved, &c. with this intent and purpose, that there may be an uncorrupted interpretation of the holy gospel, and administration of the sacraments, *according to the word of God, and apostolical observance*, by the ministers of the church of the Germans, &c. we command and strictly charge the mayor, &c. that they permit the said superintendent and ministers, freely and quietly, to enjoy, use, and exercise their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom," &c. The patent may be seen at large in Burnet, ii. Records, p. 202.

But the ulterior design which the King intended to accomplish by the incorporation of this church, is what I have particularly in view. This is explicitly stated by A Lasco, in the book which he published in 1555. In his dedication of it to Sigismond, king of Poland, he says: "When I was called by that king, [Edward VI.] and when certain laws of the country stood in the way, so that the public rites of divine worship used under popery could not immediately be purged out (which the king himself desired); and when I was earnest for the foreign churches, it was at length his pleasure, that the public rites of the English churches should be reformed by degrees, as far as could be got done by the laws of the country; but that strangers, who were not strictly bound to these laws in this matter, should have churches granted unto them, in which they should freely regulate all things *wholly according to apostolical doctrine and practice*, without any regard to the rites of the country; *that by this means the English churches also might be excited to embrace apostolical purity*, by the unanimous consent of all the estates of the kingdom. Of this project *the king himself*, from his great piety, was both the *chief author* and the *defender*. For, although it was almost universally acceptable to the king's council, and the archbishop of Canterbury promoted it with all his might, there were not wanting some who took it ill, and would have opposed it, had not his Majesty checked them by his authority and the reasons which he adduced for the design." Again, in the Appendix to the same book, p. 649, he says; "The care of our church was committed to us chiefly with this view, that in the ministration thereof, we should follow the rule of the divine word and apostolical observance, rather than any rites of other churches. In fine, we were admonished both by the king himself, and his chief nobility, to use this great liberty granted to us in our ministry, rightly and faithfully, not to please men but for the glory of God, by promoting the reformation of his worship." The following are the original words of the author. "Cum ego quoque per Regem illum vocatus essem: et leges quædam patriæ obstarent, quominus publici potissimum cultus divini ritus sub papismo usurpati (pro eo ac rex ipse cupiebat) repurgari protinus possunt. Ego vero peregrinorum ecclesiis sedulo instarem, ita demum placuit, ut ritus publici in Anglicis Ecclesiis per gradus quosdam (quantum per leges patrias omnino liceret) repurgarentur: Peregrinis vero hominibus (qui patriis hac alioqui in parte legibus non usque adeo tenerentur) ecclesiæ concederentur in quibus omnia libere, et nulla rituum patriorum habita ratione (juxta doctrinam duntaxit atque observationem apostolicam) instituerentur, ita enim fore, ut Anglicæ quoque ecclesiæ ad puritatem apostolicam amplectendam unanimi omnium regni ordinum consensu excitarentur. Ejus vero consilii rex ipsemet (pro sua pietate) præcipuus non autor tantum, sed etiam propugnator fuit. Etsi enim id in senatu regio omnibus propemodum placerit, ipseque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus rem omnibus modis promoveret; non deerant tamen qui id moleste ferrent, adeoque et reluctaturi fuerint huic instituto regio, nisi rex ipse, non tantum authoritate sua restitisset: sed productus etiam instituti hujus rationibus conatus eorum repressisset." De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia. Dedic. et p. 649. Larger extracts from this work may be seen in Voetii Politic. Eccles. tom. i. 420—422.

Had Mr. Gilpin been acquainted with these facts, he would have spoken with a little more moderation and respect concerning this accomplished Reformer, than he has done in the following passage. "By the favour of Edward VI. he was allowed to open a church for the use of his own persuasion. But he made only a bad use of this indulgence; interfering very impertinently in the controversies then on foot." Gilpin's Lives of Latimer and Gilpin, p. 243. Lond. 1780. Writers who, like Gilpin, deal in abridgements should be very cautious and sparing in the reflections which they make on characters, as they are apt to mislead their readers, without furnishing them with the facts which would enable them to correct their mistakes.

Note XIX. p. 42.

The following account of the freedom used by the chaplains of Edward VI. in reproving the vices of the courtiers, is given by Knox, in his "Letter to the Faithful in London," &c. I quote from the MS.

"How boldlie thair synis wer rebukeit, evin in thair faces, suche as wer present can witnes with me. Almost thair was none that occupyit the place [pulpit] but he did prophesie, and planelie speake, the plaguis that ar begun, and assuredlie sall end: Mr. Grindal planelie spak the deth of the kingis maieste, complaynying on his houshald servandis and officeris who nether eschameit nor feirit to raill aganis Godis trew word, and aganis the preacheris of the same. The godlie and fervent man, maister Lever, planelie spak the desolatioun of the commoun weill, and the plaguis whilk suld follow schortlie. Maister Bradfurde (whome God, for Chrystis his Sonis sake, com-

fort to the end) spared not the proudest; but boldlie declareit that Godis vengeance suld schortlie stryke thame that than wer in autoritie, becaus thay abhorrit and lothed the trew word of the everlasting God. And amangis many uther willet thame to tak exempill be the lait duck of Somerset, who became so cald in hering Godis word, that the yeir befoir his last apprehensioun, hie wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dingyie* himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for hering of a sermone. God punnissit him (said the godlie preacher) and that suddanlie; and sall hie spair yow that be dowbill mair wickit? No: hie sall not.† Will ye, or will ye not, ye sall drink the cupe of the Lordis wraith. Judicium domini! Judicium domini! the judgement of the Lord! the judgement of the Lord! lamentabillie cryit hie, with weiping teiris. Maister Hadden most learnedlie opinnit the caussis of the bypast plagis, affirmyng that the wors were to follow, unles repentance suld schortlie be found. Thir things, and mekill mair I hard planelie spokin, efter that the haill consale had said, thay wald heir no mo of thair sermonis; thay wer but indifferent fellowis; ye, and sum of thame eschamcit not to call thame pratting knaves. But now will I not speik all that I knaw, for yf God continew my lyfe in this trubill, I intend to prepair ane dische for suche as than led the ring in the gospell: but now thay haif bene at the scule of Placebo, and amangis laddis [ladies] hes learnit to dance, as the devill list to pype!" p. 120, 121.

With Knox's representation exactly agrees the affecting "Lamentation for the change of religion in England," composed in prison by bishop Ridley, in which he names our countryman, along with Latimer, Lever, and Bradford, as distinguishing themselves by the faithfulness and boldness with which they censured the vices which reigned at court. I would willingly make extracts from it, but must refer the reader to the paper itself, which he will find inserted at large in the account of the bishop's trial and martyrdom, in Fox. p. 1614—1620. Edit. Anno 1596.

Grindal was an exile during the reign of Mary, and, under Elizabeth, was made successively bishop of London, archbishop of York, and archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Lever was a very learned man, and Master of St. John's college, Cambridge. He was Knox's colleague at Frankfort. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was admitted to a prebend in the cathedral of Durham, but was afterwards deprived of it on account of non-conformity. He seems to have been allowed to preach through the country, and, in 1677, died Master of Sherburn Hospital. Some of his sermons are in print. Troubles of Franckford, p. 13. 28. Strype's Parker, p. 212. App. 77. Grindal, 170. Annals, iii. 512—514. Hutchinson's Durham, ii. 594. John Bradford, was in prison when Knox wrote the above account of him, and was soon after committed to the flames. James Haddon had been chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. and went to Strasburgh at the death of Edward VI. He was chosen, along with Knox, to be one of the ministers of the English church at Frankfort, but declined accepting the office. Troubles of Franckford, 13. 16. 23. Strype's Annals, ii. App. p. 46.

Note XX. p. 43.

The *Confession* or *Prayer*, composed and used by Knox, after the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary, shews the state of his mind at that crisis, and refutes the unfounded charges of the popish, and of some episcopal writers, that he was guilty of stirring up rebellion against the Queen. I extract it from his Treatise on Prayer, printed in 1554, which is now exceedingly rare.

"Omnipotent and everlasting God, father of our Lord Jesus Chryste, who, be thy eternal providence, disposeth kingdoms as best seameth to thy wisdom, we acknowledge and confesse thy judgmentis to be righteous, in that thou hast taken from us, for our ingratitude, and for abusinge of thy most holy word, our native king, and earthly comforter. Justly may thou poure forth upon us the uttermoste of thy plagues; for that we have not knowen the dayes and tymes of our merciful visitacion. We have contempned thy worde, and despised thy mercies. We have transgressed thy lawes: for deceitfully have we wrought everie man with our neighbours; oppression and violence we have not abhorred; charitie hath not apeared among us, as our profession requireth. We have little regarded the voices of thy prophetes; thy threatnings we have esteemed vanitie and wynd; so that in us, as of ourselfis, restis nothing worthy of thy mercies. For all are found frutless, even the princes with the prophetes as withered trees apt and mete too be burnt in the fyre of thy eternal displeasure. But, O Lord, behold thy own mercy and goodness, that thou may purdge and remove the most filthy burden of oure most horrible offences. Let thy love overcome the severitie of thy judgementis, even as it did in geving to the world thy onely Sonne Jesus when all mankynde was lost, and no obedience was lefte in Adam nor in his sede. Regenerate our hartes, O Lord, by the strength of the Holy Ghost. Convert thou us, and we shall be converted. Work thou in us unfeigned repentance, and move thou our hartes too obey thy holy lawes. Behold our trobles and apparent destruction; and stay the sword of thy vengeance, before it devoure us. Place above us, O Lord, for thy great mercies' sake, such a head, with such rulers and magistrates, as feareth thy name, and willeth the glory of Christ Jesus to spred. Take not from us the light of thy evangely, suffer thou no papistrie to prevail in this realme. Illuminate the harte of oure soveraigne lady, quene Marie, with prignant gifts of thy Holy Ghoste. And inflame the hartes of her counsayl with thy trew fear and love. Represse thou the pryde of those that wolde rebelle. And remove from all hartes the contempte of the worde. Let not our enemies rejoyce at our destruction; but loke thou too the honor of thy owne name, O Lorde, and let thy gospell be preached with boldenes, in this realme. If thy justice must punish, then punish our bodies with the rodde of thy mercy. But, O Lord, let us never revolte nor turne backe to idolatrie agayne. Mytigate the hartes of those that persecute us, and let us not faynte under the crosse of our Saviour; but assist us with the Holy Ghoste, even to the end."

Note XXI. p. 48.

Letter of Invitation to Knox from the English Congregation at Frankfort.—"We haue receiued letters from oure brethren off Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for, wheruppon we vssembled together in the H. Goaste we hope, and have with one voice and consent chosen yow so particularly to be one off the Ministers off our congregation here, to preache vnto us the moste liuely worde off God, accordinge to the gift that God hathe geuen yow for as muche as we haue here through the merciful goodnes off God a churche to be congregated together in the name off Christe, and be all of one body, and also beinge of one natio, tonge and countrie. And at this presente, hauing neede off such a one as yow, we do desier yow and also require yow in the name off God not to deny vs, nor to refuse theis oure requests, but that yow will aide, helpe and assiste vs with your presence in this our Good and godlie enterprise, whiche we haue take in hand to the glorie off god and the profit off his congregation and the poore sheepe off Cirist dispersed abroad, who withe your and like presences, woulde come hither and be of one folde where as nowe they wander abroad as loste sheepe withowte anio gide. we mistruste not but that yow will ioifully accepte this callinge. Fare ye well from Franckford this 24. off September.

Your louinge brethren.

John Bale
Edmond Sutton
Iohn Makebraie.

VVilliam VVhitingham	Thomas wood	Mighell Gill.
Thomas Cole	Iohn Stanton	Iohn Samford
VVilliam VVilliams	VVilliam VValton	Iohn VVood.
George Chidley	Iasper swyft	Thomas Sorby
VVilliam Hammon.	Iohn Geofrie.	Anthony Cariar
Thomas Steward	Iohn Graie	Hugh Alforde."

A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. Abowte the Booke off Common prayer and Ceremonies. Pag. xix, xx. Printed M.D.LXXV.

Note XXII. p. 50.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

Knox was accused by the English exiles of High Treason, because he charged queen Mary with cruelty, and said that the emperor was as great an enemy to Christ as Nero. But his accusers, it might easily be shewn, used stronger language on this subject than ever he did. Mr. Strype informs us that the protestants who felt and outlived the persecution of Mary used the very worst epithets in speaking of her character.

* deign: in the printed copies it is "disease himself."
† The printed copies are unintelligible here.

Memorials of the Reform. iii. 472. We need no other proof of this than the Oration composed by John Hales, and pronounced by a nobleman before queen Elizabeth, at her entrance upon the government. Speaking of the late persecution under Mary, the orator exclaims, "O cruelty! cruelty! far exceeding all crueltys committed by those ancient and famous tyrants, and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Dioclesian, Decius; whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torments in hell." The late queen he calls "*Athalia, malicious Mary, unnatural woman; no, no woman, but a monster, and the Devil of hell, covered with the shape of a woman.*" See Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnston, p. 144.

Nor did they speak in more civil terms of foreign princes. Take, for an example, the invective of Aylmer against the French king, Henry II. "Is he a king or a devil, a Christian or a lucifer, that bi his cursed confederacie so encourageth the Turke?—Oh! wicked catife and firebrand of hell, which for th' increasing of his pompe and vayn glory (which he shall not long enjoy) wil betray Christ and his cross, to his mortal enemy. Oh foolish Germains! which see not their own undoing, which conspire not together with the rest of Christian princes to pull such a traytour to God, and his kingdom, by the eares out of Fraunce, and hang him against the sonne a drying. The devill hath none other of his sede nowe but him, to maintaine both the spiritual and the temporall antichryste, the Pope and the Turke. Wherefore seeing he hath forsaken God, lyke an apostata, and sold himself to the Devill, let us not doubte but God will be with us against him, whensoever he shall seek to wrong us; and I trust he will now in the latter age of the worlde shew his myght in cuttynge of this proude Holofernes' head, by the handes of our Judith. Oh! blessed is that man that loseth his lyfe against such a Termagaunt! yea more blessed shall they be that spend their lyves against him than against his great maister the Turke: for the Turke never understode the crosse of Christ; but this turkish apostata is named a devellis name, *Christianissimus*, and is in the very heart of Christendome, and lyke a traiterous Saracene is Christ's enemy." Harborowe for Faithfull Subjects, Q, 1. Strasborowe, 1559.

I do not find Collier, nor other high-church historians quoting or commenting upon such language. On the contrary, Aylmer is praised for his *handsome pen*, while every opportunity is taken to inveigh against the virulence of our Reformer. We may safely challenge them to prove that he ever indulged in language so intemperate, or so disrespectful to princes, as that which I have just quoted.

Note XXIII. p. 53.

Canons of Provincial Councils.—"When a house is in flames, (says Lord Hailes) it is vain to draw up regulations for the bridling of joists or the sweeping of chimnies." Such was the situation of the popish church in Scotland, when the clergy began to speak of reforming abuses. The 21st canon of the council which met in 1549, ordains that there should be a reader of theology in each cathedral church, whose lectures should be attended by the bishop and canons, "si voluntas fuerit;" and also a lecturer on canon law. The 22d canon decrees that there should be a lecturer on theology in each monastery. Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 52. The 26th canon enjoins the rectors of universities to see that the students are well instructed in latin grammar and in logic. The 28th appoints the ordinaries to call all the curates within their bounds before them, to examine them anew, and to reject those who are found insufficient for their office. The last eight canons were intended to regulate the consistorial courts. Ibid. p. 53, 58, 59. To the 14th canon of the council which sat in 1551—2, we owe the establishment of our parochial registers of proclamation of banns and baptisms. After renewing former statutes against clandestine marriages, and in favour of proclamation of banns of marriage, the canon goes on to enact, "Ut singuli curati deinceps habeant registrum, in quo nomina infantum baptizatorum inscribantur, una cum nominibus personarum, quæ talium baptizatorum parentes *communiter habentur et reputantur*, nec non compatrum et commatrum, cum die, anno, mense, adscriptis etiam duobus testibus notent; quod etiam ipsum in bannorum proclamationibus servetur, quas præsens conventio in ecclesiis parochialibus tam viri quam mulieris respective, si diversarum fuerint parochiarum, fieri mandat; quæ quidem registra inter pretiosissima ecclesiæ jocalia conservari vult et præcipit, quodque decani in suis visitationibus, desuper diligentem indaginem faciant, et defficientes ad commissarios referant, ut graviter in eosdem animadvertatur." Wilkins, ut supra, p. 71—2.

The 6th canon enacts regulations respecting testaments. On this subject, the following quotation, from the proceedings of a council in 1420, will serve to explain the canon which modified the exaction of mortuaries, mentioned in p. 351. The clergy of each diocese reported on oath to the council, "that the practice was, first to pay the debts of the deceased, and then to divide his effects into three equal portions, whereof one was given to his widow, and one to his children: That the executors bestowed the remaining third in payment of legacies, and for the soul of the deceased (pro exequiis et anima defuncti:) That of this third or *dead's part* (defuncti pars) the executors were wont to pay, or to compound with the ordinary, at the rate of five per cent. for the expense of confirmation." Chartulary of Moray, apud Lord Hailes's Prov. Councils, p. 23. Besides the five per cent. claimed by the bishop, we have already seen that the vicar had twenty per cent. even according to the mitigated arrangement, before any legacy was paid. No mention is made of the case of a person leaving neither wife nor children; and "*there* it was (says Lord Hailes) that the clergy reaped their harvest." He might have added the case of persons dying intestate, to whom the bishops had the power of naming executors. That was the golden age of the clergy, when they were under no necessity of instituting processes for augmentation from unexhausted tiends, or of count and reckoning to recover the use of funds destined to their support!

Note XXIV. p. 53.

Of the Catechism commonly called Archbishop Hamilton's.—Very different and discordant accounts have been given of this book. My account is taken from the Catechism itself, compared with the canon of the Council which authorised its use. The title is as follows:

THE CATECHISME, That is to say, ane comone and catholik instructioun of the christin people in materis of our catholik faith and religioun, quhilk na gud christin man or woman suld misknaw: set furth be ye maist reuerend father in God Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus Legatnait and primat of ye kirk of Scotland, in his prouincial counsale haldin at Edinburgh the xxvi. day of Januarie, the zeir of our Lord 1551. with the aduise and counsale of the bischoippis and other prelatis with doctours of Theologie and Canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme.—S. Aug. libro 4 de trinitate. cap. 6.—Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturam nemo christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.—Agane reasone na sober man, agane scripture na christin man, agane the kirk na peaceabil or quiet man will iudge, or hald opinioun." On back of title are two copies of Latin verses, "Ad. Pivm Lectorem." The title, preface by the Archbishop, and "table of materis," are on 13 leaves. The catechism begins on folio i. and ends on folio cevi, after which there are three pages of errata, on the last of which is the following colophon. ☞ "Prentit at Sanct Androus, be the command and expesis of the maist reuerend father in God, Johne Archbischop of sanct Androus, and primat of ye hail kirk of Scotland, the xxix. day of August, the zeir of our Lord M.D.lii."

The archbishop's epistle addressed to "Personis, Vicars, and Curattis," prefixed to the catechism, informs us of its design and use. "First to your awin erudition.—Secundly, According to the decreit maid in our prouincial counsale, our will is that ye *reid* ye samyn catechisme diligently, distinctly, and plainly ilk ane of yow to your awin parochianaris, for thair comon instructioun and spiritual edificatioun in the word of God, necessaric of thame to be knawin." The canon of the council provides that it be read "omnibus dominicis et festivis," which is thus explained in the close of the archbishop's epistle: "Euerilk sonday and principal halydaie, quhen yair cummis na precheour to thame to schaw thame the word of God, to haue yis catechisme usit and *reid* to yame in steid of preching, quhil [until] God of his gudnes prouide ane sufficient nowmer of catholyk and abil precheouris, quhilk sal be within few yeiris as we traist in God."

As it is entitled a Catechism, was printed in the vulgar language, is said to be designed for the instruction of the people, and no prohibition of its use is mentioned in the book itself, we might be apt to conclude, that it was intended to be circulated among the people, and to be promiscuously read; and

accordingly several writers have represented the matter in this light. But that this was very far from being the design of those who approved and set it forth, is placed beyond all doubt by the directions which the Council gave respecting it both to the archbishop and to the clergy. "Cujus quidem libri exemplaria omnia, ubi excussa fuerint, præsentari ipsi reverendismo mandat et ordinat præsens concilium, ut ipse singulas tam suis ecclesiasticis, quam aliis singulis locorum ordinariis, quot cuique diocesi prorectorum, vicariorum, ac curatorum numero et multitudine sufficere videntur, eis tribuat; reliqua vero apud ipsum reverendissimum remaneant, et firma custodia serventur, prout tempus et necessitas postulaverint, dispertienda. Caveant vero ipsi rectores, vicarii, et curati, ne sua exemplaria secularibus quibusque indiscrete communicent, nisi ex judicio, consilio, et discretione sui ordinarii; quibus ordinariis licebit nonnullis probis, gravibus, bonæ fidei, ac discretis viris laicis, ejusdem catechismi exemplaria communicari, et iis potissimum, qui videbuntur potius suæ instructionis causa, quam curiositatis cujuscunque eadem expetere." Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 72. Lord Hailes had therefore reason for saying (in opposition to Mackenzie's tale of the archbishop allowing "the pedlars to take two pennies for their pains in hawking it abroad") that the council "uses, as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity, as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilent heresy." Provincial Councils, p. 36. It would have been imprudent to insert the prohibition in the book itself, copies of which, notwithstanding all their precautions, would come into the hands of improper persons; but the canon of the council remained the rule for regulating the clergy in the use of it. Nor is there any thing in the catechism which is inconsistent with the canon, or which implies that it was to come into the hands of the people. It is all along supposed that they were to be instructed by *hearing*, not by *reading* it. This is particularly evident from the concluding address. "O christin pepil we exhort yow with all diligence, *heir*, understand, and keip in your remembrance, the haly wordis of God, quhilk in this present catechisme ar trewly and catholykly exponit to your spiritual edification." And again: "Gif ye persaif be frequent *heiring* heirof your self spiritually instruckit mair than ye haue bein in tymes bygane, geue the thankis thairof only to God."

If any of the hearers presumed to move any controversy respecting the passage read from the Catechism, they were to be delivered over to the Inquisitors, and no clergyman was allowed to answer their questions, or to enter into any dispute with them on the subject, unless he had a written license for this from his bishop. "Hoc tamen proviso, ut non liceat cuiquam auditorum super lectis, aut modo quo supra recitatis, controversiam ipsi rectori seu vicario seu curato movere. Et si aliquis id attentare præsumpserit deferatur inquisitoribus hæreticæ pravitatis; nec vicissim licebit ulli rectori, vicario, seu curato, nisi ad hoc ipsum (specialiter habita consideratione ipsius qualificationis) fuerit ab ordinario loci ei facultas concessa in scriptis, ullis controversias et quæstiones hujusmodi moventibus desuper respondere, aut disputationes ingredi, sed mox respondeatur, se hujusmodi disputationis resolutiones ad ipsos ordinarios remittere, et hoc sub pœna privationis ab hujusmodi officio seu beneficio." Wilkins, ut supra, p. 73.

The Catechism consists of an explication of the ten commandments, the apostles creed, the seven sacraments, the Lord's prayer, and the Ave Maria. Lord Hailes has animadverted on Keith for saying that the author shews "his wisdom and moderation in *handsomely eviting* to enter upon the controverted points;" and he has given extracts from it asserting the doctrine of transubstantiation, the propriety of withholding the cup from the laity, and of prayers to the saints. Prov. Councils, p. 35, 36. I may add, that the use of images in worship, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the removal of original sin by baptism, the sinlessness of concupiscence after baptism, the mystical signification of the ceremonies practised in that ordinance,—the exorcism, or blowing upon the child at the church door, and making the sign of the cross on its brow and breast, putting salt into its mouth, anointing its nostrils and ears with spittle, and its breast and back with oil, with the application of chrism to the forehead, the clothing of it with the cude or white linen cloth, and putting a lighted torch or candle into its hand; these, with other doctrines and ceremonies of the popish church, are all taught and vindicated. At the same time, while the opinions peculiar to popery are stated and defended, there is an evident design of turning away the attention of the people from these controversies, by reminding them of their duty to "belief as the haly catholic kirk beliefis," and a great part of the book is occupied in declaring duties and general doctrines about which there was no dispute between papists and protestants. Considerable art is also used in introducing some of the most exceptionable articles of popery under the cover of unquestionable truths. Thus on the question, "Qubat thing suld move us to belief the word of God?" The first reason which is given is, "Ye eternal and infallible veritie of God, fra quhom na lesing may procede, na mair than myrknes may cum fra the cleir schenand sonne." But how gradually and artfully are the people led away from the scriptures in what follows! "The secund thing that suld moue us to belief the word of God, and to knaw quhilk is the worde of God, quhilk are the haly bukis quharin the word of God is contenit, and quhat is the trew sense of the same bukis, is ye consent and authorite of our mother the haly kirk, fra the apostils tyme hitherto, and specially quhen it is lawfully gadderit be the haly spirit in ane general counsel, quharof sainct Augustine sais thus:—'I wald noct gif credence to the euangel, except that the universal kirk warnis me sa to do." And tharfor lair thir twa lessonis. The ane is, quhatsaeuir the haly spirit reuelis and schawis to us, other in the bukis of haly scripture, *or in ye determinatiouns and diffinitiouns of general counsellis*, lawfully gadderit for the corroboracion and maintenans of our faith, we suld beleif ye same to be *trew word of God*, and thairto gyf ferme credence as to the veritie that is infallible. The secund lesson, ye that ar simple and unleirnit men and wemen suld expresly beleif al the artickils of your Crede, as for all uthir hie misteries and matteris of the scripture ye aucht to belief generally as the kirk of God beleiffis. And this faith is suffient to yow, for the perfectioun of that faith quhilk ye ar bund to haif." Fol. xiiii, b. xv. a. A specimen of the same kind occurs on the question, How is the true sense of the scripture to be discerned? where, after being gravely taught the usefulness of collating one place with another, and attending to the connection of the passage, the people are told that this belongs to such as have the gift called *interpretatio sermonum* and are then devoutly set down at the feet of the doctors of the church, and taught implicitly to receive the decisions of councils. "Quharfor, he that will nocht heir, resaif, and obey ye diffinitionis and determinationis of lauchful general counsellis concerning materis of our faith, he is not to be accountit a trew christin man, according to the wordis of our salviour,—'Gif he will nocht heir the kirk, lat him be to the as ane infidele. unchristinit, and ane publican.' Thus ye haif quha is ane heritык, and how he brekis the first command." Fol. xviii, b. xix, b.

As all who question the infallible decisions of the church are pronounced guilty of a breach of the first commandment, the Roman Catholics are, with no less ease, exculpated from a breach of the second, by the insertion of a convenient parenthesis. The reader will observe, that, according to a division of the law first countenanced by Augustine, and of which the popish church is extremely fond, the first and second commandments are thrown into one, and, to make up the number, the tenth is split into two; although the compilers of the Catechism found it impracticable to keep to this last division in their explication. The following is their enunciation of the first commandment, "I am ye Lord thi God, quhilk hais brocht ye fra the land of Egypt, fra the house of bondage. Thow sall haif na other goddis but me, thou sal nocht mak to thee (*as gods*) ony grauit ymage, nother ony similitude of ony thing that is in the heuin abone, or in ye erd beneth, nor of ony thing yat is in the watter under the erd. Thow sal nocht adorne yame, nor worschip yame (*as goddis*)." Fol. xii, a. It is fair, however, to hear the explication which the authors of the Catechism give respecting images. "Ar ymages aganis the first command? Na, sa thai be weil usit. Quhat is the rycht use of ymagis? Imagis to be made na haly writ forbiddis (sais venerabil Bede) for the sycht of thame, specially of the crucifixe giffis greit compunction to thame quhilk behaldis it with faith in Christ, and to thame yat are unletterat, it geffis a quik remembrance of ye passion of Christ. Salomon in tyme of his wisdome, nocht without tha inspiration of God, made ymagis in ye temple. Moyses the excellent prophet and trew seruand of God, made and ereckit a brassin ymage of a serpent (quhilk figurit the lyfting vp of our Salwiour Jesus Christ vpon the crosse) and als, be the comand of God, causit mak the ymagis of twa angellis callit cherubinis, quhilk thing thir twa sa excellet men in wisedome wald neuir haif done, gif the makin of ymagis war aganis ye comand of God.—Bot utterly yis command forbiddis to mak ymagis to that effeck, that thai suld be adornit and wirschippit as goddis, or with ony

godly honour, ye quhilk sentence is expremit be thir wordis: Non adorabis ea neq; coles. Thow sall nocht adorne yame nor wirschip thame as goddis. Now we suld nocht gif goddis honour, or Christis honour to ony ymage, bot to God allanerly, representit be ane image." Fol. xxiii, b.

In the explication of the fifth article of the Creed, is a particular account of the four places in hell; *infernus damnatorum, puerorum, purgandorum,* et *patrum*. The following proof is given of our Saviour's descent into hell, to deliver the saints who had been confined in the last mentioned place until the time of his death. "Also ye same deliuerace was prophesit be the prophet Osee: Ero mors tua, o mors, ero morsus tuus o inferne. *O dede* (says our saluiour) *I sal be thi dede—O hell I sal byte the.* The man yat bytes ony thing, he takis part to him, and lattis part remaine behind. Sa our saluiour passand doune to hell, he fulfyllit this prophesie, takand part of saulis out fra hell with him, and leiffand part behind him. Quhom tuk he with him? bot thame that was haly and gud, quhilk was haldin thair as presonaris." Fol. cviii.

Upon the whole, this Catechism has been written with great care, and the style is by no means bad. It is singular that it should have been so little noticed by the writers of that age, and that it does not appear who was its compiler. The provincial council describe it merely as "a certain book written in the vulgar and Scottish dialect,—librum quendam vulgari et Scotico idiomate conscriptum," and having examined and approved of it, they commit to the archbishop, as primate, the care of seeing it printed. As it was printed at his expence, and as his name appears on the title-page and colophon, it has been usually called Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism. But there is not the least reason for thinking that the primate would have taken the trouble to compose a book consisting of 411 pages quarto, even although he had been in other respects qualified for the task. Bale, in his account of Scottish writers, mentions "*Joannes Wouram*, vel *Wyrem*," whom he calls "a canon regular in St. Andrews;" and he ascribes to him "a *Catechism* in his vernacular language,—scripsit in vulgari sermone, Catechismum fidei." Scriptores M. Brytanniæ Post. Pars, p. 224. I have little doubt that *John Winram*, sub-prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and afterwards superintendent of Fife, is the person to whom Bale refers. Could *he* be the author of the Catechism under consideration? Though early regarded as favourable to the reformed opinions, Winram did not leave the popish church until a very late period; and his conduct, during the intermediate struggle, was extremely ambiguous, and often contradictory. The clergy frequently availed themselves of his talents, and of his reputation with the people, to diminish the odium of their obnoxious measures, or to recommend their partial and inefficient plans of reform. He was employed to preach at the trial of Wishart, and was present at the trials of Wallace and Mill. Fox. 1155, 1158, 1161, edit. 1596. He was a member of the provincial council which met in 1549, and is styled, in the register, "ecclesiæ metrop. primitialis S. Andreæ *canonicus regularis*, supprior, theologiæ doctor." Wilkins, ut supra, p. 46. That council employed him to draw up the canon intended to settle the ridiculous dispute, which had been warmly agitated among the clergy, whether the *Pater Noster* should be said to the saints, or to God alone. Comp. Fox, 1161. with Wilkins, 57, 58. And in the council which sat in 1559, he was nominated one of the six persons to whose examination and admonition the archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow submitted their private conduct. Wilkins, p. 209. The learned reader may also consult the Verses on Winram inserted in the Supplement.

Spottiswood seems to have confounded this Catechism with a smaller treatise, called by the people *The twa-penny Faith*. History, p. 92. This last was set forth by the council which met in 1559. Knox, Historie, p. 109, 110. The following extracts from the proceedings of that council may throw some light on the history of this popish publication. The Roman Catholic Remonstrants, in their representation to the council, required, "yat yar be an godlie and fruitfull declaration set forth in Inglis toung, to be first shewin to the pepil at all times, quhen the sacrament of the blissit body and blud of Jesus Christ is exhibit and destribut, and sicklyke, when baptism and marriage are solemnizit, in face of halie kirk; and yat it be declarit to yaim, yat assist at the sacraments, quhat is the effect yarof, and yat it be spirit at yam be ye prist ministrant, gif yai be reddy to resave the samen; with sick utheris interogatories, as ar necessar for instructing of the poynts of mens salvation, and requires to be answerit unto be all yai, that wald be participant, etc. and yir things to be don before ye using of ye ceremony of haly kirk, etc." Wilkins, ut supra, p. 207, 208. The following canon of the council seems to contain the answer to this petition. "Insuper ut populus Christianus sacramentorum ecclesiæ verum effectum, vim, ac usum facilius ac commodius intelligere valeat, statuit hoc præsens concilium *quasdam catholicas exhortationes*, easque *succinctas declarationes* sacramentorum baptismi, sacrosanctæ eucharistiæ, extremæ unctionis, matrimonii, auctoritate hujus concilii edendas, et inferius inserendas, quas singuli parochi, vel alii presbyteri eorundem sacramentorum legitimi ministri, ipsa sacramenta ministraturi, singulis suam propriam et debitam exhortationem præmittant, et publice et distincte recitent, et legant singuli curati et vicarii, dum sacræ missæ sacrificium diebus dominicis et aliis majoribus festis sunt celebraturi, infra scriptam exhortationem; et ejusdem sacrificii declarationem publice in ecclesia similiter legant, quo populus christianus majori pietatis effectu rebus divinis assistat, et intersit," &c. Wilkins, ut supra, p. 213. These Exhortations and Declarations were not inserted in the MS. from which Wilkins copied. I am at present inclined to think that they were published, and that they formed what was called in derision, The two-penny faith. Comp. Buchanani Oper. i. 312.

Note XXV. p. 58.

Knox's Letter of Instructions to the protestants of Scotland during his absence.—In the first edition, I printed this letter in the Appendix, as an unpublished paper. I have since had an opportunity of seeing a printed copy; but as it is exceedingly rare, and as the letter itself is extremely valuable, I have inserted it in this place.

"To his brethren in Scotland efter hie had bene quyet amang thame. The comfort of the halie Gaist for salutatioun.

Not sa mekill to instruct you as to leave with you, dearlie belovit brethren, sum testimony of my love, I have thought gud to communicate with you, in theis few lynis, my weak consall, how I wald ye suld behave yourselves in the middis of this wickit generatioun, tuiching the exercis of Godis maist halie and sacred word, without the whilk, nether sall knawledge incres, godlines apeir, nor fervencie continew amang yow. For as the word of God is the begyning of lyfe spirituall, without whilk all flesche is deid in Godis presence, and the lanterne to our feit, without the bryghtnes whairof all the posteritie of adame doith walk in darknes. And as it is the fundament of faith without the whilk na man understandeth the gud will of God, sa is it also the onlie organe and instrument whilk God useth to strengthin the weak, to comfort the afflictit, to reduce to mercie be repentance sic as have sliddin, and finallie to preserve and keip the verie lyfe of the saule in all assaltis and temptationis, and thairfoir yf that ye desyr your knawledge to be incressit, your faith to be confirmit, your consciencis to be quyetit and comfortit, or finallie your saule to be preservit in lyfe, lat your exercis be frequent in the law of your Lord God. despys not that precept whilk moses, (who, be his awn experience had learnit what comfort lyeth hid within the word of God) gave to the isralitis in theis wordis: "Theis wordis whilk I command the this day salbe in thi hart, and thou sal exercis thi children in thame, thou sal talk of thame when thou art at home in thi hous, and as thou walkest be the way, and when thou lyis doun, and when thou rysis up, and thou sall bind thame for a signe upon thi hand, and thay salbe paperis of rememberance betwene thi eis, and thou sall wryt thame upon the postis of thi hous and upon thi gatis.' And moses in another place commandis thame to 'remember the law of the Lord God, to do it, that it may be weill unto thame and with thair children in the land whilk the Lord sall gif thame;' meanyng that, lyke as frequent memorie and repetitioun of Godis preceptis is the middis whairby the feir of God, whilk is the begynning of all wisdome and filicitie, is keipit recent in mynd, sa is negligence and oblivioun of Godis benefitis ressavit the first grie of defectioun fra God. now yf the law, whilk be reasone of our weaknes can wirk nathing but wruith and anger, was sa effectuall that, rememberit and rehersit of purpois to do, it brought to the pepill a corporall benedictioun, what sall we say that the glorious gospell of Chryst Jesus doith wirk, so that it be with reverence intreatit. St paule calleth [it] the sueit odour of lyfe unto thois that suld resaif lyfe, borrowing his similitude fra odoriferous herbis or precious unguementis, whais nature is the mair thay be touchit or moveit to send send furth thair odour mair pleasing and delectabill: even sic, deir brethren, is the blissit evangell of oure

Lorde Jesus; for the mair that it be intreatit, the mair comfortable and mair plissant is it to sic as do heir, read, and exercis the sam. I am not ignorant that, as the isralitis lothit manna becaus that everie day thay saw and eat but ane thing, sa sum thair be now a dayis (wha will not be haldin of the worst sort) that efter anis reiding sum parcellis of the scriptures do convert thame selves altogether to prophane autors and humane letteris becaus that the varietie of matteris thairin conteaynit doith bring with it a daylie delectatioun, whair contrairwys within the simpill scriptures of God the perpetuall repititioun of a thing is fascheous and werisome. This temptatioun I confes may enter in Godis verie elect for a tyme, but impossibill is it that thairin thay continew to the end: for Godis electioun, besydis othir evident signis, hath this ever joynit with it that Godis elect ar callit frome ignorance (I speik of thois that ar cumin to the yeiris of knawledge) to sum taist and feilling of Godis mercie, of whilk thay ar never satisfeit in this lyfe, but fra tyme to tyme thay hunger and thay thrist to eat the breid that descendit fra the heavin, and to drink the watter that springeth into lyfe everlasting, whilk thay can not do but be the meanis of faith, and faith luketh ever to the will of God reveallit be his word, sa that faith hath baith her begynning and continewance be the word of God. and sa I say that impossibill it is that Godis chosin children can despys or reiect the word of thair salvatioun be any lang continewance, nether yit loth of it to the end. Often it is that Godis elect ar haldin in sic bondage and thraldome that they can not have the bread of lyfe brokin unto thame, neither yit libertie to exercis thame selves in Godis halie word, but then doith not Godis deir children loth but maist gredilie do thay covet the fude of thair saullis, then do thay accuse thair former negligence, then lament and bewaill thay the miserable afflictioun of thair brethren, and than cry and call thay in thair hartis (and opinlie whair thay dar) for frie passage to the gospell. This hungir and thrist doith argue and prufe the lyfe of thair saullis. But gif sic men as having libertie to reid and exercis thame selves in Godis halie scripture, and yet do begin to wearie becaus fra tyme to tyme they reid but a thing, I ask why wearie thay not also everie day to drink wyne, to eat bread, everie day to behald the bryghtnes of the sone, and sa to us the rest of Godis creatures whilk everie day do keip thair awn substance, cours, and nature? thay sall anser, I trust, becaus sic creatures have a strenth as oft as thay ar usit to expell hunger, and quenche thrist, to restoir strenth, and to preserve the lyfe. O miserabill wreachis, wha dar attribut mair power and strenth to the corruptible creatures in nurisching and preserving the mortall karcas, than to the eternall word of God in nurissment of the saule whilk is immortall! To reasone with thair abominable unthankfulnes at this present it is not my purpois. But to yow, deir brethrene, I wryt my knawledge, and do speik my conscience, that sa necessarie as meit and drink is to the preservatioun of lyfe corporall, and so necessarie as the heit and bryghtnes of the sone is to the quicknyng of the herbis and to expell darknes, sa necessarie is also to lyfe everlasting, and to the illuminatioun and lyght of the saule, the perpetuall meditatioun, exercis, and use of Godis halie word.

And thairfoir, deir brethrene, yf that ye luke for a lyfe to come, of necessitie it is that ye exercise yourselves in the buke of the Lord your God. Lat na day slip over without sum comfort ressavit fra the mouth of God. opin your earis, and hie will speik evin pleasing thingis to your hart. Clois not your eis, but diligentlie lat thame behald what portioun of substance is left to yow within your fatheris testament: Let your toungis learne to prais the gracious gudness of him wha of his meir mercie hath callit you fra darknes to lyght and fra deth to lyfe. nether yit may ye do this sa quyetlie that ye will admit na witnessis; nay, brethren, ye are ordeynit of God to reule and governe your awn houssis in his trew feir, and according to his halie word. within your awn houssis, I say, in sum cassis ye ar bishopis and kingis, your wyffis, children and familie ar your bishoprik and charge; of you it sal be requyrit how cairfullie and diligentlie ye have instructit thame in Godis trew knawledge, how that ye have studeit in thame to plant vertew and to repress vyce. And thairfoir, I say, ye must mak thame partakeris in reading, exhortation, and in making commoun prayeris, whilk I wald in everie hous wer usit anis a day at leist. But above all thingis, deir brethren, studie to practis in lyfe that whilk the Lord commandis, and than be ye assurit that ye sall never heir nor reid the same without frute: and this mekill for the exercises within your housis.

Considdering that St paul callis the congregatioun the bodie of Chryst, whairof everie ane of us is a member, teaching ws thairby that na member is of sufficience to susteane and feid the self without the help and support of any uther, I think it necessarie that for the conferrence of scriptures, assemblies of brether be had. The order thairin to be observit, is expressit be sanct paule, and thairfoir I neid not to use many wordis in that behalf: onlie willing that when ye convene, (whilk I wald wer anis a weik) that your begynning suld be fra confessing of your offences, and invocatioun of the spreit of the Lord Jesus to assist yow in all your godlie interprysis, and than lat sum place of scripture be plainelie and distinctlie red, samekill as sal be thocht sufficient for a day or tyme, whilk endit, gif any brother have exhortatioun, interpretatioun, or dout, lat him not feir to speik and move the same, sa that he do it with moderatioun, either to edifie or be edifeit. and heirof I dout not but great profit sall schortlie ensew, for first be heiring, reiding, and conferring the scriptures in the assemblie, the haill bodie of the scriptures of God salbecum familiar, the judgement and spreitis of men salba tryit, thair pacence and modestie salbe knawin, and finallie their giftis and utterance sall appeir. Multiplicatioun of wordis, perplext interpretatioun, and wilfulnes in reasonyng is to be avoydit at all tymes and in all places, but chieflie in the congregatioun, whair nathing aucht to be respectit except the glorie of God, and comfort or edificatioun of our brethrene. Yf any thing occur within the text, or yit arys in reasonyng, whilk your judgementis can not resolve, or capacities aprehend, let the same be notit and put in wryt befoir ye depart the congregatioun, that when God sall offir unto yow any interpreter your doutis being notit and knawin may have the mair expedit resolutioun, or els that when ye sall have occasioun to wryt to sic as with whome ye wald communicat your judgementis, your letteris may signifie and declair your unfeaned desyre that ye haue of God and of his trew knawledge, and thay, I dout not, according to thair talentis, will endeuour and bestow thair faithfull labors, [to] satisfie your godlie petitionis. of myself I will speak as I think, I will moir gladlie spend xv houris in communicatting my judgment with yow, in explanyng as God pleassis to oppin to me any place of scripture, then half ane hour in any other matter besyd.

Farther, in reading the scripture I wald ye suld joyne sum bukis of the ald, and sum of the new Testament together, as genesis and ane of the evangelistis, exodus with another, and sa furth, euer ending sic bukis as ye begyn, (as the tyme will suffer) for it sall greitly comfort yow to heir that harmony, and weiltunit sang of the halie spreit speiking in oure fatheris frome the begyning. It sal confirme yow in theis dangerous and perrellous dayis, to behald the face of Christ Jesus his loving spous and kirk, from abell to him self, and frome him self to this day, in all ageis to be ane. Be frequent in the prophetis and in the epistillis of St paule, for the multitude of matteris maist comfortable thairin conteanit requyreth exercis and gud memorie. Lyke as your assemblis aucht to begyn with confessioun and invocatioun of Godis halie spreit, sa wald I that thay wer never finissit without thanksgiving and commoun prayeris for princes, ruleris, and maiestratis, for the libertie and frie passage of Chrystis evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of our afflictit brethrene in all places now persecutit, but maist cruellie now within the realme of france and Ingland, and for sic uther thingis as the spreit of the Lord Jesus sal teache unto yow to be profitable ether to your selues or yit to your brethren whairsoever thay be. If this, or better, deir brethrene, I sall heir that ye exercis your selues, than will I prais God for your great obedience, as for thame that not onlie haue ressavit the word of grace with gladnes, but that also with cair and diligence do keip the same as a treasure and jewell maist precious. And becaus that I can not expect that ye will do the contrarie, at this present I will vse na threatenyngis, for my gud hoip is, that ye sall walk as the sonis of lyght in the middis of this wickit generatioun, that ye salbe as starris in the nyght ceassone, wha yit ar not changeit into darknes, that ye salbe as wheit amangis the kokill, and yit that ye sall not change your nature whilk ye haue ressavit be grace, through the fellowschip and participatioun whilk we haue with the Lord Jesus in his bodie and blud. And finallie, that ye salbe of the novmber of the prvdent virginis, dailie renewing your lampis with oyle, as ye that pacientlie abyd the glorious aparitioun and cuming of the Lord Jesus, whais omnipotent spreit rule and instruct, illuminat and comfort your hartis and myndis in all assaultis, now and euer. Amen. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with yow. Remember my weaknes in your daylie prayeris, the 7 of July 1557.

your brother vnfeaned Johne Knox."

MS. Letters. p. 352—359.

Note XXVI. p. 59.

William Whittingham, the successor of Knox at Geneva, was the son of William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeside, in the county of Chester. He was born anno 1524, and educated at Oxford, where he was held in great reputation for his learning. On the accession of Queen Mary, he went first to Frankfort, and afterwards to Geneva, where he married Catherine, the sister of John Calvin. He was one of the translators of the Geneva Bible, and composed several of the metrical psalms published at the same time, which have his initials prefixed to them. He fell under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, on account of a commendatory preface which he wrote to Christopher Goodman's book on *Obedience to Superior Powers*, in which, among other free sentiments, the government of women was condemned. But he enjoyed the protection of some of her principal courtiers. In 1560, he accompanied the Earl of Bedford on an embassy to France, and, in 1562 and 1563, acted as chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, during the defence of Havre de Grace. That brave nobleman was at a loss for words to express his high esteem for him. In a letter to Cecil, Nov. 20, 1562, Warwick writes: "I assure yow, we may all here thinck our selves happy in having sotch a man amongest us as Mr. Whyttingham is, not only for the greate vertues is in him, but lykewise for the care he hath to serve our mystris besydes: wherfore, in my opynion, he doth well deserve grete thankes at her majestics handes." And in a letter written by him, July 24, 1562, when he was in daily expectation of the city being assaulted by the French, he says to his brother Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester: "My deare brother, for that I had, in my letter to the Quene's Majesty, forgot my humblest thancks for the behalff of my deare frinde Mr. Whittingam, for the great favour it hath pleased her to shew him for my sake: I besetch yow therfore do not forget to render them unto her majesty. Farewell, my deare and loving brother, a thousand tymes, and the Lord send yow well to do." Forbes, State Papers, ii. 207, 418, 487.

In 1563, Whittingham was made Dean of Durham, which seems to have been the favour for which Warwick was so grateful to Elizabeth. I have already mentioned (p. 56.) that an unsuccessful attempt was made to invalidate the ordination which he had received at Geneva. On that occasion Dr. Hutton, Dean of York, told Archbishop Sandys, that Whittingham "was ordained in a *better* manner than even the archbishop himself;" and the Lord President said, he could not in conscience agree to "allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and to disallow of ministers made in a reformed church." Whittingham never conformed fully to the English church, and died in 1579. Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, ii. 143—152, 378.

Note XXVII. p. 64.

Aylmer's sentiments respecting the English Constitution.—The view which Aylmer has given of the English constitution is very different from that which Mr. Hume has laboured to establish, by dwelling upon some arbitrary measures of the house of Tudor. As his work is seldom consulted, I may be excused for inserting here a few extracts from it on this subject. It will be seen that he carefully distinguishes between the principles of the constitution, and those proceedings which were at variance with them. "But if this be utterly taken from them [women] in this place, what maketh it against their government in a politike weale, where neither the woman nor the man ruleth (if there be no tyrants) but the laws. For, as Plato saith, *Illi civitati paratum est exitium ubi magistratus legibus imperat, et non leges magistratui:* That city is at the pit's brinke, wherein the magistrate ruleth the lawes, and not the lawes the magistrate." And a little afterwards: "Well; a woman may not reigne in Englande. Better in Englande, than any where, as it shall wel appere to him that, with out affection, will consider the kind of regimen. Whyle I confer ours with other (as it is in itselfe, and not maimed by usurpacion) I can find none either so good or so indifferent. The regemente of Englande is not a mere monarchie, as some for lacke of consideracion thinke, nor a mere Oligarchie nor Democracie, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein ech one of these have or should have like authoritie. The image whereof, and not the image, but the thinge in dede is to be sene in the parliament hous, wherein you shall find these 3 estats: the King or Quene which representeth the Monarche, the noblemen which be the Aristocratie, and the Burgesses and Knights the Democratcie.—If the parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them: If he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their fault in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgment, those that in king Henry the VIII's daies would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the countrie, and worthy commendacion in defending their liberty. Wold God that that court of late daies had feared no more the farcenese of a woman, than they did the displeasure of such a man. Then should they not have stouped, contrary to their othes and alledgeaunce to the crowne, against the privilege of that house, upon their marye bones to receive the Devil's blessenge brought unto them by Satan's apostle, the cardinal. God forgeve him for the doing, and them for obeying! But to what purpose is all this? To declare that it is not in England so daungerous a matter to have a woman ruler, as men take it to be.—If on thother part, the regement were such as all hanged upon the king's or quene's wil, and not upon the lawes written; if she might decre and make lawes alone, without her senate; if she judged offences according to her wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and laws; if she might dispose alone of war and peace; if, to be short, she wer a mer monarch, and not a mixed ruler, you might peradventure make me to fear the matter the more, and the less to defend the cause." Harborowe for Faithfull and Trew Subjects. H. 2 & 3.

Note XXVIII. p. 64.

Female Supremacy.—"Our countryman, John Knox, has been much censured for want of civility and politeness to the fair sex; and particularly for sounding a first and second "blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women." He was indeed no milksop courtier, who can sacrifice the public weal to the punctilios of politeness, or consider the interests of nations as a point of gallantry. His reasons for the abolition of all female government, if they are not entirely convincing, may be allowed at least to be specious; and might well be indulged as a harmless speculative opinion in one who was disposed as he was to make no bad use of it in practice, and to give all dutiful respect to whomsoever the will of God and the commonwealth had assigned the sovereign power. But though the point may be conceded in regard to secular government, in ordering of which the constitutions and customs and mere pleasure of communities may be allowed to establish what is not morally evil: it will not follow that the essential order and positive law of the spiritual kingdom may also be sported with, and subverted.—Let the English, if they please, admit a weak, fickle, freakish, bigotted, gallantish or imperious woman, to sway the sceptre of political dominion over millions of men, and even over her own husband in the crowd, to whom at the altar she had previously vowed obedience, they shall meet with no opposition from the presbyterians, provided, they do not also authorise her to lord it, or lady it, over their faith and consciences, as well as over their bodies, goods and chattels.

"By the laws of the Romish church, no female can be admitted to a participation of clerical power. Not so much as the ancient order of deaconesses now remain in her. Her casuists have examined and debated this thesis, Whether a woman may have the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon her; and have determined it in the negative.* But of the philosophical dignity they are not quite so jealous. Helen Lucrecia Piscopia Cornaca, of famous memory, once applied for her degree in divinity in an Italian university; but Cardinal Barbarigo, bishop of Padua, was far from being disposed to grant it; so that this learned lady was obliged to content herself with a doctorate in philosophy, which, with universal applause, was actually conferred upon her, June 25, 1678.† But the English climate savours nothing of this Italian jealousy nor are the divines in it so niggardly of their honours. We do not hear indeed that they have formally matriculated any ladies, in the universities, or obliged them by canon, or act of parliament, to take out degrees, either in law, in philosophy, or divinity, to qualify them for ecclesiastical preferment (even the highest pinnacle of it;) though their laws hold males utterly unqualified for holding any lucrative place in the church, or in ecclesiastic courts, without these: Nor can a man be admitted to the lowest curacy, or be fellow or student in an uni-

* Carol. Rinaldinij. *Matth. Analit. art. pars 3tia.*
† *Nouvell. de la Republ. de Lett.* 1685.

versity, until he have learned and digested all the articles, homilies, canons, rubrics, modes and figures of the church of England, as he cannot even be serjeant or exciseman, till he understand perfectly the superior devotion of kneeling above sitting. But it is very possible, though they do not bear the learned titles, the ladies may know as much of learning and divinity, as those who do. And though they may not receive ordination on Ember-week for the inferior orders, yet it is enacted and provided, that one of their number may be raised at once *per saltum* not only above all the peers and peeresses, but over all the graduates, reverend dignitaries, and mitred heads in the kingdom. The solemn inaugurating unction once applied, then *Cedite Romani* Doctores, *cedite Graij*. Hence forward, as the queen of Sheba came from the uttermost end of the earth, to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and to have every enigma and hard question solved, so must every master, doctor, heads of universities, every diocesan and metropolitan, however wise, have recourse to their queen, by reference or appeal, with every difficult question, and every learned and deep controversy, and be responsible to her for their every decision. How flattering a constitution this to womankind—if they be indeed so very fond of precedence and rule, as is commonly said! She must have an unreasonable and unbounded ambition indeed whom this will not content; though she should not be also further told in plain terms, that she is a goddess, and in her office superior to Christ; as some court-clergymen have ventured to affirm of their visible head." A Historico-Politico-Ecclesiastical Dissertation on the Supremacy of Civil Powers in Matters of Religion, particularly the Ecclesiastical Supremacy annexed to the English Crown; By Archibald Bruce, Minister of the gospel, p. 46, 47, 49, 50. Edinburgh, 1802.

Note XXIX. p. 65.

Of the form of Prayer used in Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation.—It is natural to inquire here what is meant by the "buik of comon prayeris" which the protestants in 1557 agreed to use, or which was afterwards followed in their public worship. Was it the common prayer book of Edward VI. or was it a different one? This question was keenly canvassed, after the Revolution, by the Scots Episcopalians and Presbyterians. Mr. Sage, the most able champion of the Episcopalians, insisted that it was the English liturgy, and endeavoured to prove that this was during, "at least, *seven* years in continued practice in Scotland," i. e. from 1557 to 1564. Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 95—101, 349. 2d edit. Lond. 1697. Mr. Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, who was the most acute advocate of Presbytery, answered this part of the Fundamental Charter, and adduced a number of arguments to prove that it was the liturgy not of Edward VI. but of the English church at Geneva, of which Knox was minister, which was used in Scotland from the time that protestant congregations were formed in this country. The Countrey-man's Letter to the Curat, p. 65—77. printed in 1711. I shall state a few facts, without entering into reasoning. Mr. Anderson says, that he had in his possession a copy in Latin, of the liturgy used in the English church at Frankfort, the preface of which bears date the 1st of September, 1554. He adds that this had been translated from English into Latin; and that the prayers in it are exactly the same with those which are found in the Order of Geneva, afterwards adopted by the Scottish church; only there are some additional prayers in the latter accommodated to the circumstances of Scotland. Ibid. p. 64. This must have been the form of worship agreed on by the exiles immediately after their arrival at Frankfort. Troubles of Franckford, p. 7. Before the end of that year, the form of worship observed by *the Genevan church* was printed in English. Ibid. p. 27. In the beginning of the following year, the form afterwards used by *the English church at Geneva* was composed, which differed very little from that which was first used at Frankfort. Ibid. p. 37. This was printed in the beginning of 1556. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 401. It is not unlikely that Knox, in his visit to Scotland in 1555, would carry with him copies of the two former liturgies, and that he would send copies of the latter, on his return to Geneva. After all, I think it extremely probable, that copies of the liturgy of Edward VI. were still more numerous in Scotland at that time, and that they were used by some of the protestants at the beginning of the Reformation. This appears from a letter of Cecil to Throkmorton, 9th July, 1559. "The protestants be at Edynborough. They offer no violence, but dissolve religiose howsees; directyng the lands thereof to the crowne, and to ministery in the chirch. The parish churchees they delyver of altars and imagees, and have receved the service of the church of England, accordyng to King Edward's booke." Forbes's State Papers, i. 155. Another thing which inclines me to think that the English liturgy was in the eye of those who made the agreement in Dec. 1557 is, that they mention the reading of "the *lessonis* of the New and Auld Testament, *conforme* to the ordour of the Buik of Commoun-Prayeris." Anderson gives a quotation from the preface to the Frankfort liturgy in which the compilers vindicate themselves against the objection, that they had omitted the reading of the Gospels and Epistles, by saying that they read in order not only these, but all the books of scripture. And he insists that by the "lessonis of the New and Auld Testament," our reformers meant no more than the reading of the scriptures in general. This reply does not appear to me satisfactory.

But though the Scottish protestants, at this time, agreed to make use of the prayers and scripture-lessons contained in the English liturgy, it cannot be inferred from this, that they approved of it without limitations, or that they meant to bind themselves to all its forms and ceremonies. The contrary is evident. It appoints lessons to be read from the apocrypha; but they expressly confined their reading to "the lessons of the New and Old Testament." A great part of the English liturgy can be read by a priest only; but all that they proposed to use could be performed by "the most qualifeit in the parochin," provided the curate refused or was unqualified. I need scarcely add, that, if they had adopted that liturgy, the invitation which they gave to Knox must have come with a very bad grace. It must have been to this purpose, (to use Mr. Anderson's words,) "Pray, good Mr. Knox, come over and help us; and for your encouragement against you come, you shall find the English liturgy, against which you preached in Scotland, against which you declared before the councel of England, for opposing which you were brought in danger of your neck at Francford; this English liturgy you shall find the authorized form of worship, and that by an ordinance of *our* making." The Countreyman's Letter, ut supra, p. 69.

We can trace back the use of the Book of Common Order (or, Order of Geneva) by the church of Scotland from the year 1564. The General Assembly, Dec. 26, 1564, ordained "that everie Minister, Exhorter and Reader sall have one of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments." Keith, 538. This refers to the edition of the Geneva Order and Psalms, which had been printed during that year by Lepreuik. "In the generall assemblie convened at Edinr. in Decer. 1562, for printing of the psalmes, the kirk lent Rob. Lieprivick, printer, tva hundreth pounds, to help to buy Irons, ink and papper, and to tie craftesmen for printing." Reasons for continuing the use of the old metrical Version of the Psalms. (Written in 1632.) p. 232. of a MS. belonging to Robert Græme, Esq; Advocate. But although this was the first edition of the book printed in this country, it had been previously printed both at Geneva and in England; and was used in the church of Scotland. For in the Assembly which met in Dec. 1562, it was concluded, That an uniforme Order sould be keeped in ministration of the sacraments, solemnization of marriages, and burial of the dead, *according to the Booke of Geneva*." Keith, 519. Petrie, part ii. p. 233. Nor was it then introduced for the first time; for the Abbot of Crossraguel, in a book set forth by him in 1561, mentions it as the established form of prayers at the time he wrote. "I will call to remembrance (says he) the sayings of quhilkis ar written to the redar, in *thair buke* callit *the forme of prayeris* as eftir followis, viz. 'As for the wourdis of the Lordis supper, we rehers thaim nocht bicaus thai sulde change the substance of the breid and wine, or that the repititione tharof, with the entent of the sacrificear, sulde make the sacraments (as the papistis falslie believis.")' Ane Oratioune be Master Quintine Kennedy, p. 15. Edin. 1812. The passage quoted by Kennedy is in the Book of Common Order. Dunlop, ii. 454. The First Book of Discipline, framed in 1560, expressly approves of the Order of Geneva, which it calls "*our* Book of Common Order," and mentions its being "used in some of our churches," previous to that period. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 520, 548, 583. From these facts it is evident that, although the scripture lessons and the prayers in the English liturgy were at first used by some of the Scottish protestants, yet they never received that book as a whole; that the Order of Geneva

was introduced among them before the establishment of the reformation; and that it became the universal form of worship as soon as a sufficient number of copies of it could be procured. If any other evidence of this were necessary, I might produce the testimony of Sir Francis Knollys, the English ambassador. When queen Mary fled into England in 1568, she feigned her willingness to give up with the mass, and to adopt the English common prayer book, provided Elizabeth would assist her in regaining her crown. Lord Herries having made this proposal in her name, Sir Francis replied "that yf he meant thereby to condempne the form and order of common prayer now used in Skotland, agreeable with divers well reformed churches,—or that he meant to expell all the learned preachers of Skotland, yff they wold not return back to receave and wayr cornered capes and typpets, with surpless and coopes, which they have left by order *contynually since their first receaving of the gospel into that realme;* then he myght so fyght for the shadow and image of religion that he myght bring the body and truth in danger." Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. part i. p. 210, 111.

As this subject has been introduced, I may make an observation or two respecting the form of prayers used in the church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. What has been called *Knox's Liturgy*, was *the Book of Common Order*, first used by the English church at Geneva. It contains forms of prayers for the different parts of public worship; and this is the only resemblance which it bears to the English liturgy. But there is this important difference between the two; in the English, the minister is restricted to the repetition of the very words of the prayers; in the Scottish, he is left at liberty to vary from them, and to substitute prayers of his own in their room. The following quotations will exemplify the mode of the latter. "When the congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the minister useth one of these two confessions, *or like in effect*."—"The minister after the sermon useth this prayer following, *or such like*." Similar declarations are prefixed to the prayers to be used at the celebration of baptism and of the Lord's Supper. And at the end of the account of the public service of the Sabbath is this intimation; "It shall not be necessarie for the minister daylie to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with *some* manner of confession to proceed to the sermon, which ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates before mentioned. or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath entreated of." Knox's Liturgy, p. 74, 83, 86, 120. Edin. 1611. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 417, 421, 426, 443. 450. And at the end of the *Form of Excommunication*, it is signified, "This order may be enlarged or contracted as the wisdome of the discreet minister shall think expedient; for we rather shew the way to the ignorant, then prescribe order to the learned that cannot be amended." Dunlop, ii. 746. The Scottish prayers, therefore, were intended as a help to the ignorant, not as a restraint upon those who could pray without a set form. The readers and exhorters commonly used them; but even they were encouraged to perform the service in a different manner. Knox's Liturgy, ut supra, p. 189. Dunlop, ii. 694.

Note XXX. p. 66.

Of the Petitions presented by the Protestants to the Queen Regent.—The petition which Sir James Sandilands presented, in the name of his brethren, contained five requests. 1. That, as by the laws of the land they had, after long debate, obtained liberty to read the scriptures in their native language, it should also be lawful for them to use, publicly or privately, "comoun prayaris in our vulgar toung." 2. That if, in the course of reading the scriptures in their assemblies, any difficulty occurred, it should be lawful for any "qualifeit persone in knawledge" to explain it, subject to the judgement of "the maist godlie and maist learnit within the realme." 3. "That the holy sacrament of baptisme may be used in the vulgar toung," accompanied with instruction to the parties and to the church. 4. "That the sacrament of the Lordis supper or of his most blessed body and blude may likewise be ministrate in the vulgar toung, and in both kindis." And *lastly*, "That the wicket, slanderous, and detestabill lyif of Prelattes, and of the stait ecclesiastical, may be so reformed that the pepill by thame have not occasioun, as of mony dayis they have had, to contempe their ministrie and the preiching, whairof they sould be messengers;" and to remove suspicion of interested motives in making this request, they add, "we ar content that not only the reulles and preceptis of the New Testament, but also the wryttings of the ancient Fatheris, and the godly approved lawis of Justiniane, decyde the controversie that is betwix us and thame." Knox, Historie, p. 120, 121. Spottiswood (p. 119.) omits the article respecting baptism, and introduces another: "that the election of ministers should be according to the manner used in the primitive church." See also Buchanani Oper. i. 311.

This petition discovers great moderation on the part of the protestants. Historians differ as to the precise time at which it was presented. Spottiswood (p. 108.) places his account of it after the martyrdom of Mill. And the writer of the Historie of the Estate of Scotland from 1559 to 1566 (p. 1.) says that it was presented in July 1558. On the contrary Knox (p. 120, 122.) places it before the death of Mill. It is highly probable that the protestants petitioned the Regent both before and after that event, and that on both occasions they employed Sir James Sandilands as their representative. In this light I have represented the matter in the text. But I am inclined, upon the whole, to consider Knox's statement as the most correct. He had the best opportunity of ascertaining the fact. This was the part of his History which was first written by him, soon after his arrival in Scotland, when the transaction must have been fresh in the recollection of all his associates. There is no reference in the petition to the illegal execution of Mill, which could scarcely have been omitted if it had previously taken place. The objection urged by Keith, from the clause in the petition which supposes that the Queen was married, does not appear to have great strength. The parliament, in December 1557, had agreed to the solemnization of the marriage, their commissioners had sailed for France in February to be present at the ceremony, which was appointed to take place on the 24th of April. In these circumstances the protestants might, without any impropriety, request that they should be allowed liberty to use the common prayers in the vulgar tongue, to the end that they might "be induced in fervent and oft prayers to comend unto God—the queen our soverane, hir honorabill and gracious husband," &c. Keith is wrong when he says that Knox has fixed the execution of Mill "to the 8th of April, which was above two weeks before the Queen's marriage." History, p. 80, note. Knox says he was put to death "the twentie aucht day of Aprylle," which was four days after the marriage. Historie, p. 122.

After the martyrdom of Mill; the protestants renewed their application to the Regent, with a warm remonstrance against the cruelty of the clergy. Knox, Historie, p. 122. The parliament held in November 1558 approaching, they delivered another petition to her, desiring that it should be laid before the meeting of the estates. In this they requested, that the laws by which the clergy justified their severe and cruel proceedings against them should be abrogated, or suspended until the present controversies in religion were regularly determined; or, if this could not be granted, that the clergy should not act as judges, but be obliged to sustain the character of accusers before a temporal judge, and that the same mode of defence should be granted to persons accused of heresy as in other criminal processes. Being persuaded, by the promises of the Regent, to desist from laying this petition before that meeting of parliament, they substituted a protestation; in which they declared that, having waved urging their petitions from regard to the state of public affairs, they should not be liable to any penalties for using that liberty to which they had a just title, and for which they had frequently petitioned, and that, if any tumult was excited by religious differences, or by violent attempts to reform abuses in religion which were become intolerable, this should not be imputed to them who had always requested an orderly reformation of these abuses, but unto the persons who had resisted every attempt of this kind. Ibid. p. 122—125. Spottiswood, 119, 120.

Note XXXI. p. 69.

Dissimulation of the Queen Regent.—I am sensible that my account of the conduct of the queen regent to the protestants differs from that which has been given by Dr. Robertson in his history of this period. He imputes her change of measures entirely to the over-ruling influence of her brothers, and seems to acquit her of insincerity in the countenance which she had shewn, and the promises which she had repeatedly made, to the protestant leaders. In any remarks which I shall make upon this account, I wish to be understood as not detracting in the slightest degree from the merit of his able, ac-

curate, and luminous statement of the plans conceived by the princes of Lorrain. Having mentioned the first symptoms of the Regent's alienation from the reformers, Dr. Robertson says: "In order to account for this, our historians do little more than produce the trite observations concerning the influence of prosperity to alter the character and corrupt the heart." I do not know the particular historians to whom he may refer, but those of the protestant persuasion whom I have consulted, impute her change of conduct not to the above cause, but to the circumstance of her having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, upon which she no longer stood in need of the assistance of the reformers. Accordingly, they charge her with duplicity in her former proceedings with them. Knox, 96, 110, 122, 125. Buchanan. i. 312, Spottiswood, 117, 119, 120. I think they had good reasons for this charge. At a very early period, she gave a striking proof of her disposition and talents for the most deep dissimulation. I refer to her behaviour in the intercourse which she had with Sir Ralph Sadler, in 1543, on which occasion she acted a part not less important than Cardinal Beatoun himself, threw the ambassador into the greatest perplexity, and completely duped the English monarch. Sadler, i. 84—88, 100, 111—113, 249—253. The Governor wanted not reason to say, "as she is both subtle and wily, so she hath a vengeable engine and wit to work her purpose." It is impossible to read the account of her smooth conduct to the reformers, without perceiving the art with which she acted. There is also reason for thinking that she was privy to the execution of Walter Mill, and had encouraged the archbishop of St. Andrews to take that step. Indeed, in his letter to the earl of Argyle, written a few weeks before that event, the archbishop expressly says, that she murmured heavily against him, because he did not use severe measures to check the progress of heresy, and Argyle, in his answer, does not call this in question. Knox, 103, 108.

I do not doubt that the Regent was precipitated into the most violent measures which she adopted by the counsels of her brothers; and that she remonstrated against the impolicy of these, is attested by Castelnau, to whom Dr. Robertson refers as one of his authorities. But I think that she had altered her conduct to the protestants, and declared her resolution to abet the measures of the clergy against them, previous to the time that she is said to have received these strong representations from France. This appears even from the narrative of Castelnau, who has connected the advice given by the princes of Lorrain with the mission of La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, who did not arrive in Scotland until September 1559, after the civil war was kindled. Jebb. ii. 246. Keith, 102. Sadler, i. 470. But it will be still more apparent from an examination of the testimony of Sir James Melvil, the other authority to whom Dr. Robertson appeals. Melvil says that, after the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis was concluded, Bettancourt was sent into Scotland to procure the ratification of it from the queen regent; and that he was charged by the Cardinal of Lorrain to inform her, that the popish princes had agreed to join in extirpating heresy, and to require that she should immediately take steps for suppressing the protestants in that country. Melvil adds, that these instructions, mixed with some threatenings, having been received, the queen regent "determined to follow them. She therefore issued out a proclamation *a little before Easter*, commanding every man great and small, to observe the Roman Catholic religion." Melvil's Memoirs, p. 23, 24. Lond. 1683. The proclamation to observe Easter in the Catholic manner is mentioned by all our historians as the decisive declaration of the Queen's change of measures. Now the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis was not concluded until the 2d of April 1559. Forbes, i. 68. 81. But Easter fell that year on the 29th of March, six days before Bettancourt could undertake his journey to Scotland. The proclamation respecting the observance of that festival must have been issued some weeks before Bettancourt's arrival. Nay, we know from other evidence, that the breach between the queen regent and the protestants had taken place on the 6th of March; for this is the date from which the act of Oblivion afterwards granted is reckoned. Keith, 141, 151. There is, therefore, a glaring anachronism in Melvil's narrative; and whatever influence Bettancourt's embassy had in instigating the Regent to more violent measures, she had previously taken her side, and declared her determination to oppose the progress of the Reformation.

There are several other mistakes which Sir James Melvil has committed in his narrative of the transactions of this period. Even in his account of the important embassy into Scotland, committed to him by Henry II. and of the speech which the constable Montmorency made to him on that occasion, he has introduced the constable as mentioning, among his reasons, the shipwreck of the Marquis D'Elbeuf, which did not happen till some months after, when the French king was dead. Memoirs, ut supra, p. 31. Sadler, i. 417. In my humble opinion, all our historians have given too easy credit to Melvil, both in his statement of facts, and in his representation of characters.

Note XXXII. p. 73.

Lamentation over the demolition of the Religious houses.—"Truely, among all their deeds and devises, the casting doune of the churches was the most foolish and furious worke, the most shreud and execrable turne that ever *Hornok* himself culd have done or devised. For out of al doubt that great grandfather of Calvine, and old enemie of mankind, not only inspired every one of those sacrelegious hellhounds with his flaming sprit of malice and blasphemie, as he did their forefathers Luther and Calvine: bot also was then present as *maister of worke*, busily beholding his servands and hirelings working his wil and bringing to pass his long desired contentment.—They changed the churches (which God himself called his *house of prayer*) into filthie and abominable houses of sensual men, yea, and of unreasonable beasts: when as they made stables in Halyrud-hous, sheep-houses of S. Antone, and S. Leonards chapels, tolbooths of S. Gillis, &c. which this day may be seene, to the great griefe and sorrow of al good Christians, to the shame and confusion of Edinburg, and to the *everlasting damnation* of the doers thereof, the seditious ministers, Knox and his complices." After weeping over the ruins of "Abbirbroth," the writer returns to St. Giles, and represents our Saviour as lamenting its profanation by the setting up of "the abomination of desolation," the courts of justice, within that holy ground. "How wold he say, if he were now entering in at S. Giles, and looking to bare wals, and pillars al cled with dust, sweepings and cobwebs, insted of painting and tapestrie; and on every side beholding the restlesse resorting of people treating of their worldly affaires, some writing and making of obligations, contracts and discharges, others laying countes or telling over sowmes of money, and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the lawes, and too many, allas! about drinking and courting of woemen, yea and perhaps about worse nor I can imagine, as is wont to be done al the day long in the common Exchanges of London and Amsterdam and other great cities. And turning him farther towards the west end of the church, which is divided in a high house for the Colledge of Justice, called the *Session* or *Senathouse*, and a lower house called the *low Tolbooth*, where the balives of the town use to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of harlots and scolds for flyting and whoredom, inclosed in the other: And these, I mean, if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected, and sacrifices, with continual praises and praiers, were wont to be offered up to the lord, in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the crosse, there now are holes for whores, and cages for scolds, where nothing is hard bot banning and swearing, and every one uphraiding another: O what grieve and sorrow wold our Lord tak at the beholding of such *profanation* and *sacrilege!*" *Father Alexander Baillie's True Information of the unhallowed offspring, progress and impoison'd fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers.* p. 24, 25, 27, 28. Wirtsburg, 1628.

Note XXXIII. p. 74.

Alleged excesses of the Reformers.—It would be endless to enter into an examination of the exaggerated accounts which have been given of the "pitiful devastation" committed by the reformers. I shall content myself with stating a few facts which may satisfy the candid and considerate that no such great blame is imputable to them. The demolition of the monasteries, with their dependencies, will be found to comprehend the sum of what they can be justly charged with. And yet again I would ask those who are most disposed to blame them for this, What purpose could the allowing of these buildings to stand have served, if not to cherish the hopes and excite the desires of the Catholics, to regain possession of them? To what use could the reformers possibly have converted them? Is it to be supposed that they could form the idea of

preserving them for the gratification of a race of antiquaries, who were to rise up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Have these gentlemen, with all their zeal, ever testified their regard for these sacred monuments, by associations and subscriptions to preserve the mouldering remains from going to their original dust? The reformed ministers had enough to do, in exciting the nobility and gentry to keep the parish churches in decent repair, without undertaking the additional task of supporting huge and useless fabrics. But enough of this.—Let not any distress themselves by supposing that the costly furniture of the monasteries and churches was all consumed by the flames, Fanatical as the reformers were, they "reservit the best part thairof unburnt," and converted it into money, some of which went into the public purse, but the greater part into the private pockets of the nobles. Winzet, apud Keith, Append. 245. The idols and images were indeed committed to the flames without mercy; but considering the example that their adversaries had set them of consigning *the living images of God* to this fate, the retaliation was certainly moderate; and that these were the only sacrifices which they offered up, we have the testimony of a popish writer. Leslæus, de reb. gest. Scotorum, lib. x. p. 537. edit. 1675.

The act of privy council for demolishing idolatrous houses did not extend to cathedrals or to parish churches. Spottiswood, p. 174. 175. In the first Book of Discipline, indeed, cathedral-churches, if not used as parish-churches, are mentioned among the places to be suppressed; but so far was this case from occurring, that it was found necessary to employ many of the chapels attached to monasteries, and collegiate churches, as places for the protestant worship. That, in the first effervescence of popular zeal, some of the cathedrals and other churches should have suffered, is not much to be wondered at. "What you speak of Mr. Knox preaching for the pulling down of churches (says Mr. Baillie in his answer to bishop Maxwell) is like the rest of your lies.—I have not heard that in all our land above *three* or *foure* churches were cast down." Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 40. Lond. 1646. Mr. Baillie had the historical collections of Calderwood in his possession when he composed that work. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Cecil in the letter quoted above, (p. 424.) The churches were merely to be stripped of monuments of idolatry and instruments of superstition; and in carrying this into effect, great care was ordered to be taken that the buildings should not be injured. Lord James (afterwards Earl of Murray) was the person to whom the execution of the act in the northern part of the kingdom was committed; and we have an authentic document of the manner in which he proceeded, in an order issued by him, and written with his own hand, for purging the cathedral church of Dunkeld. The following is an exact copy of that order.

"To our Traist friendis, the Lairds of Arntilly and Kinvaid.

"Traist friendis, after maist harty commendacion, we pray "yow faill not to pass incontinent to the kyrk of Dunkeld, and "tak doun the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kyrk-"zayrd, and burn thaym oppinly. And siclyk cast down the "altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idola-"trye. And this ze faill not to do, as ze will do us singular "empleseur; and so committis you to the protection of God.

"From Edinburgh, the xii. of August, 1560.

"Faill not, bot ze tak guid heyd (Signed)
"that neither the dasks, windocks, "Ar. Ergyll.
"nor durris, be ony ways hurt
"or broken————cyther "James Stewart.
"glassin wark or iron wark.
"Ruthven."*

We may take it for granted that the same caution was used in the rest of the commissions. If it be asked, how it happened that the cathedrals, and many other churches, fell into such a ruined state, the following quotations may serve for an answer. They are taken from a scarce work written by Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murray, and one of the Lords of Session. "Yet, a great many, not onely of the raskall sorte, but sundry men of name and worldly reputation, joyned themselves with the congregation of the reformers, not so much for zeale of religion, as to reape some earthly commoditie, and to be enriched by spoyle of the kirkes and abbey places. And when the preachers told them that such places of idolatrie should be pulled downe, they accepted gladly the enterprise; and rudely passing to worke, pulled down all, both idoles and places where they were found. Not making difference betweene these places of idolatrie, and many parish kirks, where God's word shuld have bin preached in many parts where they resorted, as in such tumultes and suddainties useth to come to passe; namelye, among such a nation as we are.—

"Another thing fell out at that time, which may be excused by reason of necessitie; when as the lordes, and some of the nobilitie, principall enterprysers of the reformation, having to do with the Frenchmen, and many their assisters of our owne nation enemies to these proceedings, were forced, not onely to ingage their owne landes, and bestowe whatsoever they were able to furnishe of their owne patrimonie, for maintenance of men of warre, and other charges, but also to take the lead and belles, with other jewelles and ornaments of kirkes, abbayes, and other places of superstition, to employ the same, and the prises thereof, to resist the enemies. The most parte of the realme beand in their contrarie. This I say, cannot be altogether blamed." *Against Sacrilege, Three sermons preached by Maister Robert Pont, an aged Pastour in the Kirk of God.* B. 6, 7. *Edinburgh*, 1599. Comp. Keith, p. 468.

But what shall we say of the immense loss which literature sustained on that occasion? "Bibliothecks destroied, the volumes of the fathers, councells, and other books of humane learning, with the registers of the church, cast into the streets, afterwards gathered in heapes, and consumed with fire." Spottiswood's MS. apud Keith, Historie, p. 508. Does not such conduct equal the fanaticism of the Mahometan chieftain who deprived the world of the invaluable Alexandrine library?—As every one is apt to deplore the loss of that commodity upon which he sets the greatest value, I might feel more inclined to join in this lamentation, were I not fully convinced that the real loss was extremely trifling, and that it has been compensated ten thousand fold. Where, and of what kind were these bibliothecks? *Omne ignotum magnificum.* The public was long amused with the tale of a *classic* library at Iona, which promised a complete copy of Livy's works, not to be found in all the world beside; a miracle which Mr. Gibbon, in the abundance of his *literary* faith, seems to have been inclined to admit. Danes, and Reformers, and Republicans, were successively anathematized, and consigned to the shades of barbarism, for the destruction of what (for aught that appears) seems to have existed only in the brains of antiquarians. It has been common to say, that all the learning of the times was confined to monasteries. This was true at a certain period; but it had ceased to be the fact in the age in which the Reformation took place. Low as literature was in Scotland at the beginning of the 16th century, for the credit of my country I trust, that it was not in so poor a state in the universities as it was in the monasteries. Take the account of one who has bestowed much attention on the monastic antiquities of Scotland. "Monkish ambition terminated in acquiring skill in scholastic disputation. If any thing besides simple theology was read" [I greatly doubt if there is any good evidence of this being a practice at the period of which I speak] "it might consist of the legends of saints, who were pictured converting infidels, interceding for offenders, and over-reaching fiends; or of romances, recording the valour of some hardy adventurer, continually occupied in wars with Pagans, or in vanquishing giants, foiling necromancers, and combating dragons. Some were chroniclers; and books of the laws *might* be transcribed or deposited with monks. Some *might* be conversant in medicine and the occult sciences." Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, prefixed to Scottish Poems, i. 17, 18.

But we are not left to conjecture, or to general inferences, concerning the state of the monastic libraries. We have the catalogues of two libraries, the one of a monastery, the other of a collegiate church; which may be deemed fair specimens of the condition of the remainder in the respective ages to which they belonged. The former is the catalogue of the library of the Culdean monastery at Lochlevin in the 12th century. It consisted of *seventeen* books, all of them necessarily in manuscript. Among these were a *pastorale, graduale,* and *missale,* books common to all monasteries, and without which their religious services could not be performed; the Text of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; an Exposition of Genesis; a Collection of Sentences; and an Interpretation of Sayings. The rest seem to have consisted of some of the writings of Prosper, and perhaps of Origen and Jerom. Jamieson's Historical Account of the ancient Culdees, p. 376—8. It may be granted that this collection of books was by no means despicable in that age; but certainly it contained nothing, the loss of which has been injurious to literature. I have

* Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 422.

no doubt that, if a copy of the Gospels, with the Lochlevin seal or superscription, (whether authentic or fictitious) were to occur, with antiquarians it would give as high a price as a Polyglot; but there can be as little question that one copy of the Greek Testament is of more real value. From the 12th to the 16th century, the monastic libraries did not improve. The catalogue of the library at Stirling exhibits the true state of learning at the beginning of the last mentioned period. It contained, indeed, a copy of the gospels and epistles in manuscript, most probably in Latin; the remainder of its contents was purely monkish. There were four *missals*, two *psalters*, four *antiphonies*, three *breviaries*, two *legends*, four *graduals*, and ten *processionals*. Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 77.

I have occasionally met, in the course of my reading, with notices of volumes of the Fathers being in the possession of the Scottish monasteries, but nothing from which I could conclude that they had complete copies of any of their writings. The Abbot of Crossraguell, indeed, speaks of his being in possession of a large stock of this kind, (Keith, Append. 193.) which some writers have been pleased to calculate at "a cart-load." It does not appear however that they belonged to the monastery over which he presided. But whatever books of this kind were to be found in them the reformers would be anxious to preserve, not to destroy. The *chartularies* were the most valuable writings deposited in monasteries; and many of these have been transmitted to us. The reformers were not disposed to consume these records, and we find them making use of them in their writings. Knox, Historie, p. 1, 2, 3. The mass-books were the most likely objects of their vengeance, and I have little doubt that a number of them were committed to the flames, in testimony of their abhorrence of the popish worship. Yet they were careful to preserve copies of them, which they produced in their disputes with the Roman Catholics. Ibid. p. 261.

But whatever literary ravages were committed, let them not be imputed exclusively to the tumultuary reformation of Scotland, to the fanaticism of our reformers, or the barbarous ignorance of our nobles. In England, the same proceedings took place to a far greater extent, and the loss must have been far greater. "Another misfortune (says Collier) consequent upon the suppression of the abbeys was an ignorant destruction of a great many valuable books.—The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown in to the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper."—"A number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions (says bishop Bale) reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots, and some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent over the sea to bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times *whole ships full*. Yea, the universities are not clear in this detestable fact; but cursed is the belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his native country. I know a merchant man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper by the space of more than these *ten years*, and *yet hath he store enough for as many years to come*." Bale's Declaration, &c. apud Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 166.

Note XXXIV. p. 77.

Aversion of Queen Elizabeth to the Scottish war.—The personal aversion of Elizabeth to engage in the war of the Scottish Reformation has not, as far as I have observed, been noticed by any of our historians. It is, however, a fact well authenticated from state papers, whether it arose from extreme caution at the commencement of her reign, from her known parsimony, or from her high notions respecting royal prerogative. Cecil mentions it repeatedly in his correspondence with Throkmorton. "God trieth us (says he) with many difficulties. The Queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland; you knowe what hangeth thereuppon: weak-hearted men and flatterers will follow that way.—I have had such a torment herin with the queen's majestie, as an ague hath not in five fitts so much abated. Forbes, i. 454, 455. In another letter he says; "What will follow of my going towardes Scotlande, I know not; but I feare the success, quia, the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter, which troubleth us all." Ibid. 460. It was not until her council had presented a formal petition to her, that she gave her consent. Ibid. 390. Even after she had agreed to hostilities, she began to waver, and listened to the artful proposals of the French court, who endeavoured to amuse her until such time as they were able to convey more effectual aid to the queen regent of Scotland. Killigrew, in a letter to Throkmorton, after mentioning the repulse of the English army in an assault on the fortifications of Leith, says: "This, together with the bischope's [of Valence] relation unto the queen's majestie, caused her to *renew* the opinion of Cassandra." Ibid. 456. This was the principal cause of the suspension of hostilities, and the premature attempt to negociate, in April 1560, which so justly alarmed the lords of the Congregation; an occurrence not adverted to in our common histories. Sadler, State Papers, i. 719, 721. The Scotch protestants were much indebted to Cecil and Throkmorton, for the assistance which they obtained from England. A number of the counsellors, who had been in the cabinet of queen Mary, did all in their power to foster the disinclination of Elizabeth. Lord Grey in one of his despatches, complains of the influence of these ministers, whom he calls *Phillipians*, from their attachment to the interest of the king of Spain. Haynes, p. 295.

Note XXXV. p. 78.

Loyalty of the Scottish Protestants.—The hostile advance of the Regent against Perth first drove the lords of the Congregation to take arms in their own defence. Her reiterated infraction of treaties, and the gradual developement of her designs, by the introduction of French troops into the kingdom rendered the prospect of an amicable and permanent adjustment of differences very improbable, and dictated the propriety of strengthening their confederation, that they might be prepared for a sudden and more formidable attack. These considerations are sufficient to justify the posture of defence in which they kept themselves during the summer of 1559, and the steps which they took to secure assistance from England. If their exact situation is not kept in view, an accurate judgment of their conduct cannot be formed, and their partial and temporary resistance to the measures of the Regent will be represented as an avowed rebellion against her authority. But whatever be the modern ideas on this subject, they did not consider the former as necessarily implying the latter, and they continued to profess not only their allegiance to their sovereign, but also their readiness to obey the queen regent in every thing not inconsistent with their security, and the liberties of the nation; nay, they actually yielded obedience to her, by paying taxes to the officers whom she appointed to receive them. Knox, p. 176. Private and confidential letters are justly considered as the most satisfactory evidence as to the intentions of men. Our Reformer, in a letter written to Mrs. Locke, on the 25th of June 1559, says; "The queen is retired unto Dunbar. The fine [end] is known unto God. We mean no tumult, no alteration of authority, but only the reformation of religion, and suppressing of idolatry." Cald. MS. i. 429. At an early period, indeed, she accused them of a design to throw off their allegiance. When the Prior of St. Andrews joined their party, she industriously circulated the report that he ambitiously aimed at the sovereignty, and that they intended to confer it upon him. Knox, 149. Forbes, i. 180. It was one of the special instructions given to Sir Ralph Sadler, when he was sent down to Berwick, that he should "explore the very trueth" as to this report. Sadler, i. 731. In all his confidential correspondence with his court, there is not the slightest insinuation that Sadler had discovered any evidence to induce him to credit that charge. This is a strong proof of the Prior's innocence, if it be taken in connection with what I shall immediately state; not to mention the testimony of Melvil. Memoirs, p. 27.

When the Earl of Arran joined the Congregation, the Queen Regent circulated the same report respecting him. Knox, p. 174. As far as the Congregation were concerned, this accusation was equally unfounded as the former. Ibid. p. 176. But there are some circumstances connected with it which deserve attention, as they set the loyalty of the Scottish protestants in a very clear light. The earl of Arran, and not the prior of St. Andrews, was the favourite of the English court. Messengers were appointed by them to bring him over from the continent, and he was conducted through England into Scotland, to be placed at the head of the Congregation.

Forbes, i. 164, 166, 171, 216. Sadler, i. 417, 421, 437, 439. There is also good evidence that the ministers of Elizabeth wished him to be raised to the throne of Scotland, if not also that they had projected the uniting of the two crowns by a marriage between him and Elizabeth. "The way to perfait this assuredly (says Throkmorton to Cecil) is, that the erle of Arraine do as Edward the IV. did, when he landed at Ravenspurg: (he pretended to the dutchy of York; and having that, he would not leave till he had the *diademe*) for then of necessitie th' erle of Arran must depend upon the devotion of England, to maintein and defend himself. I feare all other devises and handelings will prove like an apotecary his shop; and therefore I leave to your discretion to provyde by all meanes for this matter, both there and in Scotland." And again: "Methinks, the lord of Grange, Ledington, Balnaves, and the chief doers of the Congregation (which I wold wish specially to be done and procured by the prior of St Andrewes) should be persuaded to set forward these purposes before: for there is no way for them to have any safety or surety, oneles thei *make the earl of Arran king*; and as it is their surety, so it is also ours. In this matter there must be used both wisdome, courage, and spede." Forbes, i. 435, 436. Throkmorton, it is to be observed, was at this time the most confidential friend of Cecil, and, in his despatches from France, pressed the adoption of those measures which the secretary had recommended to the Queen and council. Had not the Congregation been decidedly averse to any change of the government which would have set aside their queen, it seems highly probable that this plan would have been carried into execution. The report of an intended marriage between Elizabeth and Arran was general at that time; and whatever were the Queen's own intentions, it seems to have been seriously contemplated by her ministers. Ibid. 214, 215, 282, 288. This accounts for the recommendation of this measure by the Scottish Estates, after the conclusion of the civil war. Keith, 154.

Note XXXVI. p. 80.

Authorities for the statement of Knox's political principles.—The following extracts from Knox's writings relate to the principal points touched in the statement of his political sentiments. "In few wordis to speik my conscience; the regiment of princes is this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that no godlie man can bruke office or autoritie under thame, but in so doing hie salbe compellit not onlie aganis equitie and justice to oppress the pure, but also expressedlie to fycht aganis God and his ordinance, either in maintenance of idolatrie, or ellis in persecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must follow heirof, but that ether princeis be reformit and be compellit also to reform their wickit laws, or els all gud men depart fra thair service and companie?" Additions to the Apology of the Parisian Protestants, apud MS. Letters, p. 477. Dr. Robertson has ascribed to Knox and Buchanan an "excessive admiration of ancient policy;" and he says, their "principles, authorities, and examples were all drawn from ancient writers," and their political system founded "not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government." History of Scotland, vol. i. b. ii. p. 391. Lond. 1809. These assertions need some qualification. If republican government be opposed to absolute monarchy, the principles of Knox and Buchanan may be denominated republican; but if the term (as now commonly understood) be used in contradistinction to monarchy itself, it cannot be shewn that they admired or recommended republicanism. They were the friends of limited monarchy. It is the excellence of the government of Britain, that the feudal maxims which once predominated in it have been corrected, or their influence counteracted, by others borrowed from republican constitutions. And it is not a little to the credit of the moderation and good sense of these writers, that, notwithstanding all their admiration of ancient models of legislation, in comparison with the existing feudal monuments, they contented themselves with recommending such principles as were requisite for restraining the arbitrary power of kings, and securing the rights of the people. Nor were *all* their authorities and examples drawn from ancient writers, as may be seen in Buchanan's Dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*.

In a letter written by him to the Queen Dowager, a few days after her suspension from the regency, Knox says; "My toung did bothe perswade and obtein, that your authoritie and regiment suld be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till ye declair yourself opin enemie to this comoun welthe; as now, allace! ye have done." Historie, p. 180. This declaration is justified by the letters which he wrote to his brethren before his arrival in Scotland. The following extract from a letter addressed to the protestant nobility, December 17, 1557, is a specimen. "But now no farder to trubill you at the present, I will onlie advertis you of sic brut as I heir in thir partis uncertanlie noysit, whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebellioun is maid to the autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back from you my consall, ye, my judgment and commandement, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his trueth, whilk is this, that nane of you that seik to proinot the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establissit autoritie in things lawful, neither yit that ye assist or fortifie such as, for thair awn particular caus and warldlie promotioun, wald trubill the same. But, in the bowallis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow, that with all simplicitie and lawfull obedience, with boldness in God, and with opin confessioun of your faith, ye seek the favour of the autoritie, that by it (yf possible be) the caus in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or, at the leist, not persecutit: Whilk thing, efter all humill requist, yf ye can not atteane, then with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to be given to the autoritie in all thingis not plainelie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his halie sacramentis rychtlie ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfully may, ye, and thairto is bound, to defend your brethrene frome persecutioun and tiranny, be it aganis princes or emprioris, to the uttermost of your power; provyding alwayis (as I have said) that nether your self deny lawfull obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie." MS. Letters, p. 434, 435.

In a conversation with queen Mary at Lochlevin, we find him inculcating the doctrine of a mutual compact between rulers and subjects. "It sall be profitabill to your majesty to consider quhat is the thing your grace's subjects luiks to receave of your majesty, and quhat it is that ye aucht to do unto thame by *mutual contract*. They ar bound to obey you, and that not bot in God; ye are bound to keip lawes unto thame. Ye crave of thame service; they crave of you protectioun and defence against wicked doars. Now, madam, if you sall deny your dewty unto thame (qukilk especialy craves that ye punish malefactors) think ye to receave full obedience of thame?" Historie, p. 327. This sentiment was adopted by his countrymen. The committee appointed by the regent Murray, to prepare overtures for the parliament which met in December 1567, (of which committee our Reformer was a member) agreed to this proposition; "The *band* and *contract* to be *mutuale* and *reciprous* in all tymes cuming betwixt the prince and God, and his faithful people, according to the word of God." Robertson's Records of Parliament, p. 796. This was also one of the articles subscribed at the General Assembly in July preceding; and the language of this is still more clear and express,—"mutual and reciproque in all tymes coming betwixt the prince and God, and also *betwixt the prince and faithful people*." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 34. Advoc. Lib. Keith, 582. See also the proclamation of the king's authority. Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 205. Keith, 441. The right of resistance was formally recognised in the inscription on a coin stamped soon after the coronation of James VI. On one of the sides is the figure of a sword with a crown upon it, and the words of Trajan circumscribed, *Pro me; si mercor, in me*; i. e. *Use this sword for me; if I deserve it, against me*. Cardonell's Numismata Scotiæ, plate ix. p. 101. Our Reformer's *Appellation* may be consulted for the proof of what has been asserted, (307, 308.) as to his endeavours to repress aristocratical tyranny, and to awaken the mass of the people to a due sense of their rights. See also Historie, p. 100. The effect of the Reformation in extending popular liberty was very visible in the parliament which met in August 1560, in which there were representatives from all the boroughs, and a hundred lesser barons, "with mony otheris baronis, fre halderis, and landit men." Keith informs us that, during a space of no less than seventy-seven years preceding, "scarcely had *one* of the inferior gentry appeared in parliament. And therefore (adds he) I know not but it may be deemed somewhat *unusual*, for a hundred of them to jump all at once into the parliament, especially in such a

juncture as the present was. History, p. 147, 148. The petition presented by the lesser barons, for liberty to sit and vote in the parliament, has this remarkable clause in it; "otherwise we think that whatsomever ordinances and statutes be made concerning us and our estate, we not being required and suffered to reason and vote at the making thereof, that the same should not oblige us to stand thereto." Robertson's History of Scotland, Append. No. 4.

Liberal principles respecting civil government accompanied the progress of the Reformation. Knox had the concurrence of English bishops in his doctrine concerning the limited authority of kings, and the lawfulness of resisting them. See above, Note BB. and vol. ii. Note U. He had the express approbation of the principal divines in the foreign churches. Historie, 363, 366. In the 17th century, some of the French reformed divines, in their great loyalty to the *Grand Monarque*, disclaimed our Reformer's political sentiments, and represented them as proceeding from the fervid and daring spirit of the Scots nation, or adapted to the peculiar constitution of their government. Riveti Castig. in Balzacum, cap. xiii. § 14. apud Oper. tom. iii. p. 539. Rotterd. 1660.. See also quotations from other French authors in Bayle, Dict. Art. Knox, Note E. In the controversy occasioned by the execution of Charles I. our Reformer's name and principles were introduced. Milton appealed to him, and quoted his writings, in defence of that deed. One of Milton's opponents told him that he could produce in his support only a single Scot, "whom his own age could not suffer, and whom all the reformers, especially the French, condemned in this point." Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum, p. 129. Hagæ-Comit. 1652, written by Peter du Moulin, the son. Milton, in his Rejoinder, urges with truth, that Knox had asserted, that his opinions were approved by Calvin, and other eminent divines of the reformed churches. Miltoni Defensio secunda pro Pop. Anglic. p. 101. Hagæ-Comit. 1654. See also Milton's Prose Works, by Symmons, vol. ii. p. 291—2, 307, 378. Lond. 1806.

But long before the controversy respecting the execution of Charles, Milton had expressed himself in terms of high praise concerning our Reformer. Arguing against the abuses committed by Licensers of the press, he says: "Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time and even to this day, come to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashnesse of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of great consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season." Milton's Prose Works, ut supra, vol. i. p. 311. The tract from which this quotation is made was first published in 1644, the year in which David Buchanan's edition of Knox's History appeared. Milton evidently refers to that work, and his words seem to imply that an attempt had recently been made to prevent its publication, or at least to mutilate and deprave it. But from the incidental and cursory manner in which he touches on the subject, we cannot infer with any certainty from what quarter this attempt was made.

Note XXXVII. page 86.

I shall, in this note, add some particulars respecting the early practice of the reformed church of Scotland, under the following heads.

Of Doctors.—The doctrine of the church of Scotland, and indeed of other reformed churches, on this head, has not been very uniform and decided. The first Book of Discipline does not mention doctors, but it seems to take for granted what had been stated respecting the officers of the church in the Book of Common order, where they are declared to be "a fourth kind of ministers left to the church of Christ," although the English church at Geneva could not attain them. Knox's Liturgy, p. 14. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 409, 410. In the second Book of Discipline they are expressly mentioned as "ane of the twa ordinar and perpetual functions that travel in the word," and "different from the pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of gifts." The doctor is to "assist the pastor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders his brethren in all assemblies," but not "to minister the sacraments or celebrate marriage." Dunlop, ii. 773, 774. The Book of Common Order and second Book of Discipline agree in comprehending, under the name and office of a doctor, "the order in schooles, colledges, and universities." Ut supra. The fact seems to be, that there never were any doctors in the church of Scotland, except the teachers of divinity in the universities. "Quamvis ecclesia nostra (says Calderwood) post primam reformationem quatuor agnoscat ministrorum genera, pastorum, doctorum, presbytorum, et diaconorum: tamen doctores alios nondum habuit quam scholarchas." *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Brevis Relatio*, p. 1, 2. Anno 1618. Some writers have asserted, that it was as doctors that both Buchanan and Andrew Melville sat, and sometimes presided, in the church courts. The episcopalians having objected, that the church of Scotland admitted persons to act as moderators in her assemblies who were in no ecclesiastical office, and having instanced in the two persons above mentioned, Mr. Baillie gives this answer: "Mr. Melvil was a doctor of divinity, and so long as episcopal persecution permitted, did sit with great renowne in the prime chair we had of that faculty: George Buchanan had sometimes, as I have heard, been a preacher at St. Andrews; after his long travells he was employed by our church and state to be a teacher to king James and his family: of his faithfulnesse in this charge he left, I believe, to the world good and satisfactory tokens; the eminency of this person was so great, that no society of men need be ashamed to have been moderated by his wisdome." Historical Vindication, p. 21, 22. The report that Mr. Baillie had heard of Buchanan having been a preacher probably originated from the divinity lectures which Calderwood informs us he read with great applause in the university of St. Andrews. "Buchanan, and Mr. Melvin were doctors in divinity," says Rutherfurd, Lex Rex, pref. p. 5. Lond. 1644.

Of Readers.—Those employed as *readers* appear to have often transgressed the bounds prescribed to them, and to have both solemnized marriage, and administered the sacraments. Different acts of Assembly were made to restrain these excesses. The General Assembly, October 1576, prohibited all readers from ministering "the holie sacrament of the Lord, except such as hes the word of exhortation." The Assembly which met in July 1579 inhibited them from celebrating marriage, unless they were found meet by "the commission, or synodal assembly." At length, in April 1581, the order was suppressed. "Anent readers: Forsamekle as in assemblies preceding, the office thereof was concludit to be no ordinar office in the kirk of God, and the admission of them suspendit to the present assemblie; the kirk in ane voyce hes votit and concludit farder, that in na tymes coming any reider be admitted to the office of reider, be any having power within the kirk." Buik of the Universall Kirk, in loc.

Of Superintendents.—The church of Scotland did not consider superintendents as ordinary or permanent office-bearers in the church. They are not mentioned in the Book of Common Order. The first Book of Discipline explicitly declares, that their appointment was a matter of temporary expedience, for the plantation of the church, and on account of the paucity of ministers. Its words are: "Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signifie to your honours such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt teachers *at this time*." And again: "We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us should be appointed to several places, there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realme should be destitute of all doctrine: which should not onely be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And *therefore* we have thought it a thing most *expedient at this time*, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirkes, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now." First and Second Books of Discipline, p. 35. printed anno 1621. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 538, 539. Archbishop Spottiswood has not acted faithfully, if his History has been printed, in this place, exactly according to his manuscript. He has omitted the passages above quoted, and has comprehended

the whole of the two paragraphs from which they are extracted in a short sentence of his own, which is far from being a full expression of the meaning of the compilers. History, p. 158. Lond. 1677. This is the more inexcusable as he says, that for "the clearing of many questions which were afterwards agitated in the church," he "thought meet *word by word* to insert the same [the First Book of Discipline] that the reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the church." Ibid. p. 152. He could not be ignorant that the grounds of the appointment of superintendents formed one of the principal questions agitated between him and his anti-episcopal opponents. I have examined the copy of the First Book of Discipline, inserted in an old MS. copy of Knox's Historie, and find that it exactly agrees with the quotations which I have made from the editions published in 1621, and by Dunlop. Dr. Robertson has been misled by the archbishop. "On the first introduction of this system, (says he) Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom." As his authority for this statement, he refers solely to the mutilated account in Spottiswood. Hist. of Scotland, ii. 42, 43. Lond. 1809. Mr. Laing, from an examination of the original documents, has given a more accurate account, and pronounced the appointment of superintendents a "temporary expedient." History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 17, 18. Lond. 1804.

The superintendents were elected and admitted in the same manner as other pastors. Knox, 263. They were equally subject to rebuke, suspension, and deposition, as the rest of the ministers of the church. In the examination of those who were admitted by them to the ministry, they were bound to associate with them the ministers of the neighbouring parishes. They could not exercise any spiritual jurisdiction without the consent of the provincial synods, over which they had no negative voice. They were accountable to the General Assembly for the whole of their conduct. The laborious task imposed upon them is what few bishops have ever submitted to. "They must be preachers themselves;" they are charged to "remain in no place above twenty daies in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds." They "must thrice everie week preach at the least." When they return to their principal town of residence, "they must likewise be exercised in preaching;" and having remained in it "three or foure monthes at most, they shall be compelled (unless by sicknesse they be retained) to re-enter in visitation." Dunlop, ii. 542. De Regimine Eccles. Scotican. Brevis Relatio, p. 5, 6. Anno 1618. Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ contra calumnias Spotswodi, apud Altare Damascenum, p. 724—727. edit. 2 da. Ludg. Batav. 1708. In the last mentioned tract (of which Calderwood was the author) the difference between the Scottish superintendents and Anglican bishops is drawn out under thirteen heads. Spottiswood's treatise is entitled, Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Lond. 1620.

In the text (p. 7.) I have said that *six* superintendents were appointed. The names of five, with their districts, may be seen in the common histories. Knox, 236. Spottis. 149. The *sixth* was John Row, minister of Perth, who was made superintendent of Galloway by appointment of the General Assembly. Row's MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 358. of a copy transcribed in 1726. The *visitors* or *commissioners* of provinces exercised the same power as the superintendents; the only difference between them was that the former received their commission from one assembly to another. Altare Damascenum, ut supra, p. 727. But these commissions appear sometimes to have been granted for a longer period; for one of Robert Pont's titles was Commissioner of Murray. Perhaps, in this case, a commissioner differed from a superintendent, merely in not being obliged to have his stated residence within the bounds of the province committed to his inspection.

Of the weekly Exercise, or Prophesying.—This was an exercise on the scriptures, intended for the improvement of ministers, the trial of the gifts of those who might be employed in the service of the church, and the general instruction of the people. It was to be held in every town "where schools and repaire of learned men are." For conducting the exercise, there was an association of the ministers, and other learned men, in the town and vicinity, called "the company of interpreters." They alternately expounded a passage of scripture; and others who were present were encouraged to deliver their sentiments. After the exercise was finished, the constituent members of the association retired, and delivered their judgment on the discourses which had been delivered. Books of Discipline, ut supra, p. 60—62. Dunlop, ii. 587—591. After the erection of regular presbyteries, this exercise formed an important part of their employment; and at every meeting, two of the members by turns were accustomed to expound the scriptures. De Regimine Eccl. Scot. Brevis Relatio, p. 3. Until lately some traces of this ancient practice remained, and there is reason to regret that it has generally gone into desuetude among presbyterian bodies.—Associations of the same kind were formed in England. From 1571 to 1576, they spread through that kingdom, and were patronized by the bishops of London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litchfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, St. David's, by Sandys archbishop of York, and by Grindall archbishop of Canterbury. Several of the courtiers, as Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Thomas Smith, greatly approved of them; and at a future period, they were recommended to king James by lord Bacon. But they were suppressed by an imperious mandate from Elizabeth. Some interesting particulars respecting their number, regulations, and suppression, may be seen in Strype's Annals, ii. 90—95, 219, 220, 318—324, 486. Life of Grindall, p. 219—227, 230, 299, 300. Life of Parker, 460—462. They were formed on the model of the Scottish Exercises, and, in their regulations, the very words of the First Book of Discipline are sometimes used. A species of ecclesiastical discipline was joined with them in some dioceses. I also observe a striking resemblance between the directions given by bishop Scambler for the celebration of the Lord's supper, and the mode which was then used in Scotland, particularly as to the circumstances of two communions or ministrations on the same day, and the early hour of the service. Strype's Annals, ii. 91. compared with Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 192.

Keith has given a quotation from the MS. copy of Spottiswood's History, in which the archbishop signifies, that at the time of the compilation of the First Book of Discipline, several of the reformed ministers wished to retain the ancient polity, after removing the more gross corruptions and abuses, but that Knox over-ruled this motion. Keith, 492. But there is no trace, in the authentic documents of that period, of any diversity of opinion among the Scottish reformers on this head. Indeed the supposition is contradicted by Row, (see above, p. 4, 5.) and by their own language. Dunlop, ii. 518. Knox, Historie, 282. It is probable that the archbishop's story had its origin at a later period, when the design of conforming the church of Scotland to the English model began to be entertained. I confess, I am not inclined to give much more credit to another of the archbishop's tales as to a message which archbishop Hamilton is said to have sent to Knox by John Brand. History, 174. Keith, 495.

Note XXXVIII. p. 88.

Sentiments of the Reformed Ministers respecting tithes, and the property of the church.—These are laid down in the First Book of Discipline, chap. v. and viii. Dunlop, ii. 533—538, 562—568. Considerable light is also thrown upon them by the private writings of that period. The reformed ministers did not regard tithes as of divine right, nor think that it was sacrilegious in every case to apply to secular purposes those funds which had been originally set apart to a religious use. But they held that, by the Christian as well as the Jewish law, a competent subsistence was appointed to be made for the ministers of religion; that it was incumbent on a nation which had received the true religion to make public provision for the outward maintenance of its ordinances; that the appropriation of the tenth part of property for this purpose was at least recommended by primeval usage, by the sanction of divine wisdom in the Jewish constitution, and by the laws and practice of Christian empires and kingdoms; that property which had been set apart and given for religious ends could not justly, or without sacrilege, be alienated, *as long as it was needed for these purposes;* and that though many of the donors might have had the support of superstitious observances immediately in their eye, still it was with a view to religion that they made such gifts. In as far as it should appear that the ecclesiastical revenues were superabundant and unnecessary, they were willing that this should be applied to the common service of the state. To illustrate their sentiments on this subject and the manner in which

they complained of the alienation of church-property, I shall add a few extracts from some of their writings which are not commonly consulted.

My first extracts shall be from Ferguson's sermon, to which our Reformer set his hand a little before his death. Having given an account of the law of Moses, the ordinance of the New Testament, and the practice of the primitive church, he adds: "Ye se, then, that the ministers of the primitive kirk, (that levit befoir princes wer Christianes and nurishers of the kirk, as it was prophescit) wer na beggaris, suppois thay wer no lordis that aboundit in superfluous welth, as the papis bischoppis did; bot had sufficient asweill for the necessitie of thair owin families, as for the help of uther Christianes that now and then, as occasiounes servit, repairit to thair housis. —Quhen the tyme come foirspokin bi David (Psal. lxviii. and cii.) that kingis and empereouris, and thair kingdomes, suld serve the Lord, and bring giftes unto him," they, "following his exampil that only is wyse, ordainit be thair authoritie, that the tiendis suld serve the same use in the tyme of the gospell."—"Our youth also aucht to be nurischit and maintenit at the schuilis, and thairoutof efterward micht spring preicheris, counsellouris, physicianis, and all other kinds of learnit men that we have neid of. For the scheulis are the seid of the kirk and commoun welth, and our childrene are the hope of the posteritie, quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for bot that barbarous ignorance sall overflow all. For suppois God has wonderfullie, at this tyme, sterit up preicheris amang us, even quhen darknes and ignorance had the upperhand, he will not do sa heirefter, seeing we have the ordinarie meane to provide them, quhilk gif we contempne, in vane sall we loke for extraordinary provisioun. Israel was miraculusslie fed in the wildernes with manna, bot how soon thay did eit of the corne of the land of Canaan, the manna ceissit, nouther had they it ony moir, bot levit efterward on the frute of the grouud, ordinarilie labourit with thair handis. I speik to prudent men that may understand and judge quhat I say." After deploring the decayed state of the churches and schools, and the poverty of the ministers, he adds: "I am compellit to speik this, thocht I be als plane as pleasant, and appeir to yow as the greatest fule of the rest to stand up heir to utter that quhilk other men thinkis. Weill; let me be countit a fule for speiking the trueth. I regard not; nouther may I spair to speik it, thocht I suld be judgeit in our awin cause to be carryit away with a particular affectioun; following heirin the exampil of our prophet Malachie."—"Ye marvel, I doubt not, quhy ye have not prevailit aganis yone threteutteris and unnaturall murtherers within the towne and castell of Edinburgh, specially ye heving a maist just actioun, being ma in number, and mair vailyeant men, and nathing inferiour to thame in wisdome, circumspectioun, or ony gude qualiteis, outher of body or mynd. Bot ceis to marvel: for the caus quhy that ye have not prevailit aganis thame long or now, amang mony uther your sinnis quhairwith ye are defylt, is this, that the spuilyie of the pure is in your housis; ye invaid that quhilk our forbearis gave of gude zeill to Goddis honour, and the commoun welth of the kirk; ye spuilye to your awn private usis, without outher ryme or resoun, nouther will ye be controllit. This, this, I say, is the chief caus that nathing prosperis in your handis. I grant that our fatheris of immoderate zeill (besyde the teindis and necessarie rentis of the kirk), gave thairunto superfluously, and mair nor aneuch. Quhat then is to be done, but that the preicheris of God's word be reasonablie sustenit, seing their is eneuch and over mekle to do it, the schullis and the pure be weill provydit, as thay aucht, and the tempillis honestly and reverently repairit, that the pepill without injurie of wynd or wedder, may sit and heir Goddis word, and participat of his haly sacramentis. And gif thair restis ony thing unspendit quhen this is done (as na doubt thair wil), in the name of God, let it be bestowit on the nixt necessarie affairis of the commoun welth, and not to any mannis private commoditie." *Ane sermon preachit befoir the regent and nobilitie—be David Fergussone.* B, iv. v. C. Lepreuik, 1572.

The following extracts are taken from Sermons against Sacrilege by Robert Pont, a son-in-law of our Reformer. "From the yeare of our Lorde 1560, unto this present time, the greatest study of all men of power of this land, hes bene by all kinde of inventions, to spoyle the kirk of Christ of her patrimonie, by chopping and changing, diminishing of rentals, converting of victual in small sumes of money: setting of fewes within the availe, long tackes uppon tackes, with two or three life-rentes, with many twentie yeares in an tack, annexationes, erectiones of kirk-rents in temporall livings and heritage, pensiones, simple donationes, erecting of new patronages, union of teindes, making of new abattes, commendataries, priors, with other papistical titles, which ought to have no place in a reformed kirk and countrie; with an infinite of other corrupt and fraudfull waies, to the detriment and hurt of the kirke, the schooles, and the poore, without any stay or gaine-calling.

"Trueth it is, parliamentes have been conveened, and acts have bene made, for providing ministers of competent livinges; for reparaling of parish kirkes, for trayning up the youth in schooles of theologie. It hath bene also promised, and subscribed in writte, by a great part of the nobilitie, that the poore labourers of the grounde, should have an ease and reliefe of the rigorous exacting of their teindes: and many other good thinges have been devised, tending to the advancement of the glorie of God, and establishing of Christ his kingdome. Amongst us, namely, in time of the governemente of that good regente (whome for honoures cause I name) who although he could not doe all that hee would have done, (having so manie hinderances and enemies); yet his dooings might have bin a perfite patterne of godlinesse to the reste of the nobilitie, to make theme bene content to live uppon their owne rentes, and to cease from robbing and spoyling the patrimonie of the kirke." Having proposed the objection, that the Levitical law of Moses is abrogated, and that therefore his authorities from the Old Testament had no force under the gospel, he adds: "I aunswere concerning those landes or annuall rentes, out of landes delated and given to the kirke, that although the Leviticall lawe, with the ceremonies thereof, concerning the outwarde observation hath taken an ende, and is fulfilled in Christ, yet the substance of the policie, concerning interteinment of the service of God, and up-hold of religion still remaines. And it is no lesse necessarie, that the ministerie of God amongst us be mainteined; and that sufficient provision be made to serve other godlie uses, whereunto the kirk-rentes ought to be applyed, nor it was that the priestes and levites shoulde bene upholden in the time of the olde law. And as to the holinesse or unholines of thes landes and revenues: albeit in their owne nature (as I said in the former sermon) they be like other earthly possessiones; yet in so far as they were applyed to an holy use, they may wel be called holy possessions and rents, as the kirk is holy, to whose use they are appointed.—I will not deny but the teindes might be possibly changed, in other meanes of sufficient provision for the kirke, if such godly zeale were now amongst men, as was of olde time. But in so farre as we see the plane contrarie, that men are now readier to take away, than ever our predecessors were to give; it were a foolish thing to loose the certaine for the uncertaine, and that which is never likely to come to passe." Pont's Sermons, against Sacrilege. B, 8. C, 2. C, 8. E, 6. Waldegrave, 1599.

It appears from the following extract, that Pont undertook this work at the desire of the General Assembly.—"July 3. 1591. Mr. Robert Pont is ordained to writ against sacrilege, and shew his travells to the next Assembly." Matthew Crawfurd's MS. History of the church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 161.

Note XXXIX. p. 88.

In this note I shall give some view of the progress of Hebrew literature in Scotland, after adding a few minute particulars respecting John Row to the account of him given in the text.

Row was born at a place which bore the name of the family, and of which his father was proprietor, situated between Stirling and Dunblane. He left Rome on the 20th of May, and arrived in Scotland on the 29th of September, 1558. The following is the account of his conversion from popery given by his son. Being in the house of Cleish, the gentleman in Fife who had detected the imposture at Musselburgh, (see page 83.) the young man who was said to have been cured of blindness was brought into his presence, where he "played his pavie," by "flyping up the lid of his eyes and casting up the white." While Row was confounded at this discovery, the gentleman addressed him very seriously. "Weill, Mr. John Row, ye are a great clergyman, and a great linguist and lawyer, but I charge you, as you must answer to the great God at the last day, that ye do not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that ye will, as soon as ye come to your study, close the door upon you, and take your Bible, and seriously pray to God that ye may understand the scriptures.

—Read the 2d ch. of the 2d epistle to the Thessalonians; and if ye do not see your master, the pope, to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God (as now he and his deceiving rabble of clergy in Scotland have done lately at Musselburgh), ye shall say Squire Meldrum has no skill. Row, Historie of the Kirk, p. 356. copy of the MS. transcribed in 1726. By conference with several of the reformed ministers, and particularly Knox, he was brought to an abjuration of popery. "Ipse Nuncius, (says his grandson) nassa evangelii irretitus, ejus pura, pia, pathetica prædictione inescatus, pontificiis syrtibus, famigerati Knoxi opera, extractus est." Hebreæ linguæ Institutiones, a M. Joa. Row, epist. dedic. A 3, b. Glasguæ 1644. In the beginning of the year 1560 he was admitted minister of Kinneuchar in Fife, where he married Margaret Beatoun, a daughter of the laird of Balfour. Row's Historie, ut supra. Before the end of that year he was translated to Perth. Knox, 236. Keith, 498.

During his residence in Italy he had made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. The latter was at this time almost entirely unknown in Scotland, and he immediately began, at the recommendation of his brethren, to teach it. The grammar-school of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and the noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children thither for their education. Many of these were now boarded with Mr. Row, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Mr. Row's house but French. The passages of scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English; if in the New Testament, they were read in Greek, &c. His son, John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, before he knew the English letters: and at eight years of age he read the Hebrew chapter in the family. When he went to the newly-erected university of Edinburgh, his uncommon acquaintance with the Hebrew language attracted the particular notice of the learned and amiable principal Rollock. Row's Historie, 372—375. Hebreæ Ling. Institut. ut supra. Mr. Row instructed the master of the grammar school in the Greek tongue, by which means it came to be taught afterwards in Perth. And in 1637 his own grandson (of the same name) was Rector of that school, in which he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This produced the following encomiastic verses by principal Adamson of Edinburgh.

Perthana quondam Latialis linguæ schola
Laude clucbat, fucratq; unius labri,
Nunc est trilinguis, Latio jungens Græciam,
Et huic Palæstinam: omnium linguis loquens.
O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam!
O ter beatum Rollum rectorem tuum!
Per quem juventus, barbariæ procul habitu,
Rudis et tenella primulis labellulis
Solymas, Athenas, et Romam scite sonat.

About the year 1567, *James Lawson*, (afterwards Knox's successor at Edinburgh), returned from the continent, where he had studied Hebrew. The professors of St. Andrews prevailed on him to give lessons on that language in their university. Life of Lawson, p. 2. in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas. As he was made sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen, anno 1569, it is to be presumed that he would also teach the language there. Lawson, after his settlement in Edinburgh, patronized the interests of literature in this city. It was chiefly by his exertions that the buildings of the High-School were completed in 1578. His intentions were to have it erected into an university, or at least to make it *Scholam Illustrem*, with classes of logic and philosophy. The books destined for the library were kept in his house, previous to the foundation of the college. Crawfurd's History of the University of Edinburgh, p. 19, 20. I have already (Note I.) noticed the arrival of *Andrew Melville* in 1573, and the situation which he held both at Glasgow and St. Andrews. After prosecuting his studies at Paris, under the celebrated masters Turnebus, Mercerus, and Ramus, and professing philosophy at Poitiers, he had, during the five years that he spent at Geneva, learned the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac tongues, from Cornelius Bertram. The regent Morton offered him the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, but he refused it, and chose an academical life. Life of Andrew Melville, apud Wodrow's MSS. ut supra. Calderwood, Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ, apud Altare Damascenum, p. 731. Spottiswood, to whom he was a keen antagonist, allows that he was a great proficient in the three learned languages. "Andreas Melvinus bonis literis excultus, et trium linguarum, quorum eo seculo ignorantia illi famam et tantum non admirationem apud omnes peperit, calentissimus." Refutatio Libelli de Regim. Eccles. Scotic. p. 31. *Thomas Smeton*, who succeeded Melville at Glasgow, was also a good Hebrician, as appears from his answer to Hamilton's Dialogue. Those who held the situation of principal in the universities at that time were accustomed to teach those branches which were most neglected.

Note XL. p. 89.

Of Buchanan's imprisonment in Portugal.—Every thing which relates to this scholar must be interesting to the learned. As his imprisonment in Portugal, and his release from confinement have been imperfectly related, I shall here insert two accounts of them, which have escaped the notice of his biographers. Principal Smeton's account, which was most probably derived from Buchanan himself, is the following. "Vivit adhuc, (says he in his answer to Hamilton), et utinam diu vivat, orbis terrarum, non Scotiæ tantum decus Georgius Buchananus; quem inepte facerem, si a rabidi canis latratu defendere conarer, extra omnem ingenii aleam omnium judicio constitutum. Quod de abjurata ab eo hæresi adscribis, impudentissimum est mendacium, Hamiltoni. Duplici quidem de causa in veræ religionis suspicionem in Lusitania venit; tum quod Seraphici ordinis mysteria in Franciscano suo apertius reuclasset: tum quod in pruato colloquio discipulis quibusdam dixisset, videri sibi Augustinum transubstantiationis figmento non prorsus fauere. In carcerem coniectus causam capitis perorauit. Franciscanum se regis sui iussu scripsisse; nec quicquam in eo esse quod vllum fidei Christianæ dogma conuellat. Versus quosdam memoriter pronuntiare iussus (nam nemo ibi libellum habebat) memoriæ iacturam causatus est. De transubstantione respondit; non alia se quam Augustini verba recitasse, ex Cap. 16. lib. 3. de doctrina Christiana. Quæ sic habent. 'Si præceptiva locutio est, aut flagitium aut facinus vetans, aut vtilitatem aut beneficentiam iubens, non est figurata; Si autem flagitium aut facinus videtur iubere, aut vtilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est, Nisi manducaueritis, inquit, carnem filij hominis & sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis: facinus vel flagitium videtur iubere. Figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, & suauiter atque vtiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro eius crucifixa & vulnerata sit.' Hæc, inquit, si hæresim sapiunt, prius Augustinum damnate; quod vt feceritis, haud æquum tamen erit, vt ego alienæ culpæ pœnas luam. Ergo cum nec ratione, nec testimonio cuiusquam conuinci posset, iudicum calculis absolutus in Galliam redijt; tanto bonarum literarum damno, vt ipsemet postea Lusitaniæ Rex amantissimis cum scriptis reuocarit. Sed frustra. Summo enim Dei beneficio ex crudelissimis inquisitorum manibus liberatus, in discrimen se iterum coijcere nolluit: cum in Gallia præsertim, omnium quæ sub sole sunt regionum humanitate, optimarum artium studijs & doctorum numero prima, opimæ illi, & admodum honorificæ conditiones deferrentur. Sed Buchananum singularis animi candor, et in omni genere perspecta virtus satis per se defendet." Smetoni Responsio ad Virulentum Arch. Hamiltonii Dialogum, Edinburgi 1579. p. 89, 90.

I shall add the account which Archibald Hamilton gives of this affair, in his reply to Smeton, although the judicious reader will be of opinion that little credit is due to such a writer, especially when his testimony is flatly contradicted by that of Smeton and of Buchanan himself. "Tam illud quidem contra regis Scotorum integritatem, quam hoc contra *Hyspanorum nunquam satis laudatam in examinandis hæreticis severitatem*, malitiose confictum, et utrumque longe falsissimum est. Neque enim Jacobus Quintus, in tenenda atque asserenda fide Catholica princeps nulli omnium secundus, tam impuro et procaci pasquillo, auctorem se unquam dedisset: neq; theologorum gravissima censura, tam impiam athei poetæ dicacitatem impune abire permisisset: et ut prioris mendacii falsitas illustrium dominorum Askein et Levingston publico testimonio evicta tunc fuit: quando legatione apud Gallos functi, regis nomine ho reseos convictum Buchananum Hyspanorum legato detulerunt: Ita ducentorum qui non disputationem sed supplicem lachrymantis deprecationem audiverunt, sententiis, alterius illius figmenti vanitas coargui potest, sin illæ non satis fortiter premunt, quod longe a nobis ab-

sint, et nostrorum hominum, quod rei gestæ non interfuerunt narratio digna fide minus videatur: Publice tamen urbis commentarii, in quos res gestæ referri solent, auctoritate vacare non debent, [Were the registers of Coimbra nearer or more accessible to Scotsmen than those witnesses formerly referred to? or had Hamilton inspected those registers from which he pretends to quote?] qui aperte adhuc testabuntur non Augustini testimonio. cap. 17. libri tertii de doctrina Christiana, sed Psalmographi versum, psalmo vigesimo quarto, subsidio ei tunc fuisse: dum ad Cardinalis pedes provolutus, flebili voce, verba ista proferebat (delicta juventutis meæ et ignorantias ne memineris Domine) eam recantationis formulam, ab eo tunc temporis usurpatum, ad eum sane finem obiter attigi, ut tandem Scotia intelligeret, quam gravem et constantem nunc patriarcham in religione sequitur: dum levis poetæ et abjurati hæretici paradoxa omnia pro certissimis spiritus sancti oraculis habet." Calvinianæ Confusionis Demonstratio—per Archibaldum Hamiltonium, p. 252 b. 253 a. Parisiis, 1581.

Note XLI. p. 89.

Of David Ferguson, and the cultivation of the Scottish language.—I have said in the text, that the reformers, while they exerted themselves to revive the knowledge of the learned languages, did not neglect the improvement of their native tongue. Among others, *David Ferguson*, minister of Dunfermline, distinguished himself in this department. Though "not graduated in a college," he was very far from being illiterate, and was much admired for the quickness of his wit and his good taste, as well as for his piety; "elegantis ingenii et magnæ pietatis virum," says Smeton, Responsio ad Hamilt. Dialog. p. 92. Row's Coronis to his Historie, p. 314. of copy in Divinity Lib. Edin. The sermon which he preached at Leith before the regent and nobility, and afterwards published, (see above, p. 126.) is a proof of this, and had it not been a *sermon*, would most probably have been republished before this time as a specimen of good Scottish composition. Extracts from it may be seen in Note 38. John Davidson, then one of the regents at St. Andrews, celebrated the success of the author in refining his vernacular language, in the following Latin lines which are prefixed to the sermon.

Græcia melifluo quantum det nestoris ori,
Aut demostheneo debeat eloquio;
Ipsi facundo quantum (mihi crede) parenti
Attribuat linguæ turba togata suæ;
Nos tibi, Fergusi, tantum debere fatemur,
Scotanam linguam qui reparare studes.
Sermonem patriam ditas; inculta vetustas
Horret qua longe barbariemque fugas;
Adde etiam, neque abest facundis gratia dictis,
Respondet verbis materia apta tuis.
Quod satis ostendit nobis tua concio præsens,
Qua nihil in lucem doctus ire potest.

Besides this sermon, Ferguson was the author of a collection of *Scottish proverbs*, and of an *Answer* to the Rejoinder which the Jesuit Tyrie made to Knox. That abusive writer, *James Laing*, calls his last work "a barbarous, and Scotican epistle," and rails against its author as an *ignorant sutor* and *glover*, who knew neither Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin. As for himself, although a Scotsman, Laing tells us, that he thought it beneath him to write in a language which was fit only for barbarians and heretics. "Tres sunt linguæ elegantes et ingenuæ, Hebraica, Græca, et Latina, quæ nobilibus principibus—sunt dignæ: cæteras linguas, cum sint barbaræ, *barbaris et hæreticis* tanquam propriis relinquo." De vita Hæreticorum, Didic. p. ult. et p. 31. Paris. 1581. Notwithstanding this writer's boasts concerning his literature, and the opportunities which he takes to display it, he did not know the top from the bottom of a Hebrew letter, if we may judge from his book, p. 94, b. Laing's objection to the literature of Ferguson may, however, be thought as solid as that which another popish writer has brought against his morals, by accusing him of *using pepper instead of salt to his beef*. "At hi quibus carnem accendant irritentq. novas artes quotidie excogitant." And on the margin, "Exemplo est David Ferguson ad macerandas carnes Bubulas pipere pro sale utens." Hamilton, De Confus. Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 76. But to do justice to Hamilton, it is proper to mention that *pepper* was at that time so high priced as to be a morsel only for a Pope, or a Cardinal, and very unfit for the mouths of barbers, cobblers, &c. of which rank he tells us the reformed preachers generally were. Principal Smeton, after saying that Ferguson had reared a numerous family on a very moderate stipend, adds: "Undenam ergo illi, amabo te, tantum piperis ad carnes quotannis macerandas quantum *sexcentis* apud nos *aureis nummis* nemo unquam compararit?" Smetoni Responsio ad Hamil. p. 95. The truth is, there was rather too much salt and pepper in the writings of Ferguson for the papists.

A number of Ferguson's witty sayings are recorded by his son-in-law, John Row. James VI. who resided frequently at Dunfermline, used to take great delight in his conversation. "David, (said James to him one day) why may not I have Bishops in Scotland as well as they have in England?" "Yea, Sir," replied Ferguson, "ye may have bishops here; but remember ye must make us all bishops, else will ye never content us. For if ye set up ten or twelve lowns over honest men's heads (honest men will not have your antichristian prelacies,) and give them more thousands to debauch and mispend than honest men have hundreds or scores, we will never al be content. We ar Paul's bishopis, Sir, Christ's bishopis; ha'd us as we are."—"The d—l haid aills you," replied James, "but that ye would all be alike; ye cannot abide ony to be abone you."—"Sir!" said the minister, "do not ban." Row's Coronis to his Historie of the Kirk, p. 314. Ferguson seems to have amused himself with some of those incidents which were generally reckoned ominous. The king having once asked him very seriously, what he thought was the reason that the Master of Gray's house shook during the night, he answered, "Why should not the devil rock his awin bairns?"—Having met at St. Andrews along with other commissioners of the church, to protest against the inauguration of Patrick Adamson as archbishop of that see, one came in and told them, that there was a crow *crouping* on the church. "That's a bad omen," said he, shaking his head, "for inauguration is from *avium garritu*, the raven is omnimodo a *black* bird, and it cries *corrupt, corrupt, corrupt*." Row's Historie, p. 40.

I cannot refrain from inserting the inscription on the tomb of John Row, the historian to whom I have so often been indebted, who was third son of the learned minister of Perth, and married to Grizzel, daughter to David Ferguson of Dunfermline. The inscription was copied from his monument in the church-yard of Carnock.

"Hic Jacet M. Jo. Row, Pastor hujus Ecclesiæ fidelessimus. Vixit accerimus veritatis et fœderis Scoticani assertor, Hierarchiæ pseudo-episcopalis, et Romanorum rituum, cordicitus osor, in frequenti Symmystarum apostasia cubi instar constantissimus. Duxit Gricellidam Fergusonam, cum qua annos 51 conjunctissime vixit. Huic ecclesiæ annos 54 praefuit. Obiit Junij. 26to anno Domini 1646. Ætatis 78.—Obiit et illa Januarij 30mo, 1659."

Note XLII. p. 89.

Order of procedure at the first meetings of the General Assembly.—The first appointment of a moderator was in Dec. 1563. "It was proponit be the haill assemblie yat anc moderator suld be appointit for avoyding confusioun in reasoning." Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 8. Adv. Libr. The assembly which met at Perth, August 1572, "ordained, as a perpetual law, that no person of whatever estate take in hand to speak without license asked and given by the moderator, that moderation should be kept in reasoning, and silence when commanded by the moderator, under pain of removal from the assembly, and not to re-enter during that convention." Ibid. p. 55. In July 1568, to correct evils, "be reason of the pluralitie and confusion of voces," it was enacted that none should have power to vote but superintendents, commissioners appointed to visit kirks, ministers "brought with yame, presented as habile to reasone, and having knowledge to judge," commissioners of burghs, shires, and universities. The ministers were to be chosen at the synodal convention of the diocese by consent of the rest of the ministry and gentlemen that shall convene at the said synodal convention; commissioners of burghs by "the counsell and kirk of their awn townes."—"None to be admitted without sufficient commission or wreit." And to prevent a monopoly of power, they were to be changed from assembly to assembly. Ibid. p. 38. The assembly, March, 1569—70, settled the following order of procedure. After sermon and prayer by former moderator, 1. A new moderator to be chosen. 2. Superintendents, commissioners, &c. to be tried. This trial was very regular. First the superintendents being removed, inquiry was made of the ministers and commissioners of their bounds if they had any charges to

lay against them as to neglect of duty, &c. If any charge was brought, it was examined and sentence passed. The same order was observed with the other members of assembly. 3. The case of penitents and persons under censure to be considered. Lastly, The business left undecided by last assembly, or brought before the present, was to be taken up. Ibid. p. 47.

Note XLIII. p. 89.

Epistolary correspondence between Knox and Calvin.—In a letter, dated 28th August 1559, Knox requests Calvin's opinion on the two following questions. 1. Whether bastards, the children of idolaters and excommunicated persons, should be admitted to baptism, before their parents gave satisfaction to the church, or they themselves were able to require it? 2. Whether monks and popish priests, who neither serve the church, nor are capable of serving it, although they have renounced their errors, ought to have the annual rents of the church paid to them? Knox had maintained the negative on the last question. The letter is said to be written *raptim*. "Plura scribere vetat febris qua crucior, laborum moles qua premor, et Gallorum bombardæ, qui, ut nos opprimant, appulerunt." (Comp. Historie, p. 161.) Calvin, in a letter, dated Nov. 8, 1559, answers, that it was his opinion and that of his colleagues, on the first question, That the sacrament of baptism was not to be administered to those who were without the church, nor to any without proper sponsors; but the promise (upon which the right was founded) was not confined to the posterity in the first degree: and therefore those who were descended from godly parents were to be viewed as belonging to the church, although their parents or even grand-parents had become apostates, and such children were not to be refused baptism, provided persons appeared as sponsors, engaging for their religious education. "Adde quod alia est nunc renascentis ecclesiæ ratio, quam rite formatæ et compositæ." (Comp. Dunlop, ii. 573.) On the second question, he says that although those who performed no service in the church had not a just claim to be supported by its funds, still as the popish clergy had brought themselves under bonds in times of ignorance, and had consumed a part of their lives in idleness, it seemed harsh to deprive them of all support. He therefore advises a middle course to be adopted. Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa, p. 516—520. Hanoviæ, 1597. Ibid. p. 201, 202. apud Oper. tom. ix. Amstælod. 1667.

From another letter of Calvin to Knox, dated April 23, 1561, it appears that the Genevan reformer had been consulted by our countrymen on some other points on which they were difficulted; most probably those questions on which the nobility and the ministers differed. He wrote them accordingly, but soon after was applied to a second time for his opinion on the same subject, as his first letter had miscarried. Knowing that his judgment was not altogether agreeable to some of them, he suspected that they wished to draw from him an answer more favourable to their own sentiments, and expressed his dissatisfaction at such conduct. Knox, who appears to have been employed in the correspondence, was grieved at this suspicion, and had vindicated himself from the imputation. Calvin in this letter apologizes for his severity, and assures him that he never entertained any suspicion of his integrity. "Te vero dolose quicquam egisse, neque dixi, neque suspicatus sum.—Ac mihi dolet, quod exciderat ex ore meo, sic in animum tuum penetrasse, ut putares malæ fidei aut astutiæ, a qua te remotum esse judico, fuisse insimulatam. Facessat igitur metus ille vel cura." In both letters, Calvin signifies his high satisfaction at the wonderful success of the reformation in Scotland. The conclusion of the last is expressive of the unaffected piety of the writer, and his warm regard for his correspondent. "Hic versamur inter multa discrimina. Una tantum cælestis præsidii fiducia nos a trepidatione eximit: quanvis non simus metu vacui. Vale, eximie vir, et ex animo colende frater. Dominus tibi semper adsit, te gubernet, tueatur, ac sustentet sua virtute." Ut supra, p. 564—566. et in alter. edit. p. 150.

These are the only parts of the correspondence between Calvin and the Reformer which have been published; but Mons. Senebier, the librarian of Geneva, has informed us that there are a number of Knox's letters to Calvin preserved in the public library of that city. Historie Litteraire de Geneve. Tom. i. p. 380.

During his residence at Geneva, Knox became acquainted with *Beza*, who then acted as professor of Greek in the neighbouring city of Lausanne, from which he was translated to Geneva, upon the erection of the university there, the same year in which our Reformer returned to Scotland. An epistolary correspondence was afterwards maintained between them. Two letters of Beza to Knox, the one dated June 3, 1569, the other April 12, 1572, are inserted in *Epistol. Theolog. Bezæ*, p. 333—336. 344—346. of the first edition; and p. 304—307. 314—316. of the second edition, Genevæ 1575. Both of them evince the writer's ardent regard for our reformer, and his high opinion of our reformation. The first letter is inscribed "To John Knox, *the Restorer of the Gospel of God in Scotland*," and begins with these words: "Gratiam et pacem tibi, mi frater, omnibusque vestris sanctis ecclesiis opto a Deo et Patre Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui etiam gratias ago assidue, tum de tanta ipsius in nos beneficentia, tum de vestra singulari in asserendo ipsius cultu constantia et animi fortitudine.—Euge mi frater, quam recte illud quod disciplinam simul cum doctrina conjungitis? obsecro et obtestor ut ita pergatis, ne vobis idem quod tam multis eveniat, ut quia in limine impegerint, progredi non possint, imo etiam interdum ne velint quidem, quod longe miserrimum est." The second letter which behoved to be received by Knox only a few months before his death, could not fail to be gratifying to him, even although he had taken a formal farewell of the world. It is addressed "To *his dearest Brother and Colleague*," and begins in the following lofty strain of affection: "Etsi tanto terrarum et maris ipsius intervallo disjuncti corporibus sumus, mi Cnoxe, tamen minime dubito quin inter nos semper viguerit, et ad extremum vigeat, summa illa animorum conjunctio, unius ejusdemq. spiritus fideique vinculo sancita."

Note XLIV. p. 90.

Evidence of Queen Mary's design to restore the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.—The reader who doubts that this was her uniform object from the time that she left France, may consult the following authorities. Throkmorton's Conference with Mary, apud Knox, Historie, 275—277. Keith, History, 164—167. Life of bishop Lesley, apud Anderson's Collections, i. 4. iii. 9. The letters of the Cardinal de St. Croix (ambassador from the Pope to the court of France), extracted from the Vatican library, afford a striking demonstration of the intentions of the queen. St. Croix writes to Cardinal Borromeo, that the grand Prior of France (one of Mary's uncles) and Mons. Danville had arrived from Scotland on the 17th November (1561), and had brought information, that the queen was going on successfully in surmounting all opposition to her in that kingdom. Being informed one day that some heretics had extinguished the candles on her altar, she repaired to the chapel, and having ascertained the fact, commanded a baron, one of the most powerful and most addicted to Lutheranism, to re-light the candles, and place them on the altar: in which she was instantly obeyed. After relating another instance of her spirited conduct against the magistrates of a certain borough, who had banished the popish priests, the Cardinal adds: "by these means she has acquired greater authority and power, *for enabling her to restore the ancient religion*." "con che acquesta tutta via maggior autorita et forze, per posser restituer en quel regno l'antica religione." Aymon, Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees de France, tom. i. p. 17, 18.

Note XLV. p. 90.

Sanguinary spirit and principles of Roman Catholics.—Bayle, Commentaire Philosophique, tomo i. pref. xiv. part ii. chap. v. p. 343, 347. Anno 1686, and his Critique Generale de l'histoire du Calvinisme, p. 485, 501—519. Hume's Hist. of England, vol. vii. chap. i. p. 24. Lond. 1793, 12mo. Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 62, 143, 352. Lond. 1809.

"Les Papistes" (says Bayle, in a treatise in which he pleads for toleration on a very extensive basis) "Les Papistes eux memes sont les premiers en ce pais-ci a crier qu'il n'y a rien de plus injuste que de vexer la conscience. Pensee ridicule en leur bouche! et non seulement ridicule, mais traitresse, &c. *i. e.* The Papists themselves are the first in this country [Britain], to exclaim that there is nothing more unjust than to distress conscience. A sentiment ridiculous in their mouth! and not only ridiculous, but treacherous, and marked with that dishonesty which they have uniformly discovered for so many ages. For they would not fail, in three years, to burn and butcher all who refused to go to mass, if they acquired the

power, and could avail themselves of the baseness of a sufficient number of court parasites, men of venal souls and unworthy of the protestant name which they bear, to overturn the fundamental barriers which so salutarily restrain the royal power." Commentaire Philosophique, Pref. p. xiii. xiv. Anno 1686.

The sentiments contained in the following passage are now become so antiquated and unintelligible, that I shall not risk my credit by venturing to translate it. "Les malheurs qui sont arrivez a nos freres de France tourneront, comme il y a apparence, a notre profit. Il nous ont remis dans la necessaire defiance du Papisme, ils nous ont fait voir que cette fausse religion ne s'amende pas par le long age, qu'elle est toujours, comme au tems jadis, animee de l'esprit de fourbe et de cruaute, et que malgre la politesse, l'honnetete, la civilite, qui regne dans les manieres de ce siecle plus qu'en aucun autre, elle est toujours brutale et farouche. Chose etrange! tout ce qu'il y avoit de grossier dans les mœurs de nos ancestres s'est evanouit; a cet air rustique et sauvage des vieux tems a succede par toute l'Europe Chretienne une douceur et une civilite extreme. Il n'y a que le Papisme qui ne se sent point du changement, et qui retient toujours son anciene et habituelle ferocite. Nous nous imaginions nous autres Anglois, que c'etoit une bete aprivoisse, un loup et un tigre qui avoit oublie son naturel sauvage; mais Dieu merci aux Convertisseurs de France, nous nous sommes desabusez, et nous savons a qui nous aurions a faire si notre sort etoit entre leurs mains. Pesans bien cela et considerons quel malheur nous pendroit sur la tete, si nous laissions croitre le Papisme dans ce bien heureux climats. Je ne veux pas que cela nous porte a faire aucunes represailles sur les papistes; non, je deteste ces imitations; je souhaite seulement qu'ils n'aquierent pas la force d'executer sur nous ce qu'ils savent faire." Ut supra, xv. xviii. xix.

Note XLVI. p. 94.

The following extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh, shew the attention which they paid to the support and accommodation of their minister.

May 8, 1560. The provost, baillies, and council ordain the treasurer to pay the sum of 40*l.* Scots for furnishing of the minister, John Knox, in his household, and because he had been furnished on David Forrester's expences since his coming to this town, for the space of 15 days, ordains to receive David's accompts, and make payment.—"Penultimo Octobris 1560. The quhilk day, the provost, baillies, and counsaill ordainis James Barroun to pay to John Knox the soulme of sax scoir pounds of the reddiest money of the solmes being in his hands, and sicklyk the soulme of 20*l.*" This last sum seems to have been allotted for repairs on his house.—"12th Dec. 1560. The provost, baillies, and counsill ordanis James Barroun (Dean of Guild of last year) to pay and deliver to Johne Knox, minister, the soume of fiftie pound for supporting of his charges, and that incontinent after the sight heirof, and gif it beis funden that the said James be superexpendit, after the making of his accompt, precepts shall be given in maist strait forme, commanding the treasurer to mak him gud and thankfull payment of the haill of his superexpensis, within aught days nixt thairafter." From the minutes of Dec. 22, 1560, April 5, and May 28, 1561, it appears that his fixed stipend was 200*l.* a-year; for 50*l.* is ordered, each time, "for his quarter payment" or "dues." On Dec. 14. 1560, it was agreed that his house-rent should afterwards be paid "at the rate of 15 merks a-year."

"Penultimo Octobris (1561). The samine day the provost, baillies, and counsail ordanis the Dene of Gyld, with all diligence, to make ane warme stuydye of dailles to the minister, Johne Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyht and wyndokis thereunto, and all uther necessaris: and the expenciss disbursit be him salbe allowit to him in his accomptis."—"January 1561. (*i. e.* 1562.) the provost, baillies, and counsale, understanding that the minister, Jhone Knox, is requyrit be the hale kirk to passe in the partis of Anguss and Mearnys, for electing of ane superintendent thare, to the quhilk they themselfs hes grantit, thairfoir ordains Alexander Guthrie, Dene of Gild, to pass in companie with him, for furnishing of the said ministeris charges, and to deburse and pay the same of the readcast of the townis gudis in his handis, quhilk salbe allowit in his accomptis: And further haist the said minister hame, that the kirk hear be not desolait."

To these extracts respecting Knox, I may add one from the same records respecting Willock, who officiated in his place as minister of Edinburgh during the civil war. "29 August 1560. The counsail ordains their treasurer to deliver to John Willock 22 crownes of the sone for recompense of the great travell sustenit be him this haill yiere bygane, in preching and administring the sacramentis within this burgh, and ordanis ane member of the counsall to thank him for his great benevolence, and for the great travaill forsaid." Previous to this, they had remunerated John Cairns, with whom Willock had lodged.

In the text I have mentioned, that, after the arrangement made by the privy council respecting the thirds of benefices, Knox seems to have received part of his stipend from the common fund. The extracts which Keith has given from the books of assignation mention only two allowances made to him. "To John Knox minister, Wheat 2 c[halders], bear 6 c. meal o. oats 4 c." Whether this was for the year 1563, or not, Keith does not say. He adds in a note, "For the year 1568, I see 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* given to Mr. Knox." History, App. 188. His stipend at the time of his death has been mentioned above, p. 268, 269. Keith has inserted from the same books, the price of the principal articles of living at that time, from which an idea of the value of money may be formed. Ibid. 189. The following are a specimen. In Fyfe, Lothian, Merse and Teviotdale, for 1573, wheat, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the chalder; bear, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; meal, 16*l.* oats, 20 marks. Or, according to another account, without expressing any county, wheat, 1*l.* the boll; bear, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; meal the same; oats 10*s.*; malt, 2*l.*; rye, and pease and beans, the same; mairts of Aberdeen 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece; sheep, 9*s.*; poultry, 4*s.* the dozen; geese, 1*s.* the piece; cheese 6*s.* 8*d.* the stone.

Note XLVII. p. 96.

Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh respecting a second Minister.—"10 April 1562—The same day the counsale understanding the tedious and havie labours sufferit be the minister, Jhone Knox, in preiching thrise in the oulk, and twise on the Sounday, ordains with ane consent to solist and persuade Maister Jhone Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongait, to accept upoun him the half chargis of the preaching of the said kirk of Edinburgh for sic gud deid as thai can aggre on."—That this measure was not carried into effect for some time after, appears from the following act of council. "18th June 1563.—After lang reasoning upon the necessities of ministers, finds that there salbe ane uther minister elected be the provost, baillies, and counsale, dekynes and elderis of this burgh, and addit to Johne Knox, minister." From the same act and subsequent measures, it is evident that the want of necessary funds was the cause of the delay. For the council resolved, that "for susteaning of thame baith, togidder with Johne Cairns reider," the deacons should meet with the trades and the merchants, to see what they would be willing to give. The reports made to the council did bear, that if they would fix a particular stipend, the trades were willing to pay a *fifth* of it, according to old custom. But although Craig had not been translated from the Canongate, he seems to have performed a part of the duty in Edinburgh; for, in the same month, I find the council appointing a number of persons "to go amang the faithfull who had communicate," and make a collection for "Johne Craig and Johne Cairns, who had received nothing for a lang time." This expedient they were obliged afterwards to repeat. On the 26 September 1561, the council had agreed to give "to John Cairns, lector of morning prayeris, 100 merks a year in tyme to cum." Records of Town Council.

Note XLVIII. p. 96.

It is well known that literature flourished in Italy during the early part of the sixteenth century, but few comparatively are acquainted with the facts respecting the progress of the Reformation in that country. Soon after Luther and Zuinglius began their opposition to the corruptions of the church, the doctrines which they taught spread into Italy. They were preached under the very walls of Rome, and embraced by many of the nobility and of the learned among the Italians. Protestant churches were formed in Naples, in Ferrera, in Modena, in Mantua, in Venice. And when they were crushed by persecution, numbers suffered death for the cause, and still greater numbers forsook their native land, and took refuge in protestant countries.

It is foreign to the design of the present work to enter on this subject, and my object in introducing it here is to express a regret that no account of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Italy has been given in our language. Many facts relating to it are to be found scattered through the letters of Luther, Calvin, and Peter Martyr; in the Lives of the last mentioned divine, of Bernardin Ochin, Jerom Zanchy, Emanuel Tremellius, Galleazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico, and of other eminent Italian exiles, either published apart, or in foreign biographical collections. The most important of these facts were collected by the very learned and laborious Gerdes, and published, after his death, under the title of "Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ." I had once intended drawing up an account from these authorities, but laid aside the design, owing to other engagements, and not being able to procure all the information I could have wished; and it will give me great pleasure if these hints shall excite some person to undertake the task, who has more leisure, and better access to materials.

Note XLIX. page 97.

Writings of Quintin Kennedy.—Keith has inserted a letter which the Abbot wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the correspondence between him and Willock in 1559. He has also given large extracts from his *Compendious Tractive.* History, Append. p. 193—203. The following quotations may be added for verifying the statement which I have made in the text. Having quoted John v. 39, he says, "Marke (gude redare) the Scripture to occupy the place of ane *wytnes*, and not the place of ane *juge*." A, iiij. In a posterior part of the work, he endeavours to qualify what he had stated respecting the church being judge of all matters in religion. "We never say in all our lytle tractive, that the kirk is juge to the Scripture, bot yat the kirk is juge to discern quhilk is the trew Scripture of God, and to mak manifest to the congregation the trew understandyng of the samyn." Ibid. H, v. This explication does not mend the matter: for certainly he who has the power of calling what witnesses he pleases, and of putting what sense he pleases upon their testimony, is to all intents and purposes the judge of the witnesses, and of their evidence. Having mentioned that there were persons "swa religious and clean fyngerit, that thair wil na thyng perswade thaim without testimony of Scripture," he adds: "All Christin men havand ane generale understanding of the articles of our faith (conforme to the understanding that the kirk hes teacheit ws); the ten commandments, the prayer of the Lord callit the *Pater noster*. It suffices to thame to quhame it does not appertene of thair office nor vocatioun, to occupy the place of the prechairis or techearis in the congregatioun. As to the sacramentis, and all uther secretis of the Scripture, stand to the jugement of thy pasture, without curious ressoning or cersing of the secretis of Godis word, quha beiris thy burding in all materis doutsum abone thy knawledge, conforme to the saying of the apostle, 'Obey unto your superioris,' &c. And in cais they be negligent, ressave doctryne of the kirk, as the tyme teicheis ws. Be this way (quhilk is conforme to Godis word and al veritie) it sal be asie to all men, quhat place or estait in the congregatioun that ever he occupy, to beir his awin burding." Ibid. D, vii.

In his dispute with Knox, the abbot mentions his "books," and he refers particularly to a book which he had published in 1561, on the sacrament of the mass. There is in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, a MS. by the abbot, entitled, "Ane familiar commune and rassoning anent the misterie of the sacrifice of the mess, betwix twa brether, master Quintin Kennedy, Comendator of Corsraguell, and James Kenedy of————. In the yeir of God ane thousand, five hundred, three scoir ane yeir." Whether this is the same with the printed book on that subject, or not, I cannot say, as I have never seen the abbot's book on the mass, which indeed is very rare. It was answered by George Hay, in a work intitled, "The Confutation of the Abbote of Crosraguels Masse, set furth by Maister George Hay. Imprintet at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpreuik, 1563." This is dedicated "To the most noble, potent and godlie Lord James Earle of Murray." It is the book to which Winzet alludes on the margin of his *Buke of Questionis*, where he says, "Mr George Hay, fy haist zow to recant." Keith, Append. p. 236. see also p. 246. Lepreuik, in an advertisement to the reader, apologizes for his want of Greek characters, which he was forced to have supplied by manuscript. Herbert's edit. of Ames, p. 1487. This last fact illustrates what I have mentioned in page 143. Herbert questions Ames's statement, that they had no Hebrew or Greek types in Scotland in 1579, and he appeals to a book printed 'at Edinburgh,—be Leighe Mannenby, Anno Domini 1578,' in which Greek characters are found." Ut Supra, p. 1499, 1500. But this cannot overthrow Ames's statement, which is correct; for the imprint of that book is undoubtedly fictitious, as no such Scottish printer as "Leighe Mannenby" seems to have ever existed.

Another work of Kennedy has lately been printed, from a MS. in the Auchinleck library, under the following title: "Ane Oratioune in fauouris of all thais of the Congregatione, exhortand thaim to aspy how wonderfullie thai ar abusit be thair dissaitfull prechouris, set furth be master Quintine Kennedy, Commendatour of Corsraguell, ye zeir of Gode 1561." Pages 20. Edinburgh 1812. It is highly probable that this was printed in the year mentioned in the title, although no copy is now to be found, and that it is one of "his books," referred to by the Abbot in his dispute with Knox. I have already given extracts from this tract. See pages 151, 161. It concludes in the following manner: "Quharfor, with all my hart exhortis, prays, and but mercie appellis thar pestilent precheouris, [On the margin: Knox, Willock, Winrame, Gudmane, Dowglase, Heriot, Spottiswoode, and all ye rest.] puffit vp with vane glore, quhilkis rackinnis thaimselfis of gretar knawlege nor Christis haill kirk, cumand but authorite, subuertand, subornande, and circumuenande the simple peple, cersande thair pray like the deuillis rachis, barkcand bauldly like bardis, aganis the blissit sacrament of the altare, the sacrifice of the mess, and all vther godlie ordinance of Jhesus Christ and his kirk, to preiss thair wittis and inginis, and to streik all thair pennis in my contrar, makande the congregatioun and all vtheris to vnderstande, gif I do propirly, treuly, and godly, or nocht, invey aganis thair deuillische doctrine and doyingis. Failyeande thairof, recant, for schame, recant (ye famouse precheouris) and cum in obedience to the kirk of God, quhilk ye have stubbornlie misknawin this lang time bypast (and that nocht without grete dangere to your avne saulis and mony vtheris,) thairfor recant, in tyme recant, as ye lufe your saluation, and cry God mercie: To quham, with the Sone and Haly Gaist, be prayse, honour, and glore, for ever ande ever. Amen. Progenies viperarum fugite a ventura ira, nam securis ad radicem arboris posita est, penitentiam agite. Matth. iii."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Boswell will give to the public any other of the Abbot's tracts which the Auchinleck Library may contain; as they form the surest criterion of the talents of the author, and the most trivial writings often contain incidental notices which serve to illustrate the history of the period.

Since the above was printed, I have been favoured with the sight of a copy of this rare tract, belonging to Richard Heber, Esq. From an inspection of it, I perceive that the abbot's book, to which it is an answer, is the same with the MS. in Mr. Boswell's possession, entitled, "Ane familiar commune and ressoning," &c. See preceding note. It would also seem that the Abbot's treatise had not been printed, but that copies of it had been transcribed, and industriously circulated through the country in manuscript. For Hay repeatedly makes the supposition that there might be variations in the different copies, and on one occasion confesses that he could not read a passage in the copy which he used. "Followeth, another objection made by James. *Alwayes* (sayes he) *all ze wha vses the Masse, dois not* (this (*not*) is not in the Text, that is come to my handes, but because the sentence requireth it, I haue added it) *as Christe did in the latter Supper*," &c. He gives another quotation from the Abbot in the following manner, "*Trewly, brother, and ze be sa scrupulus Scripturares, that ze will do nothing but* (*but*) is not in my text) *as Christe did, towardes the vse of the Sacramentes, ze will subuert our haile Faith, and commend our awin doinges** (so I ride it) (our owen doinges or commonly I can not tell which should be red, or if there be any other thing yet,) *for quhair finde ze that Christe euer appointed ane man to be Baptised*," &c. Fol. 36, b. 37, a, b.

The following account of the Abbot's talents and acquaintance with the Fathers may serve as a specimen of Hay's style. "Trew it is, that before this boke of the Abbote of Cros-

* It is probable that the words which puzzled Hay should be read, *and condemn your awin doinges.*

raguel's wes set furth and published, sindrie and diuers were the opinions of men concerning it. For the sorte of them that be comonly tearmed Papistes, aduersaries to all trew Religion, thoght in verie deid that they should receaue such a confort, yea, such a Gun, as no munition myght withstand, na strengthe resiste, nether yet any maner of force repel. They were encuraged by the brute and fame of the man, who onely wolde appeare in these tymes to haue dexteritie of ingyne, helped and auanced by long progres of tyme spent in good letters, yea, ad besydes the Scriptures of God, will also appeare to haue the conference, judgement, and authoritie of the ancient Fathers and councils, which it may seme to the Reader that he feadeth (not unlyke the nyne Muses) in his bosome. I my self hauing hade some tymes credit and acquentence of the man, loked for some what that might haue troubled the cosciences of waiklinges, and of such as stayed them selues vpon a glistering and semely ymagination of mans heart, rather then upon the written and reueiled treuth, by the spirite of God. For it wes not vnknawen to me how familiare he hath bene with the scolastike Sophisters, their thornie questions, and scabrus conclusions, yea, and some of the ancient Doctors, whose writinges, what by ignorance of tyme seduced, what by affection caryed away, I thoght wel he should wreist to his vngodly opinion." Fol. 3, a. Having pointed out a false quotation, which the Abbot had made from Chrysostom, Hay adds, "Herby it is easy to perceaue how vainely ye ascribe such reading of the Ancientes vnto your self, as in your writinges ye take vpon you, that ye will seme in the eyes of the people, to be the onely he in this Realme versed in antiquitie. And now to say my judgment freely, I truste ye haue no workes of such men as ye draw your authorities out of, but onely hath, I can not tell what lytle scabbed treaties of Eccius, Cochleus, Hosius Stanislaus youre new start up Campion, and of such others of your factio, and taketh out of them, such thinges as ye think may seruc to your wicked and blasphemus purpose. What credite now, or what authoritie oght to be giuen to such places, as thou draweth out of the Doctors, who belyke neuer hath sene there workes, nether yet knoweth to what purpose they speak, if they speak of their owne mynde, or of their aduersaries, whither they speak by an interrogation or conclusiuely, and determinatly, whither they speak [illegible],* that is excessiuely, to extoll the dignitie of the mater they haue in hand (which is not Rare in this Author) or simplie. Thus the Text it self is to be considered, that it that preceadeth, being conferred with it that followeth, the mynde and sentence of the Author, may be knowen perfytlie. Not that I will hereby damne yong men, who ether excluded by tyme, or els lacking bookes, muste giue credite to good authorities, but in this man who will seme to be an other Anacharses inter Sordidos Scythas, it is intollerable, who is sequestrate frome the common societie of men, and trauell in the common wealth, hauing not els to do, but that he hath inioyned to him self, that is to ly by a pleasing bray, and cast in stones to trouble the faire and cleare rinning watter." Fol. 18, b. 19, a.

Note L. p. 100.

Ordination of reformed Ministers.— In the prologue to the Reasoning betwixt Jo. Knox and the abbot of Crossraguell, Knox adverts to the cavils of the papists against the validity of the call of the reformed ministers, and intimates his intention of returning an answer to the questions on this head which had been proposed to him by Ninian Winget, *the Procutour for the Papists.* There are some general remarks on this subject in his answer to Tyrie's Letter, but I do not think that he ever published any thing professedly on the point. There is a ridiculous tale told by a popish writer concerning a pretended convention among the reformed ministers in Scotland to determine in what manner they should proceed in the admission of ministers. Willock proposed as a weighty difficulty, that if they used imposition of hands, or any other ceremony usually practised in the church, they would be asked to shew, that they themselves had been admitted by the same ceremonies, and thus the lawfulness of their vocation would be called in question. "Johann kmnox ansuerit maist resolutlie, *Buf, buf, man, we ar anes entered, let se quha dar put us out agane;* meaning that thair was not sa monie gunnis and pistollis in the countrie to put him out as was to intrud him with violence. Sua Johann kmnox, to his awin confusion, entered not in the kirk be ordinar vocatione or imposition of handis, but be imposition of *bullatis and pouldir in culringis and lang gunnis;* sua ye mister not to trubill you farder in seiking out of Johann kmnox vocatione."—This story "I understude (says the author) of ane nobill and honourabil man, quha can yit beir witnes gif I lea or not." He took care, however, not to give the name of the nobleman. Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 129. Parise 1581.

* The Greek word is inserted with a pen. See preceding page.

Note LI. p. 100.

Strictness and impartiality of Discipline.—The form of satisfaction enjoined in the case of Methven, was appointed for all who had been excommunicated for murder, adultery, incest, or other aggravated crimes. The murderer was to bear in his hand "the same or lyke weapoun whairwith the murther was committit." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 38. Other rules observed in cases of discipline may be seen in Knox's Liturgy, p. 55—67. edition, 1611. and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 704—756. Impartiality as well as severity, distinguished the discipline of those times. "*Gryt* men offending in sick crymes as deserves seckclaith, they suld receave the same als weill as the *pure.*—Na superintendant nor commissioner, with advyce of any particular kirk of yair jurisdiction, may dispense with the extreamitie of sackcloth, prescrivit be the actes of the generall discipline, for any pecuniall sum or paine *ad pios usus.*" Ibid. ad August. 1573. Dunlop, ii. 753. This was not a mere theoretic proposition. For in 1563, we find the lord Treasurer making public satisfaction (Keith 245,529); in 1567, the countess of Argyle, (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p, 37.); and in 1568, the bishop of Orkney (Anderson's Collections, ii. 284.). Let not our modern *fashionables* and great ones be alarmed at hearing of such things. These days are gone, and will not, it is likely, soon return.

It is a mistake, however, to represent the ecclesiastical courts as inflicting corporal punishments upon offenders. The parliament, or the magistracy of particular burghs, enacted punishments of this kind against certain crimes which were ordinarily tried in the church courts. Some of these existed before the Reformation, and some of them were posterior to it; but the infliction, as well as the enacting of them, pertained to the civil magistrate. Knox, p. 269. The following extract will explain the occasion of the mistake, and the true state of the case. "What you bring (says Mr. Baillie in his answer to bishop Maxwell) of pecuniary mulcts, imprisonments, banishments, jogges, cutting of haire, and such like, it becomes neither you to charge, nor us to be charged with any such matters: No church-assembly in Scotland assumes the least degree of power, to inflict the smallest civill punishment upon any person; the Generall Assembly it selfe hath no power to fine any creature so much as in one groat: It is true, the lawes of the land, appoint pecuniary mulcts, imprisonment, joggs, pillories, and banishment for some odious crimes, and the power of putting these lawes in execution is placed by the parliament in the hands of the inferior magistrates in burroughs or shires, or of others to whom the counsel table gives a speciall commission for that end; ordinarily some of these civill persons are ruling elders, and sit with the eldership: So when the eldership have cognosced upon the *scandall* alone of criminall persons, and have used their spirituall censures only to bring the party to repentance, some of the ruling elders, by virtue of their civill office or commission, will impose a mulct, or send to prison or stocks, or banish out of the bounds of some little circuit, according as the act of parliament or counsell do appoint it. But that the eldership should employ its ecclesiastical and spirituall power for any such end, none of us doe defend. That either in Scotland or any where else in the world the haire of any person is commanded to be cut by any church judicatory for disgrace and punishment, is (as I take it) but a foolish fable. That any person truely penitent is threatened in Scotland, with church censures, for non-payment of monies, is in the former category of calumnies." Historical Vindication of the government of the Church of Scotland, p. 17, 18. Lond. 1646. I have in my possession (extracted from the records of a kirk-session) a commission, granted in 1701, by the sheriff-depute of Berwickshire, constituting one of the elders *session-baillie,* for executing the laws against prophaneness, agreeably to an act of parliament authorizing the appointment of such an officer in parishes within which no ordinary magistrate resided.

I may add the following quotation from another able and

strenuous asserter of the presbyterian discipline and government. "Ubi originalis causa excommunicationis est delictum violans jura et libertates ecclesiæ, &c. When the original cause of excommunication is an offence violating the rights and liberties of the church, either in the way of loss being sustained or injury being done, I confess that the assistance of the secular arm may be implored, and the guilty person may be forced to repair the loss and to give civil satisfaction; or even if the person already excommunicated shall testify a disposition to disturb the religious service, or to violate the rights and liberties of the church. But where no loss or injury to the rights and liberties of the church arises from the offence or from the contumacy, but scandal alone is given, I know not whether any person is to be forced to what is called penitential satisfaction, by imploring the assistance of the secular arm. For as the church has no coactive power in herself, so neither ought she to use it indirectly to extort confessions which are constrained, and consequently counterfeit." Calderwood, Altare Damascenum, p. 312—3. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1708.

Note 52. p. 103.

Mr. Hume's misrepresentations of the conduct of the Reformers towards Queen Mary.—The whole account which this historian has given of the conduct of the protestant clergy towards Mary, from her arrival in Scotland until her marriage with Darnly, is very remote from sober and genuine history. It is rather a satire against the Reformation, which he charges with rebellion; against the presbyterian church, whose genius he describes as essentially productive of fanaticism and vulgarity; and against his native country, the inhabitants of which, without exception, he represents as over-run with rusticity, strangers to the arts, to civility, and the pleasures of conversation. History, Reign of Eliz. chap. i. near the close. "Il n'est rien de plus facile quand on a beaucoup d'esprit, et beaucoup d'experience dans l'art de faire des livres, que de composer une Histoire satyrique, des meme faits qui ont servi a faire une Eloge. Deux lignes supprimée, ou *pour* ou *contre*, dans l'exposition d'un fait, sont capable de faire paroistre un homme ou fort innocent, ou fort coupable: et comme par la seule transposition de quelques mots on peut faire d'un discours fort saint un discours impie; de meme par la seule transposition de quelques circonstances, l'on peut faire de l'action la plus criminelle, l'action la plus vertueuse." Bayle, Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme, p. 13. 2de edition, 1683. This is a charge to which the historian of England has exposed himself on more occasions than one.

I cannot here expose all his mis-statements in the passage to which I have referred. He keeps out of view the fixed resolution of the queen to re-establish the Romish religion, with all the perils to which the Protestants were exposed. He artfully introduces his narrative, by placing her proclamation against altering the Protestant religion before the symptoms of popular discontent at her setting up mass; whereas the proclamation was issued after these, and most probably would never have appeared, had it not been found necessary to allay the apprehensions of the people. Knox, 285. Keith, 504, 505. As a proof that the preachers "took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess," he gives extracts from an address to her by the general assembly, without ever hinting that this was merely a draught or overture; that every offensive expression was erased from it before it was adopted by the assembly; and that, when it was presented by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, the queen said, "Here are many fair words; I cannot tell what the hearts are." Knox, 315. Mr. H. goes on to say: "The ringleader in all these insults on Majesty, was John Knox.—His usual appellation for the queen, was *Jezebel*." This is a mistake. Neither in his sermons, nor in his prayers, nor in conversation, did he give this appellation to Mary, as long as she was queen; but always honoured her before the people, as well as in her own presence, even when he lamented and condemned her errors. Afterwards, indeed, when for her crimes (of which no man was more convinced than Mr. H.) she was removed from the government, and he no longer acknowledged her as his sovereign, he did apply this name to her. It is so far from being true, that "the whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow," or that she "was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers," that she retained her "gaiety and ease," until, by her imprudent marriage with Darnly, she with her own hand planted thorns under her pillow; while the preachers were most free in their sermons, she enjoyed all manner of liberty; her mass was never taken from her; she was allowed to indulge her "feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant;" nor was she ever interrupted in these amusements, except when her own husband deprived her of her favourite Italian fidler, a loss for which she afterwards took ample vengeance. It is difficult to conceive how one acquainted with the history of that period, and the character of the queen, could impute the "*errors* of her subsequent conduct" to the "harsh and preposterous usage which she met with" from the reformers. Nor can can there be a greater satire upon the general character of Mary, (previous to her first marriage) than to say, that "she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had, in her early youth, received the first impressions." It is well known that the court at which she received her education was most dissolute; and the supposition that she carried away the innocent polish and refinement of their manners, without contracting their criminal contagion, is not only incredible, but contradicted by the confessions of her friends. Memoires de Castelnau, augmentez par J. le Laboureur, Prieur de Juvigne, tom. i. p. 528. A Bruxelles, 1731. I have no desire however to dip into this subject, or to draw forth to light facts unfavourable to that princess: although the unwarranted and persevering attacks which have been made upon worthy men, in order to reconcile the "future conduct" of Mary, with "the general tenor of her character," would justify greater freedoms than have been lately used in this way.

"We are too apt to figure to ourselves the reformers of that age, as persons of impolitic and inflexible austerity." This is the remark of one who was much better acquainted with their history than Mr. Hume. Lord Hailes, Historical Mem. of the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 41. Comp. Knox, Historie, p. 310. See also, in addition to the facts already produced in this work, what is contained in Note xxiv.

Mr. Hume's object, in the passage on which I have animadverted, was to blacken the reformers, rather than to exalt the queen, of whose character he had at bottom no great opinion. "Tell Goodall (says he, in a letter to Dr. Robertson) that if he can but give up queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in every thing else; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox, and the reformers, made very ridiculous." Indeed, he confessed to his confidential friends, that he had, in his history, drawn the character of that princess in too favourable colours. "I am afraid, (says he to the same correspondent) that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary's character with too great softenings. She was undoubtedly a violent woman *at all times*." Stewart's Life of Robertson, p. 37, 38. of the separate edition; or as reprinted with the History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 25. Lond. 1809.

Note LIII. p. 104.

Proceedings of Town Council in a slander against Knox.—"18mo Junii, 1563.—The samyn day, in presence of the baillies and counsale, comperit Jhone Gray, scribe to the kirk, and presentit the supplicatione following, in name of the haill kirk, bering that it was laitlie cummen to thair knawledge bi the report of faythfull bretherins, that within thir few dayis Eufame Dundas, in the presence of ane multitude, had spokin divers injurious and sclandarous wordis baith of the doctrine and ministeris. And in especial of Jhonne Knox, minister, sayand, that within few dayis past, the said Jhonne Knox was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure; and that he had bene ane commone harlot all his dayis. Quhairfore it was maist humblie desyrit that the said Eufame myt be callit and examinat upone the said supplicatione, and gif the wordis abone writtin, spokin bi hir, myt be knawin or tryit to be of veritie, that the said Jhonne Knox myt be punist with all rigour without favour: otherwyse to tak sic ordour with hir as myt stand with the glory of God, and that sclander myt be takin from the kirk. As at mair length is contenit in the said supplication. Quhilk beand red to the said Eufame, personallie present in judgement, *scho denyit the samyn*, and Fryday the 25 day of Junii instant assignit to hir to here and see witnes producit for preving of the allegiance abone expremit, and scho is warnyt apud acta." Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, of the above date.

The minute of the 25th contains the account of the proof which Knox's procurator led to shew that Eufame Dundas had uttered the scandal which she now denied, and the appointment that the parties should be "warnit *literatorie* to hear sen-

tence given in the said action." I have not observed anything more respecting the cause in the minutes, and it is probable, that the Reformer, having obtained the vindication of his character, prevailed on the judges not to inflict punishment on the accuser.

Note LIV. p. 104.

Calumnies of the Popish writers against Knox and other Reformers.—"C'est rendre sans doute (says Bayle) quelque service a la memoire de Jean Knox, que de fair voir les extravagances de ceux qui ont declire sa reputation." And, having referred to the "gross and extravagant slanders" of one writer, he adds, "tlus alone is a sufficient prejudice against all which the Roman Catholic writers have published concerning the great Reformer of Scotland." Dict. art. Knox. If Mons. Bayle could speak in this manner upon a quotation from one author, what conclusion shall we draw from the following quotations?

The first writer who attacked Knox's character after his death, was Archibald Hamilton, whose hostility against him was inflamed by a personal quarrel, as well as by political and religious considerations. (See above, p. 123.) His book shews how much he was disposed to recommend himself to the papists, by throwing out whatever was most injurious to his former connexions. But there were too many alive at that time to refute any charge which might be brought against the Reformer's moral character. Accordingly, when he aimed the most envenomed thrust at his reputation, Hamilton masked it under the name of an apprehension or surmise. Having said, that, on the death of Edward VI. "he fled to Geneva with a noble and rich lady" (which by the bye is also a falsehood) he adds in a parenthesis "qua simul et filia matris pellice familiariter usus fuisse *putabatur*." De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 65, a, Parisiis 1577.

In 1579, Principal Smeton published his answer to Hamilton's book, in which he repelled the charges which he had brought against Knox, and pronounced the above mentioned surmise a malicious calumny, for which the accuser could not adduce the slightest proof, and which was refuted by the spotless character which our Reformer had maintained before the whole world. Smetoni Responsio ad Virulentum Dialogum Hamiltonii, p. 95. It now behoved Hamilton either to retract or to prove his injurious insinuation. But how did he act in his reply to Smeton? Under the pretence of repeating what he had said in his former book, he introduces a number of other slanders against Knox's character, of which he had not given the most distant hint before; and (incredible to be told!) he absolutely avers, that he had formerly asserted and specified all these, and condescended upon the places, times, and other circumstances;—although in his former publication he had not said one word on the subject except the general surmise which I have quoted above!!! "Fueritiam prematura venere et polluto insuper patris thoro infamem *notavi*. Inde adolescentiam perpetuis assuetam adulteriis *designavi*. Post hanc maturioris ætatis apostasin, &c. descripsi: res ipsas ut gestæ erunt *retuli*: loca, tempora, et reliquas omnes circumstantias *notavi*." Calvinianæ Confusionis *Demonstratio*, contra maledicam ministrorum Scotiæ responsionem; per Archibaldum Hamiltonium, in Sancta Christi Ecclesia Presbyterum. p. 253. Parisiis, 1581. Than this what can be a stronger mark of one who has "made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience," who "is subverted and sinneth, being condemned of himself." After this we cannot wonder at his casting off all shame, and asserting: "Itane vero in maledictis ducitis, quæ impurus homucio non vno, aut paucis, sed multis, et fere dicam *omnibus attestantibus*, designavit? patris thorum infami incestu pollutum, et tot commissa adulteria, quot in ædibus, intra quas admittebatur, relicta vestigia etiamnu *recitant Laudonienses omnes nobiles, juxta et ignobiles*." Ut supra, p. 253, b.

We are not left to impute these slanders to personal malice, or to the miserable shifts of an unprincipled individual, who, having rashly committed himself by advancing a falsehood, attempts to maintain his credit by bold assertions and fresh calumnies. For, in the very same year in which Hamilton's last work appeared, we find another popish author writing in the following terms: "Johne Kmnox your first apostel, quha caused ane young woman in my lord Ochiltreis place fal almaist dead, because sche saw his maister Satthan in ane black mannis likenese with him, throuche ane bore of the dure: quha was also ane manifest adulterare bringand furth of Ingland baith the mother and the dochter whom he persuadit that it was lesum to leve her housband, [See pages 57, 75,] and adhere unto him, making ane fleshe of himself, the mother, and the dochter, as if he wald conjoyne in ane religione, the auld synagogue of the Jeuis with the new fundat kirk of the Gentiles." In another place he introduces the account of his second marriage with these words: "That renegat and perjurit priest schir Johane Kmnox, quha efter the death of his first harlot, quhilk he mareit incurring eternal damnation be breking his vou and promise of chastitie, quhen his age requyrit rather that with tearis and lamentations he sould have chastised his flesh and bewailit the breaking of his vou, as also the horril il incest with his gudmother in ane *killogie* of Haddingtoun." Burne's Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 102, 143. Parise, 1581. But Burne, and even Hamilton were outstripped in calumny by that most impudent of all liars, James Laing, who published in Latin an account of the lives and manners of the heretics of his time. There are few pages of his book in which he does not abuse our Reformer; but in (what he calls) his Life, he has exceeded any thing which was ever dictated either by personal malice, or by religious rancour. "Statim (says he) ab initio suæ pueritiæ omni genere turpissimi facinoris infectus fuit. Vix excesserat jam ex ephebis, cum patris sui uxorem violarat, suam novercam vitiarat, et cum ea, cui reverentia potissimum adhibenda fuerat, nefarium stuprum fecerat." His bishop having, forsooth, called him to account for these crimes, he straightway became inflamed with the utmost hatred to the Catholic religion. "Deinde non modo cum profanis, sed etiam cum quibuscunque sceleratissimis, perditissimis, et potissimum omnium hæreticis est versatus, et quo quisque erat immanior, sceleratior, crudelior, eo ei carior et gratior fuit.—Ne unum quidem diem sceleratissimus hæreticus sine una et item altera meretrice traducere potuit.—Continuo cum tribus meretricibus, quæ videbantur posse sufficere uni sacerdoti, in Scotia convolat.—Ceterum hic lascivus caper, quem assidue sequebatur lasciva capella, partim perpetuis crapulis, partim vino, lustrisque ita confectus fuit, ut quotiescunq. conscendere suggestum ad maledicendum, velim precandum [vel imprecandum] suis, opus erat illi duobus aut tribus viris, a quibus elevandus atq. sustendandus erat." *De Vita et Moribus atque Rebus Gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis. Authore Jacobo Laingæo Scoto Doctore Sorbonico*, fol. 113, b. 114, a, b. 115, a. *Parisiis*, 1581. *Cum Privilegio.* Nor were such accounts confined to that age. In the beginning of the following century, they were repeated by John Hamilton. Facile Tractise, contenand ane infallible reul to discern trew from fals religion, p. 60. Louvain, 1600. In 1623, an English writer refers to James Laing's work for an authentic account of Knox's private life. The Image of bothe Churches, Jherusalem and Babell, by P. D. M. p. 134. Tornay, 1623. And as late as 1628, we find *Father Alexander Baillie* retailing, in the English language, all the gross tales of his predecessors, with additions of his own, in which he shews a total disregard to the best known facts in the Reformer's life. "Jhon Knox (says he) being chaplane to *the laird of Balvurie*, and accused for his vices and leecherie, was found so guiltie and culpable that to eschevie the just punishment prepared for him he presently fled away into Ingland." He afterwards says, that Knox, after the death of his second wife [that is, twenty years at least after his own death,] "shamefully fell in the abominable vice of incestuous adultery, as *Archb. Hamilton and others* doe witnesse;" and as a proof that Knox reckoned this vice no blot. Baillie puts into his mouth a gross defence of it, in the very words which Sanders, in his book against the Anglican Schism, had represented Sir Francis Brian as using in a conversation with Henry VIII. Baillie's *True* Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, Progress, and Impoison'd Fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers, p. 14, 41. Wirtsburgh, 1628.

It is evident that these outrageous and contradictory calumnies have been all grafted upon the convicted lie mentioned in the preceding note, and on the malignant insinuation of Archibald Hamilton. The characters of the foreign reformers were traduced in the very same manner by the popish writers. Those who have seen Bolsec's Lives of Calvin and Beza, or others written in the same spirit, must be sufficiently convinced of this. Will it be believed that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a book should have been published under the name of the *Cardinal de Richlieu*, in which it is asserted that "Calvin being condemned for acts of incontinency, which he had carried to the utmost extremity of vice, (ses incontinences qui le porterent jusques aux dernieres extremitez du vice) retired from Noyon (his native city) and from the Roman church, at

the same time?" And that this should have been published after the cardinal himself had examined the registers of Noyon, which stated facts totally inconsistent with the supposition of such a thing having ever been imputed to him? La Defence de Calvin, par Charles Drelincourt, p. 10, 11, 33. Geneve, 1667. Our countrymen of the popish persuasion were careful to retail all the calumnies against the foreign reformers, and they do so in a manner almost peculiar to themselves. Nicol Burne most seriously asserts that Luther was begotten of the Devil, as to his carnal as well as his spiritual generation; and in order to prove that this was not impossible, he advances the most profane argument that ever proceeded from the mouth or pen of a Christian. Disputation, ut supra, p. 141. The same thing is asserted by James Laing. De Vita Hæretic. ut supra, fol. 1, b. In a pretended translation into Scots of a poem written by Beza in his youth (which the Roman Catholics, after he left their communion, were careful to preserve from oblivion) Burne has unblushingly inserted some scandalous and disgraceful lines, for which he had not the slightest warrant from the original. Disputation, p. 103, 104. John Hamilton says, that "Calvin did ane miracle to mak ane quik man ane deid, quhilk miracle was done in Geneve to ane Brulæus of Ostune, with whome he contractit for a piece of money to fenzie himself deid, and to ryse to lyf at his prayers when he sulde chope thryse upon his biere: bot the compagnion forget to ryse again, whilk come to Calvin's schame." Facile Traictise, ut supra, p. 412. But the following narrative is still more marvellous, and lest his readers should doubt its truth, the author prays them to "suspend thair judgement, quhill they spere [until they enquire at] the maist affectionat Protestantis of Scotland quha has bene in Geneve. Surelie I ressavit the treuth of this be honorable gentilmen of our countrie, quha confessit to me before gud vitnes, that the devil gangis familiarlie up and down the town, and speciallie cumis to pure and indigent men quha sellis thair saullis to him for *ten sous*, sum for mair or less. The money is very pleasant quhen they ressave it; bot putting hand to thair purse, quhen they vald by thair denner, thay find nathing bot uther stane or stick." Hamilton's Catholik and facile traictise, fol. 50, b. Paris, 1581. Laing, in his Life of Calvin (of which Senebier has justly said "that it would be impossible to believe that such a libel had been written, if it were not to be seen in print,") has raked together all the base aspersions which had been cast upon that reformer, and has spent a number of pages in endeavouring to shew that he was guilty of *stealing* a sum of money. De Vita, ut supra, fol. 76, b.—79, b. Of Buchanan, whom he calls "homo sacrarum literarum imperitissimus, simulque impudentissimus," he relates a number of impieties, of which this is the last, "plurimi etiam narrant illum miserrimum hominem quandam in sacro fonte, quo infantes aqua benedicta ablui solent, adsit reverentia dictis, oletum fecisse." Ibid. fol. 40, a. One example more, and I have done. "Te admonerem de quodam impio hæretico sacerdote Davidson, quem audivi his jam multis annis publice cum quadam meretrice scortatum esse, quam fertur peperisse prima nocte, qua cum illa dormivit, quod hic doctores medici pro magno miraculo habent; cum vix mulieres ante nonum mensem, vel octavum parere soleant." Ibid. fol. 36, b. 37, a.

Persons must have had their foreheads, as well as their consciences, "seared with a hot iron," before they could publish such things to the world as facts. Yet Laing's book was approved, and declared worthy of publication, by two doctors of the University of Paris. Its grossest slanders against the Scottish reformers were literally copied, and circulated through the continent as undoubted truths, by Reginaldus, Spondanus, Julius Breigerus, and many other foreign popish authors. Each of these added some fabrication of his own; and one of them is so ridiculously ignorant, as to rail against our reformer by the name of *Noptz*. Bayle, Dictionnaire, art. Knox, Note G. Archibald Hamilton's two works had the same *respectable* recommendations with Laing's book, and one of them is declared to be "very orthodox, and worthy of being ushered into the light for the profit of the church." And John Hamilton was chosen tutor to two cardinals, appointed Professor of Philosophy in the Royal College of Navarre, elected, by the students of the German nation in Paris, to the cure of the parish of St. Cosmus and Damian, presented to it by the University, and confirmed in it by the parliament; and, in fine, was chosen Rector of the University of Paris!!! So eager were foreigners to load with honours the most bigoted and fanatical of our popish refugees. Sketch of the Life of John Hamilton, p. 2, 3. written by Lord Hailes.

I know that it was common in that age for controversial writers of all descriptions to indulge themselves in a coarseness of invective against their antagonists which would not be tolerated at present: but this is a quite different thing from what I have given examples of in this note. With respect to the complaints which protestant writers made of the profligacy of the popish clergy, the truth of these is incontestably established by the testimony of their own authors, and by the public acts and documents of their own church. Nor do I wish to insinuate that all the popish writers were of the same description with those whom I have quoted, or that there were not many Roman Catholics, even at that time, who disapproved of the use of these dishonourable and empoisoned weapons; but the great number of such publications, the circulation which they obtained, and the length of time during which they continued to issue from the popish presses, demonstrate the extent to which a spirit of lying and defamation was carried in the Romish church. Petty dabblers in antiquity, and flippant orators, who have read a General History of those times, and a modern Roman Catholic pamphlet, must be allowed to repeat the trite maxim, of faults on both sides, and to conceal their ignorance under the veil of moderation, by representing these faults as equal; but I aver, that no candid person, who is duly acquainted with the writings of that period, will pretend to account for the above-mentioned calumnies, by imputing them to a spirit of asperity and prejudice common to both parties.

Note LV. p. 107.

Popish accounts of Knox's second marriage.—"Heaving laid aside al feir of the panis of hel, and regarding na thing the honestie of the warld, as ane bund sklave of the Devil, being kendillit with an unquenshible lust and ambition, he durst be sua bauld to enterpryse the sute of marriage with the maist honorabil ladie, my ladie Fleming, my lord Duke's eldest dochter, to the end that his seid being of the blude royal, and gydit be thair father's spirit, might have aspyrit to the croun. And because he receavit ane refusal, it is notoriouslie knawin how deidlie he haited the hail hous of the Hamiltonis.—And this maist honest refusal would nather stench his lust nor ambition; bot a lytel efter he did persew to have allyance with the honorabill hous of Ochiltrie of the Kyng's M. awin blude; Rydand thair with ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis, and precious stanes: And as is planelie reportit in the countrey, be sorcerie and witchcraft did sua allure that puir gentil woman, that scho could not leve without him: whilk appeiris to be of gret probabilitie scho being ane damssel of nobel blud, and he ane auld decrepit creatur of maist hais degrie of onie that could be found in the countrey: Sua that sik ane nobil hous could not have degenerat sua far, except Johann knnox had interposed the powar of his maister the Devil, quha as he transfiguris him self sumtymes in an angel of licht: sua he causit Johann knnox appeir ane of the maist nobil and lustie men that could be found in the warld." Nicol Burne's Disputation, ut supra, p. 143, 144. But the Devil outwitted himself in his design of raising the progeny of the Reformer to the throne of Scotland, if we may believe another popish writer. "For as the common and constant brute of the people reported, as writeth *Reginaldus* [a most competent witness!] and *others*, it chanced not long after the marriage, that she [Knox's wife] lying in her bed, and perceiving a blak, uglie, il favoured man busily talking with him in the same chamber, was sodainely amazed, that she took seikness and dyed" [nor does the author want honourable witnesses to support this fact, for he immediately adds]: "as she revealed to two of her friends, being ladyes, come thither to visite her a little before her decease." Father A. Baillie's True Information, ut supra, p. 41. It is unfortunate, however, for the credit of this "True Information," that the Reformer's wife not only lived to hear him several children, but survived him many years. James owed the safety of his crown to another cause. See page 138.

Note LVI. page 112.

Of Christopher Goodman.—From the intimate and long friendship which subsisted between him and our Reformer, this divine deserves more particular notice in this work. He had been a fellow student with Cranmer at Cambridge, and

was one of those learned men who, about 1523, were chosen from that university to be removed to the new college erected by Cardinal Wolsey at Oxford. He was soon after thrown into prison for heresy. During the reign of Edward VI. he read lectures on Divinity in Oxford. Strype's Cranmer, p. 3. Strype's Annals, i. 124. At the accession of Queen Mary, he retired first to Strasburgh, and afterwards to Frankfort. When he was at Strasburgh, he joined in a common letter, advising the exiles of Frankfort to alter as little as possible in the English service; but he became afterwards so convinced of the propriety of alterations, and was so much offended at the conduct of the Coxian party, that he removed from Frankfort to Geneva, along with those who were of the same sentiments with him, and was chosen by them joint-minister with Knox. Troubles at Franckford, p. 22, 23, 54, 55, 59.

In 1558, he published the book which afterwards created him a great deal of trouble. Its title is: "How superior powers ought to be obeyd: of their subjects and wherin they may lawfully by God's worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same. By Christopher Goodman. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin, MDLVIII." In this book he subscribed to the opinion respecting female government, which his colleague had published a few months before. He maintained that the power of kings and magistrates was limited, and that they might lawfully be resisted, deposed, and punished by their subjects, if they became tyrannical and wicked. These principles he applied particularly to the government of the English Mary. A copy of verses by William Kethe (who translated some of the Psalms into English metre) is added to the work, of which the following is a specimen.

> Whom fury long fostered by suffrance and awe,
> Have right rule subverted, and made will their law.
> Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell:
> So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.

Goodman came to England in 1559, but he found queen Elizabeth so much displeased at his publication, that he kept himself private. Burnet, iii. Append. 274. On this account, and in compliance with the urgent request of our Reformer, he came to Scotland. When the lords of the congregation chose him one of the council for matters of religion, the earl of Arran endeavoured to appease the resentment which the English queen still entertained against him. Sadler, i. 510, 511, 532. In 1562, the Earl of Warwick repeatedly interceded for him, and for his being recalled from Scotland: "of whom (says he) I have heard suche good commendation both of the lord James of Scotland and others, that it seemeth great pitie, that our countrye suld want so worthie and learned an instrument." Forbes's State Papers, ii. 235. Calvin urged Goodman not to leave Scotland until the Reformation was completely established. Epistolæ, p. 566. Hannoviæ, 1597. When he did return to his native country in 1565, it was with some difficulty that he was received into favour, notwithstanding the friends he had at court. He was obliged to make a recantation of the offensive doctrines in his publication. He protested and confessed that "good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations;" but he qualified and explained, rather than recanted, what he had taught respecting the punishment of tyrants. Strype has inserted the document, in his Annals, i. 126; but he has certainly placed it under the wrong year. Collier calls it "a lame recantation." Eccl. Hist. ii. 440. In 1571 Goodman subscribed, in the presence of the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, a more ample protestation of his obedience to Elizabeth. Strype's Annals, ii. 95, 96. He was also harassed on account of his non-conformity to the English ceremonies. Life of Grindal, 170. Life of Parker, 325, 326. Knox corresponded with him after he left Scotland, and Calderwood has preserved a letter which he wrote to him in 1571, in which he alludes to the troubles which he understood his friend was exposed to. MS. ii. 270. Goodman accompanied Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland when he was sent to subdue the popish rebels in that country. Troubles in Franckford, p. 196. He was alive in 1580, and resided in Chester, from which he sent his salutations to Buchanan. Buchanani Epistolæ, 30, 31. Oper. edit. Rud. And he died at Chester in 1601. See verses to his memory in Supplement. Goodman's book was quoted, but for very different purposes, by Bancroft, (Dangerous Positions, B. ii. chap. i.) and by Milton, (Tenure of Magistrates, in his Prose Works by Symmons, vol. iii. p. 196.)

Goodman was not the only person belonging to the English church who published free sentiments respecting civil government. About the same time with his book, there appeared another on the same subject, entitled, "A Short Treatise of Politique Pouuer, and of the true Obedience which Subjectes owe to Kynges." Its author was Dr. John Ponet, bishop, first of Rochester, and afterwards of Winchester, under Edward VI. Ames, iii. 1594. He discusses the questions respecting the origin of political authority, its absolute or limited nature, the limits of obedience, and the deposition and punishment of tyrants. "This book (says Strype) was not over favourable to princes. Their rigors and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceable subjects in those times, put them upon examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and straiten as much as they could.—This book was printed again in the year 1642, to serve the turn of those times." Memorials of the Reformation, iii. 328, 329. Collier (who was a keen Tory) calls it "a most pestilent discourse." He wished to believe that bishop Ponet was not the author, but it is evident from what he says, that he could see no reason for departing from the common opinion. History, ii. 363. Ponet was a superior scholar. He read the Greek lecture in the University of Cambridge about 1535, and was among the first who adopted the new method of pronouncing that language introduced by Sir Thomas Smith. He wrote several books on mathematics and other subjects, which were greatly esteemed. Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith. p. 26, 27. Ames, Typ. Antiq. i. 599. ii. 753, 1146. iii. 1587.

Note LVII. p. 116.

The proceedings of the committee appointed to prepare overtures to the parliament, Dec. 1567, are to be found in Robertson's Records of the Parliament of Scotland. Almost the only ecclesiastical propositions of the committee which were not adopted by the parliament were such as respected the patrimony of the church. I shall extract one or two respecting the commonwealth which did not obtain a parliamentary sanction. "Als it is thocht expedient that in na tymes cuming ony women salbe admittit to the publict autoritie of the realme, or function in publict government within ye same." On the margin, opposite to this, is written, "Fund gude;" which is expressive, as I understand it of the committee's approbation of the motion. Ut supra, p. 795. As Knox, at a period subsequent to this, declared from the pulpit that he had never "entreated that argument in publict or in prevat" since his last arrival in Scotland, (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 117.) it appears that this motion had been made by some other member of the committee. The late misconduct of queen Mary must have had a great effect in inclining them to give this advice. The 23d article does great honour to the enlightened views of the movers. It proposes that all hereditary jurisdictions throughout the kingdom should be abolished. On the margin is written, "Apprevit," and farther down, "Supercedis." Ibid. A long time elapsed before this measure, so necessary to the wise administration of justice, was adopted in Scotland. The following was a proposed sumptuary law: "Item, that it be lauchfull to na wemen to weir abone yair estait except howris." On the margin of this is written: "This act is verray gude." Ut supra. p. 798.

The ministers appointed on this committee were "Maister Johne Spottiswood, Maister Johne Craig, Johne Knox, Maister Johne Row, and Maister David Lindesay." It will be observed that our Reformer is the only one who has not "Maister" prefixed to his name. This title was expressive of some academical degree. It was commonly given in that age to Doctors of Law, and in their subscriptions they pu the letter M. or the word "Maister," before their names.

Note LVIII. p. 119.

Remarks on Dr. Robertson's character of the Regent Murray.—I am not moved with the unfavourable representations which the partizans of Mary have given of Murray, nor am I surprized at the cold manner in which Mr. Hume has spoken of him; but I confess that it pains me to think of the manner in which Dr. Robertson has drawn his character. The faint praise which he has bestowed on him, the doubt which he has thrown over his moral qualities, and the unqualified censures which he has pronounced upon some parts of his conduct, have, I am afraid, done more injury to the regent's

memory, than the exaggerated accounts of his adversaries. History of Scotland, vol. ii. 315, 316. Lond. 1809. Having said this much, it will be expected that I shall be more particular. In addition to those qualities which "even his enemies allow him to have possessed in an eminent degree," Dr. R. mentions his humanity, his distinguished patronage of learning, and impartial administration of justice. "Zealous for religion (he adds) to a degree which distinguished him even at a time when professions of that kind were not uncommon." This is what every writer must have allowed, but it certainly is far from doing justice to this part of the regent's character. His professions of religion were uniformly supported, in all the different situations in which he was placed; his strict regard to divine institutions was accompanied with the most correct and exemplary morals; his religious principle triumphed over a temptation which proved too powerful for almost all the protestant nobility. (See above, p. 169.) When there exist such proofs of sincerity, to withhold the tribute due to it is injurious not only to the individual, but to the general interests of religion. After bearing a decided testimony to the "disinterested passion for the liberty of his country" which prompted Murray to oppose the pernicious system of the princes of Lorrain, and the "zeal and affection" with which he served Mary on her return into Scotland, the historian adds: "But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened that opened to him vast projects, which allured his enterprizing genius, and led him to actions inconsistent with the duty of a subject." That his ambition was "immoderate" does not, I think, appear from any evidence which has been produced. Dr. R. has defended him from the charge as brought against him at an earlier period of his life, and we have met with facts that serve to corroborate the defence. (See page 165.) The "vast projects" that opened to him must be limited to the attainment of the regency; for I do not think that Dr. R. ever for a moment gave credit to the ridiculous tale, that he designed to set aside the young king, and seat himself upon the throne. His acceptance of the regency cannot be pronounced "inconsistent with the duty of a subject," without determining the question, Whether the nation was warranted, by the misconduct and crimes of Mary, to remove her from the government, and to crown her son. "Her boldest advocates (says Mr. Laing) will not venture to assert, that, on the supposition of the fact being fully proved, that she was notoriously guilty of her husband's murder, she was entitled to be restored." History of Scotland, i. 137. second edition. Murray was fully satisfied of her guilt before he accepted the regency. Never was any person raised to such a high station with less evidence of his having ambitiously courted the preferment. Instead of remaining in the country to turn the embroiled state of affairs to his personal advantage, he, within two months after the murder of the king, left Scotland, not clandestinely, but after having asked and obtained leave. And whither did he retire? Not into England, to concert measures with that court, or the more easily to carry on a correspondence with the friends whom he had left behind him; but into France, where his motions could be watched by the friends of Mary. Ibid. p. 59—61. The association for revenging the king's murder, and for preserving the young prince, the surrender of Mary, and her imprisonment at Lochlevin, followed so unexpectedly and rapidly, that they could not proceed from his direction. Nay, there is positive evidence that the Lords who had imprisoned Mary, so far from having acted in concert with Murray, were suspicious that he would counteract their designs "As yet theys Lordes wyll not suffer Mr. Nycholas Elveston, sent from the L. of Murrey, to have access to the Quene, nor to send my L. of Murrey's letter unto her." Throkmorton's Letters to Cecil, and to Elizabeth, 16th July, 1567, apud Laing's History of Scotland, ii. Append. No. 13. p. 121, 126. 2nd edition. When he returned to Scotland, he found that the queen had executed formal deeds resigning the government, and appointing him regent during the minority of her son, and that the young prince was already crowned. Hume, vol. v. Note K.

"His treatment of the queen, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful." To the charge of ingratitude, I can only reply, by repeating what I have said in the text, that all the honours which she conferred on him were not too great a reward for the important services which he had rendered to her. How many persons have been celebrated for sacrificing parental as well as brotherly affection to the public good! The probable reasons for Murray's interview with the queen in Lochlevin have been stated by Mr. Laing. History, i. 119—121. Were I to speak of what was incumbent on him as a *Christian* brother with the view of bringing her to a just sense of the iniquity of her conduct, I would use language which, I am afraid, would not be understood by many readers, and which many professed Christians seem to forget, when they talk on this subject. Any exertions which were necessary to save his sister's life were not wanting on the part of Murray. To restore her to the government, or even, as matters then stood, to restore her to liberty, he was not bound by any ties either of a public or private kind. Had he amused her with the hopes of this, he might have escaped the charge of harshness, but his conduct would have been more unbrotherly.

"But he deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness unworthy of a man of honour." To this harsh censure I may oppose the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of partiality to the regent. "Particularly (says he, in a letter to Dr. Robertson, written after the publication of his History of Scotland) I could almost undertake to convince you that the Earl of Murray's conduct with the duke of Norfolk was *no way* dishonourable." Stewart's Life of Robertson, apud History, ut supra, i. 158. See also "Part of a Letter from the Earl of Murray to L. B." inserted in vol. ii. Append. No. xxxiii.

"His elevation to such unexpected dignity [the reader will observe that it was *unexpected*] inspired him with new passions, with haughtiness and reserve; and instead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of dissimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by soothing his vanity, led him astray, while his ancient friends stood at a distance, and predicted his approaching fall." Certainly the facts stated by Dr. R. in the preceding part of his narrative, do not prepare the mind of his reader for these charges. The severity of the regent's virtues had, indeed, been mentioned, and it had been asserted that his deportment had become distant and haughty. The authority of Sir James Melvil was referred to in support of this statement; and I am satisfied that it was upon his testimony chiefly that the historian proceeded, when he gave the above account of Murray's conduct during the latter part of his life. I submit to the reader the following remarks on the degree of credit which is due to the authority of Melvil.

In the *first* place, there is every reason to think, either that Melvil's Memoirs have been unfaithfully published by the editor, or that the author acted unfaithfully, in the narrative which he has given of affairs from the queen's marriage with Bothwell to the death of the Earl of Murray. I shall not take upon me to determine which of these is the most probable supposition, but am of opinion that either the one or the other must be admitted. The charge which was brought against queen Mary of participation in the murder of her husband, with all the proofs produced in support of it, is suppressed, and studiously kept out of view, in the Memoirs. There is not one word in them respecting the celebrated letters to Bothwell, although they formed the grand vindication of the regent and his friends.—The same inference must be drawn from the ridiculous account given of the appearance made by the regent before the commissioners at York, when he presented the nameless accusation against Mary (Memoirs, 96, 97. Lond. 1683); an account which is completely discredited by the journals of both parties, and which neither Hume nor Robertson thought worthy of the slightest regard. It is observable, that Melvil could not be ignorant of the real transaction, as he was present at York; and that the design of this, as well as of the subsequent part of his narrative, is to represent the Regent as weakly suffering himself to be duped and misled, by designing and violent counsellors. Mr. Laing has adverted to both of these things as discreditable to the Memoirs. History, ut supra. i. 118.—I shall produce only one other instance of the same kind. Speaking of the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, Melvil says: "I cannot tell *how* nor by *what law* he parted with his own wife, sister to the earl of Huntly." Mem. 80. Is it credible, that one who was in the midst of the scene, and acquainted even with the secrets of state at that time, could be ignorant of that which was proclaimed to all the world? If it should be alleged that Melvil, writing in his old age, might have forgotten this glaring fact, (the excuse commonly made for his inaccuracies) I am afraid that the apology will detract as much from the credibility of his Memoirs as the charge which it is brought to repel.

2. In estimating the degree of regard due to the censures which Melvil has passed on the Regent's conduct, we must

keep in view the political course which he himself steered. Sir James appears to have been a man of amiable dispositions, whose mind was cultivated by the study of letters; but those who have carefully read his Memoirs must, I think, be convinced that his penetration was not great, and that his politics were undecided, temporizing, and inconsistent. He was always at court, and always tampering with those who were out of court. We find him exposing himself to danger by dissuading his mistress from marrying Bothwell, and yet countenancing the marriage by his presence; acting as an agent for those who imprisoned the Queen, and yet intriguing with those who wished to set her at liberty; carrying a common message from the king's lords to the Earl of Murray upon his return out of France, and yet secretly conveying another message tending to counteract the design of the former; supporting Murray in the regency, and yet trafficking with those who wished to undermine his authority. I do not call in question the goodness of his intentions in all this; I am willing to believe that a desire for the peace of the country, or attachment to the Queen, induced him to go between, and labour to reconcile, the contending parties; but when parties are discordant, when their interests, or the objects at which they shoot, are diametrically opposite, to persevere in such attempts is preposterous, and cannot fail to foster and increase confusions. Who believes that the Hamiltons were disposed to join with the king's party? or that the latter, when unassured of the assistance of England, were averse to a junction with them? Yet Melvil asserts both of these things. Mem. 85, 86, 90. Who thinks that there was the smallest feasibility in what he proposed to the Regent as "a present remedy for his preservation?" or believes that Maitland would have consented to go into France, and Kircaldy to deliver up the castle of Edinburgh? The Regent heard him patiently, he respected the goodness of the man; but he saw that he was the dupe of Maitland's artifices, and he followed his own superior judgment. For rejecting such advices as this (and not the religious proverbs, and political aphorisms, which he quoted to him from Solomon, Augustine, Isocrates, Plutarch, and Theopompus) has Melvil charged him with refusing the counsel of his oldest and wisest friends. Mem. 102—104.

3. What were the errors committed by the Regent which precipitated his fall? There are two referred to by Melvil; the imprisonment of the Duke and Lord Herries, and the accusation of Maitland and Balfour. Mem. 100, 101. In vindication of the former step, I have only to appeal to the narrative which Dr. Robertson has given of that affair. Vol. ii. 266—299. With respect to the latter, Sir James Balfour was "the most corrupt man of that age," (Ibid. p. 367,) and Maitland was at that time deeply engaged in intrigues against the Regent. Ibid. p. 307. There is not a doubt that both of them were accessory to the murder of Darnly, (Laing, i. 28, 135. ii. 22.); they were arrested and accused at this time at the instance of Lennox, and in consequence of the recent confession of one of Bothwell's servants; and Maitland was preserved by the Queen's friends assembling in arms for his rescue, which compelled the Regent to adjourn his trial. Ibid. ii. 37. Appendix, No. 28. p. 298—9.

4. Who were the unworthy favourites by whose flattery, and evil counsel, the Regent was led astray? Dr. Robertson mentions "Captain Crawford, one of his *creatures*." This is the same person whom he afterwards calls "Captain Crawford of Jordanhill, *a gallant* and enterprising officer," who distinguished himself so much by the surprize of the castle of Dunbarton. History, ii. 307, 331. comp. Laing, ii. 297, 298. and Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, 429. Morton, Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarow, Macgill of Rankeiller, Pitcairn abbot of Dunfermline, Balnaves of Hallhill, and Wood of Tilliedavy, were among the Regent's counsellors.

5. Who were his old friends who lost his favour? They could be no other than Balfour, Maitland, Kircaldy, and Melvil himself. Of the two former I need not say a word. Kircaldy of Grange was a brave man, and had long been the intimate friend of the Regent; but he was already corrupted by Maitland, and had secretly entered into his schemes for restoring the Queen. Robertson, ii. 307. Of Melvil I have already spoken; nay, he himself testifies that the Regent continued to the last to listen to his good advices. "The most part of these sentences (says he) drawn out of the Bible, I used to rehearse to him at several occasions, and *he took better with these at my hands, who he knew had no by-end, than if they had proceedod from the most learned philosopher.* Therefore *at his desire* I promised to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his pocket; but he was slain before I could meet with him." Mem. 104. How this is to be reconciled with other assertions in the Memoirs I leave others to determine. It required no great sagacity in the ancient friends of the Regent to "predict his approaching fall," when repeated attempts had already been made to assassinate him, and when some of them were privy to the conspiracy then formed against his life; and it says little for their ancient friendship, that they "stood at a distance," and allowed it to be carried into execution.

There are three honourable testimonies to the excellence of the Regent's character which must have weight with all candid persons. The first is that of the great historian *Thuanus*. He not only examined the histories which both parties had published of the transactions in Scotland which made so much noise through Europe, but he carefully conversed with the most intelligent and candid Scotsmen, papists and protestants, whom he had the opportunity of seeing in France. When this part of his history was in the press, he applied to his friend Cambden for advice, acquainting him that he was greatly embarrassed, and apprehensive of displeasing king James, who, he understood, was incensed against Buchanan's History. "I do not wish (says he) to incur the charge of imprudence or malignity from a certain personage who has honoured me with his letters, and encouraged me to publish the rest of my history with the same candour, and regard for truth." Cambden, in reply, exhorted him to study moderation, and told him the story which he had received from his master, imputing the disturbance in Scotland chiefly to the ambition of Murray. Durand, Historie du XVI. Siecle, tom. vii. contenant la Vie de Monsieur De Thou, p. 226—231. But notwithstanding the respect which he entertained for Cambden, and the desire which he felt to please James, Thuanus found himself obliged, by a sacred regard to truth, to reject the above imputation, and to adopt in the main the narrative of Buchanan. I shall merely quote, from his answer to Cambden, the character which he draws of Murray. Having mentioned the accusation brought against him, of ambitiously and wickedly aiming at the crown, he says: "This is constantly denied by all the credible Scotsmen with whom I have had opportunity to converse, *not even excepting those who otherwise were great enemies to Murray on a religious account;* for they affirm, that, religion apart, HE WAS A MAN WITHOUT AMBITION, WITHOUT AVARICE, INCAPABLE OF DOING AN INJURY TO ANY ONE, DISTINGUISHED BY HIS VIRTUE, AFFABILITY, BENEFICENCE, AND INNOCENCE OF LIFE; and that, had it not been for him, those who tear his memory since his death would never have attained that authority which they now enjoy."—"Res ipsa loquitur: nam demus, quod ab diversa tradentibus jactatur, Moravium ambitione ardentem scelerate regnum appetiisse, quod tamen constanter negant omnes fide digni Scoti, quoscunque mihi alloqui contigit, etiam ii quibus alioqui Moravius ob religionis causam summe invisus erat; nam virum fuisse diebant, extra religionis causam, ab omni ambitione, avaritia, et in quenquam injuria alienum, virtute, comitate, beneficentia, vitæ innocentia, præstantem; et qui nisi fuisset, eos, qui tantopere mortuum exagitant, hodie minime rerum potiturus fuisse." Epistolæ de Nova Thuani Histor. Editione paranda, p. 40. in Tom. i. Thuani Histor. et Tom. vii. cap. v. p. 5. Buckley, 1733.

A second testimony of a very strong kind in favour of the Regent is that of archbishop *Spottiswood*. He must have conversed with many who were personally acquainted with Murray; he knew the unfavourable sentiments which James entertained respecting him, which had been published in Cambden's Annals, and he had long enjoyed the favour of that monarch; yet, in his history, he has drawn the character of the Regent in as flattering colours as Buchanan himself has done. The last testimony to which I shall appeal is the *Vox Populi*, strongly expressed by the title of *The Good Regent*, which it imposed on him, and by which his memory was handed down to posterity. Had he, elated by prosperity, become haughty and reserved, or, intoxicated with flattery, yielded himself up to unprincipled and avaricious favourites, the people must soon have felt the effects of the change, and would never have cherished his name with such enthusiastic gratitude and unmingled admiration.

Note LIX. p. 120.

Inscription to the Regent's memory.—The Regent's monument is yet entire and in good order. It stands in that part of St. Giles now called the *Old Church*, (the former aisle having been taken into the body of the church when it was

lately fitted up,) at the back of the pulpit, on the east side. At the top is the figure of an eagle, and below it "1570," the date of the erection of the monument. In the middle is a brass plate, on which the following ornaments and inscriptions are engraved: The family arms, with the motto "Salus per Christum" (Salvation through Christ): On one side of the arms, a female figure with a cross and Bible, the word "Religio" above, and below "Pietas sine vindice luget" (Piety mourns without a defender); on the other side, another female figure, in a mourning posture, with the head reclining on the hand, the word "Justitia" above, and below "Jus exarmatum est" (Justice is disarmed.) Underneath is the following inscription or epitaph:

23 Januarii 1569.

JACOBO . STOVARTO . MORAVIÆ . COMITI . SCOTIÆ .
PROREGI . VIRO . ÆTATIS . SVÆ . LONGE . OPTIMO .
AB . INIMICIS . OMNIS . MEMORIÆ . DETERRIMIS .
EX . INSIDIIS . EXTINCTO . CEV . PATRI .
COMMVNI . PATRIA . MOERENS . POSVIT .

To James Stuart, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by far the best man of his age, treacherously cut off by enemies of most detestable memory, his grieving country hath erected this monument, as to a common father.

The verses in which Buchanan celebrated the Regent are accessible to every scholar. The following lines are less known.

Jacobus Stuartus.

Moraviæ Comes, Prorex pro Jacobo vi. rem Scoticam feliciter gessit, puræ Religionis assertor acerrimus. Ab æmulis Limnuchi ex insidiis glande trajectus, magno omnium desiderio moretur ad d. xxiii. Januarii, Anno Christi 1570.

Ter tua dicturus cum dicere singula conor,
Ter numeri, et numeros destituere soni.
Nobilitas, animus, probitas, sapientia, virtus,
Consilium, imperium, pectora sancta, fides,
Cuncta mihi simul hæc instant certamine magno:
Ut sibi, sic certant viribus ista meis,
Ipsi adeo Aonides cum vellent dicere, cedunt
Sponte sua numeris, hæc, Buchanane, tuis.
Johannis Jonstoni Heroes, p. 31, 32.
Lugduni Batavorum, 1603.

Knox, among others, warned the Regent of the designs which his enemies had formed against his life. "When the Mr. of Grahame (says Bannatyne) come and drew him to Dumbartane, he [Knox] plainlie said to the Regent then, that it was onlie done for a trane be that meanis to cut him off, as it came to pas; also when he was in Stirveling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me to my ladie the regentis wyfe, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyrit her to signifie my lord her husband, that he suld not come to Lynlythgow. So that gif his counsall had bene followed, he had not died at that tyme. And my ladie the last tyme sent Mr. Jhone Wood, to desyre him to avoid Lynlythgow. But God thought vs not worthy of sic a rewlare above vs, and also he wald thereby have the wickitnes of vtheris knawin, whilk then was hid; and therefore did God then tak him fra us. But lat the Hamiltonis, the lard of Grange, with the rest of that factione, lay thair compt and recken thair advantage and wining since." Bannatyne's Journal, p. 428, 429. The intrepidity of Murray prompted him to despise these prudential admonitions, and defeated the precaution of his friends.

Mr. Scot has, by a poetical license, introduced the Reformer as present at Linlithgow, to grace the Regent's fall.

From the wild border's humbled side,
In haughty triumph marched he,
While Knox relaxed his bigot pride,
And smil'd the traitorous pomp to see.
Ballads and Lyrical Pieces, p. 52. Edin. 1810.

Note LX. p. 125.

Particulars respecting Knox's residence at St. Andrews.—The following particulars are extracted from the MS. Diary of Mr. James Melville. "Ther wer twa in St. Androis wha war his aydant heirars, and wrait his sermons, an my condiscipule, Mr. Andro Young, minister of Dumblane, who translated sum of them into Latin, and read thame in the hall of the collage insteid of his orations." The other was a servant of Mr. Robert Hamilton, but with what view he took notes Melville could not say. Diary, p. 28.—"Mr. Knox wald sum tymes cum in, and repast him in our collage yeard, and call ws scholars unto him and blis ws, and exhort ws to knaw God, and his wark in our countrey, and stand be the guid caus, to use our tyme weill, and learn the guid instructiones and follow the guid example of our maisters. Our haill collag [St. Leonard's] maisters and schollars war sound and zelus for the guid caus, the uther twa collages not sa." p. 23. "This yeir in the moneth of July, Mr. Jhone Davidsone, an of our regents, maid a pley at the marriage of Mr. Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox presence, wharin, according to Mr. Knox doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, takin, and the captin, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie," p. 24. This seems to have been an exercise among the students at the university. The following extract shews that the fine arts were not then uncultivated, and that the professors and students attended to them in their recreations. "I lernit singing and pleying on instrumentis passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme, whar the exercise thairof was within the collag; for twa or thrie of our condisciples pleyed fellin weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our regent had also the pinalds in his chalmer, and lernit sum thing, and I efter him." Melville adds, that his fondness for music was, at one period, in danger of drawing away his attention from more important studies, but that he overcame the temptation, p. 25.

I may add an extract from the same Diary, relating an incident in the life of one who entertained a high respect for Knox, and afterwards became a distinguished minister in the church. "The ordor of four kirks to a minister, then maid be the erle of Morton, now maid regent, against the quilk Mr. Jhone Davidsone, an of the regents of our collag, maid a buik called *The Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtier*; for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice Air at Haddington this winter [1573] the lest of our course, and banished the countrey," p. 24. The General Assembly, in October 1577, presented a supplication to the regent Morton, requesting him to allow Mr. Davidson to return home from England. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 70.

Note LXI. p. 131.

Verses to the memory of Knox.—Beza has inserted no verses to the memory of our Reformer. in his *Icones, id est, Veræ Imagines Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium*, published by him in Latin, Anno 1580. E e, iij. But "of this work, a French version was published under the title of *Les Vrais Pourtraits de ... Illustres en Piete et Doctrine. Geneve*, 1581, 4*to*. In this translation are inserted original verses on Knox," &c. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 234. Having never seen this translation, I cannot say whether the verses which it contains coincide with those which I am about to quote, or not.

Jacobus Verheiden published "Præstantium aliquot Theologorum, qui Romæ Antichristum oppugnarant Effigies, quibus addita eorum Elogia, librorumque Catalogi. Hag. Comit. 1602. A new edition of this was published by *Fredericus Roth-Scholtz*, under the title of "Jacobi Verheidenii Haga-Comitis Imagines et Elogia, &c. Hagæ-Comitum, A°. 1725." In this work the following lines are placed under the portrait of Knox.

Scottorum primum te Ecclesia, Cnoxe, docentem,
Audiit, auspiciis estque redacta tuis.
Nam te cælestis pietas super omnia traxit,
Atque Reformatæ Religionis amor.

To thee, Knox, the Scottish church listened as her first instructor, and under thy auspices was she restored. For celestial piety, and love of the reformed religion, attracted thee above all things.

To the account of his life and writings, in the same work, is added an *epigram* in Greek and in Latin, which, according to a common custom in such compositions, consists of a play upon the sound of his name, and that of his country, in the way of contrast; representing Cnox as driving the *nocturnal* crows, or *scotican* sophists from Scotland. As the author informs us that the Batavian youth amused themselves in making these epigrams, and thinks that some of them will amuse the reader, I shall not withhold this specimen in both languages.

Νυκτερίδας, νυκτος κορακας, και νυκτα αφεγγη,
Ἀλλα τε λυγρ' ἀπ'ὲς φεύγει ἀλεξίκακος.
Ὀυτως μὲν ΚΝΟΞΟΣ σκοτικὰς δνοφερους τε σοφιστας
Ἐκ [Ἐκ] Σκοτίη πατρὶ ἐκβαλὲ λαμπομενος.

Nocturnos corvos, noctem obscuramque, volantes
Mures Aurora ut cetera dira fugat:
Sic Cnoxvs Scoticos simul obscurosque Sophistas
Ex Scotica lucens ejicit hic patria.
Verheidenii Imagines et Elogia, p. 69, 70.
Hagæ-Comitum, 1725.

Davidson's Poem, and Johnston's Verses, to the memory of Knox, will be found in the Supplement.

Note LXII. p. 131.

Popish account of Knox's death.—The slanders propagated by the popish writers against our Reformer's character have been stated in Note XVIII. After the specimen there given, it will not be expected that I shall dwell upon the equally extravagant and incredible narratives which they circulated concerning the manner of his death. I shall, however, translate the substance of Archibald Hamilton's account, the original picture from which so many copies were afterwards taken. 'The opening of his mouth (he says) was drawn out to such a length of deformity, that his face resembled that of a dog, as his voice also did the barking of that animal. The voice failed from that tongue, which had been the cause of so much mischief, and his death, most grateful to his country, soon followed. In his last sickness, he was occupied not so much in meditating upon death, as in thinking upon civil and worldly affairs. When a number of his friends, who held him in the greatest veneration, were assembled in his chamber, and anxious to hear from him something tending to the confirmation of his former doctrine, and to their comfort, he, perceiving that his death approached, and that he could gain no more advantage by the pretext of religion, disclosed to them the mysteries of that Savoyan art (*Sabaudicæ disciplinæ*, magic,) which he had hitherto kept secret; confessed the injustice of that authority which was then defended by arms against the exiled Queen; and declared many things concerning her return, and the restoration of religion after his death. One of the company who had taken the pen to record his dying sayings, thinking that he was in a delirium, desisted from writing, upon which Knox, with a stern countenance, and great asperity of language, began to upbraid him. *Thou good-for-nothing man! why dost thou leave off writing what my presaging mind foresees as about to happen in this kingdom? Dost thou distrust me? Dost thou not believe that all which I say shall most certainly happen? But that I may attest to thee and others how undoubted these things which I have just spoken are, Go out all of you from me, and I will in a moment confirm them all by a new and unheard of proof.* They withdrew at length, though reluctantly, leaving only the lighted candles in the chamber, and soon returned, expecting to witness some prodigy: When they found the lights extinguished, and his dead body lying prostrate on the ground.' Hamilton adds, that the spectators, after recovering from their astonishment, replaced the dead body in the bed, and entered into an agreement to conceal what they had witnessed; but God, unwilling that such a document should be unknown, disclosed it, "both by the amanuensis himself [Robertus Kambel a Pinkincleugh,] soon after taken off by a similar death, and by others who, although unwillingly, made clear confessions." De Confusione Calvin. Sectæ apud Scotos, fol. 66, 67. Those who have not access to the work itself, will find the original words extracted, although with some slight inaccuracies, by Mackenzie. Lives of Scottish writers, iii. 131, 132. "All the rest of the Romish writers (says Mackenzie) insist upon such like ridiculous stories that are altogether improbable." Hamilton's fabrications gave occasion, however, to the publication of that minute and satisfactory narrative of the last illness and death of Knox, drawn up by one who waited on him all the time, and added by Principal Smeton to the answer which he made to that virulent writer. See above p. 128. Yet the popish writers continued to retail Hamilton's story until a late period. It was published by Knot in his *Protestancy Condemned*, Doway 1654; and in *The Politician's Catechism*, printed at Antwerp, 1658. *Permissu superiorum.* Those who wish to see the variations which it had undergone by that time, and who have not met with these writings, may be satisfied by looking into Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 367.

"The miserable, horrible, detestable, and execrable deaths" of Luther, Calvin, and other heretics of that time, are particularly recorded by James Laing, in the work to which I have repeatedly referred.

Note LXIII. p. 137.

Of Robert Pont, and the sentiments of the Reformers concerning the distinction of civil and ecclesiastical authority.—Mr. Matthew Crawfurd, in his Life of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his Historie printed in 1732, thinks it improbable that Mrs. Pont was a daughter of Knox by his *second* marriage; "for no doubt (says he) Mr. Pont was an old man, before any of that marriage could be of age." p. xlii. But if ever Knox had any daughters by his first wife, they were not alive when he composed the Prayer which he published along with his Answer to Tyrie. The following is the clause in it respecting his family; "Let thy mercyfull providence luke upon my desolate bed fellow, the frute of hir bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleezer." From this it appears, that the two sons mentioned were the only children which he had, besides those who were born to him by his second wife. At the end of the volume of MS. Letters, in my possession, this prayer is inserted (but evidently by a different hand) under the title of "The last will and Words of John Knox, at St. Androis May 13, 1572." But in the preface to the publication above mentioned, he himself says: "I have added unto this preface a meditatioun or prayer thrawin furth of my sorrowful heart, and pronounced be my half dead toung, befoir I was compelled to leave my flocke of Edinburgh, who now ar dispersed suffering lytill les calamitie then did the faithfull efter the persecution of Stephen." After the prayer is this date, "At Edinburgh the 12 of March 1565," i. e. 1566, according to the modern reckoning; from which it appears that this prayer was composed by him when he left Edinburgh as related in p. 114.

To return to Mr. Pont: although he was not a young man when Knox's oldest daughter by the second marriage came of age, there have been often instances of greater disparity of years in matrimonial connections. The name of Pont often occurs in the account of ecclesiastical transactions during the remainder of the sixteenth century. The writer of Additional Notes to Lord Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session, calls him by mistake, "the first presbyterian minister of the West Kirk," p. 8. Edinburgh, 1798. William Harlaw preceded him in that situation, (Keith 498.) and continued to hold it in August 1571. See Letter to him from the Duke and Huntly, in Bannatyne's Journal, 217. Pont was also Commissioner of Murray, and Provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh. Upon the death of the Earl of March, James VI offered him the bishoprick of Caithness, but he declined accepting it. Keith's Scottish Bishops, 129. He was the author of several publications, besides the Sermon "against Sacrilege," repeatedly mentioned.

The time of his death, and his age, appear from the following inscription on his tomb-stone, in St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. Part of the inscription is now illegible, which I have supplied from Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 178, 179 John Johnston, who was alive at the time, places his death, not in 1608, but in 1606, in the Verses which he wrote to his memory. MS. in Advocates' Library.

Ille ego Robertus Pontanus, in hoc prope sacro
Christi qui fueram pastor gregis, auspice Christo,
Æternæ hic recubans expecto resurgere vitæ.

Obiit octavo die mensis Maii, Anno D. 1608. Ætatis 81.

At the request of the Regent Mar, the assembly, or convention, which met at Leith in January 1571-2 allowed Mr. Robert Pont, on account of his great knowledge of the laws, to act as a Lord of Session. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 54. But in March 1572-3, the Regent Morton having laid before them a proposal for appointing some ministers Lords of Session, the Assembly "votit throughout that naine was able nor apt to bear the saides twa charges." They therefore prohibited any minister from accepting the place of a Senator; from this inhibition they, however, excepted Mr. Pont. Ibid. p. 56. Pont resigned his place as a Lord of Session in 1584, in consequence of the act of parliament passed that year, declaring that none of the ministers of God's word and sacraments—"in time cuming sall in ony waies accept use or administrat ony place of judicature, in quhatsumever civil or criminal causes, nocht to be of the Colledge of justice, Comissioners,

Advocates, court Clerkes or Notaris in ony materis (the making of Testamentes onely excepted)." Skene's Acts, fol. 59. b. Edinburgh, 1597. Lord Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 5. and Note 34. It has always been a principle of the presbyterian church of Scotland that the ministers of religion ought not to be distracted from the duties of their office by holding civil places. The first General Assembly, (Dec. 1560) resolved to petition the Estates, to "remove ministers from civil offices according to the canon law." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 2.

I may subjoin a few facts which establish the opinion of our Reformers on the subject of the difference between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In common with other reformed churches, they allowed that civil rulers had a right to employ their authority for the reformation of religion within their dominions, especially when, as was universally the case under the papacy, abuses and corruptions immediately affected the state as well as the church, and were interwoven with the civil constitution and administration; they allowed them a power of making laws for the support and advancement of religion; and they held that, where a reformed church existed, there might be a co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities about certain objects which came under the cognizance of both, each of them acting within its own line, and with a view to the ends of its institution. But on the other hand, they held that civil and ecclesiastical authority were essentially distinct, and they refused that civil rulers had a supremacy over the church as such, or a right to model her government and worship, and to assume to themselves the internal management of her affairs.

The Scottish reformers never ascribed or allowed to civil rulers the same authority in esslesiastical matters which the English did. In particular, they resisted from the beginning the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy granted to the English monarchs. On the 7th July 1568, "It was delatit and fund that Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, imprintit an buik, intitulat *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, naming our King and Soverane *Supreme Head of the primitive Kirk*.—The haill assemblie ordaint the said Thomas to call in agane all the foirsaidis buiks yat he hes sauld, and keip the rest unsauld, until he alter the forsaid title. Attour, the assemblie appoynit Mr. Alex. Arbuthnot to revise the rest of the forsaid tractat and report to the kirk quhat doctrine he findis thairin." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 38, 39. The General Assembly were frequently occupied in settling the bounds between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in March 1570 arranged the objects which pertained to the latter under six heads; including, among other things, the judgment of doctrine, administration of divine ordinances, the election, examination, admission, suspension, &c. of ministers, and all cases of discipline. The following is the concluding article: "And because the conjunctioun of marriages pertaineth to the ministrie, the causis of adherents and divorcements aucht also to perteine to thame, as naturallie annexit thairto." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 51. Actes of the General Assemblies, prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed in 1621, p. 3, 4.

On occasion of some encroachments made on the liberties of the church in 1571, John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, addressed two letters to the regent Mar. They are written in a clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the church of Scotland on this subject. See Bannatyne's Journal, p. 279—290.

Note LXIV. p. 137.

Of Knox's Descendants.—I have been lately favoured with a communication from Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Banchory, in Aberdeenshire, containing the following statement of his descent from our Reformer which I insert with pleasure. "John Knox, the celebrated Reformer, left three daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr. Baillie of the Jerviswood family, and by him had a daughter who was married to a Mr. Kirkton of Edinburgh. By this marriage Mr. Kirkton had a daughter, Margaret, who was married to Dr. Andrew Skene in Aberdeen. Dr. A. Skene left several children, the eldest of whom, Dr. Andrew Skene, had by his wife, Miss Lumsden of Cushnie, several sons and daughters. One of these, Mary, was married to Andrew Thomson of Banchory, who had issue by her Margaret, Andrew, and Alexander. Andrew married Miss Hamilton, daughter of Dr. Hamilton, of Marischall College, Aberdeen, and by her had issue Alexander, born June 21. 1798, and present proprietor of Banchory."

I see no reason to doubt the genuineness and accuracy of this pedigree. It is not uncommon, indeed, for persons who happen to be of the same name with an individual who had attained celebrity, to claim a family relation to him upon very slender grounds. But in the present instance, not to mention the particularity of detail in the genealogical table, there is no reason to suspect that the tradition could have such an origin; as the name of Knox does not occur in the family after its connection by marriage with the Reformer's daughter. Any appearance of inconsistency between this pedigree and what I have stated in p. 137, is completely removed by a supposition, not at all improbable, that one of the Reformer's daughters was twice married, and that on one of these occasions she married a Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood. I have not had an opportunity of examining the pedigree of Baillie of Jerviswood, now of Mellerstain, but I have little doubt that the result of such an examination would be a confirmation of Mr. Thomson's statement. For among the family pictures at Mellerstean is a portrait of Captain Kirkton, an Officer of the Royal Navy, which affords a strong presumption that there must have been an alliance between the Kirktons and the family of Jerviswood.

Mr. Thomson of Banchory possesses from his ancestors an antique watch; and the tradition in the family is that this watch belonged to the Reformer, and was presented to him by Queen Mary at the time when she was anxious to cajole him into an approbation of her measures. Of the structure of this family relic, my ingenious friend, Mr. William Knight in Aberdeen, has transmitted to me a minute description, from which the following particulars are extracted. "It is of an octagonal oblong shape, an inch an a half in length, and one and two-tenths in breadth. It has two cases or lids, which are concave silver plates, each opening by itself on a brass hinge. Under the upper lid is the brass front of the watch, with a small silver dial plate in the middle. The dial plate is only nine-tenths of an inch in diameter, and circular. The hours are in Roman numerals around its edge, and there is a great deal of minute carving, both within and without the dial plate. Under the other case, or back of the watch, are carved on the brass plate these words, *N Forfaict a Paris*. The interior appears to be disposed nearly in the same mode as in modern watches. It has a crown escapement. Instead of the chain of the fusee, there is a fine therm band. The balance wheel has no spring."

Instead of interposing my own opinion on the claim which this watch has to be considered as the workmanship of the middle of the sixteenth century, I beg leave to refer to the following letter from Mr. Professor Leslie, whose extensive acquaintance with the progress of the arts, and the history of inventions, is well known.

Edinburgh, 15th Dec. 1813.

Dear Sir,

From the minute and accurate account which your correspondent has sent you of the watch said to have once belonged to our celebrated reformer, there can be little doubt that it had been constructed at least before the year 1657, or the time when the celebrated Huyghens first applied his capital discovery of the pendulum, or balance spring, to regulate the action of those machines. I believe too (though I cannot now speak positively on the subject) that the fine steel chain coiled about the fusee had been introduced anterior to that period. The clumsy expedient of attaching catgut instead of the chain, occurs only in watches of the very oldest form. The elaborate carving bestowed on this piece of mechanism seems likewise to indicate a considerable antiquity. That the watch in question might have been the property of John Knox is therefore possible, and the tradition is in this case not unworthy of credit. At the same time it must be admitted, that pocket watches were extremely rare at that period, and probably confined for the most part to princes and the more opulent nobility. The Fellows of colleges and other learned men in the age of Elizabeth, contented themselves with carrying sand-glasses in their hand. This appears from Aubrey's amusing Memoirs; and a singular, though rather tragical, misadventure, in which a portable sand-glass makes a very prominent figure, is related in the manuscript life of the Rev.

James Melvil, to have happened at St. Andrews several years after the death of Knox. I am,

Dear Sir,

With true regard ever yours,

JOHN LESLIE.

To the Rev. Dr. M'Crie.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have had the opportunity of inspecting an antique watch, through the politeness of Mr. J. Scott, late Chemist in Edinburgh, the lineal descendant of a Frenchman of the name of Massie, who, having attended Queen Mary into Scotland, had received the relic from his mistress. It is a small round gold watch, scarcely exceeding an inch in diameter, and made by Hubert in Rouen. It is precisely of the same structure, but without carving or other ornament, as the one with which that artful princess is said to have endeavoured to bribe our stern reformer. J. L.

The occurrence at St. Andrews to which Mr. Leslie refers was an assault made, by one of the partizans of archbishop Adamson, on Mr. William Wallwood, professor of Laws, who, "going from his house in the Town to the Colledge, his gown on, his book in the one hand, and *sand-glass* in the other, meditating on his lesson, Henery Hamilton issues out of a house where he lay in wait for blood, and onbesetting Mr. William, with the first stroke wounds him in the hand and mutilats him." This occasioned a riot, in which one person lost his life. It happened in 1589. Melville's Diary, p. 194.

Note LXV. p. 139.

Of Knox's History of the Reformation.—When they first formed themselves into an association to advance the reformation of religion, the protestants of Scotland, aware that their conduct would be misrepresented, appointed some of their number to commit their proceedings to writing. This laudable practice was continued by them, and the most important events connected with the progress of the Reformation were registered along with the resolutions adopted at their meetings. After they came to an open breach with the queen regent, and she had accused them of rebellious intentions both to their countrymen and to foreign nations, they resolved that a narrative of their proceedings should be drawn up from these records, and that it should be published to the world for their vindication. Preface "to the Gentill Reidare," prefixed to Knox's Historie; and "Præfatio" to "the Secunde Booke of the Historie," p. 115. edit. 1732. The confusions produced by the civil war prevented them from executing this resolution at the time intended, and the object originally in view was in part answered by occasional proclamations which they had been obliged to make, and by answers which they had published to proclamations issued by the regent. The design was not, however, laid aside, and the person to whom the compilation was committed continued the narrative. The Book which is placed second in the printed History was first composed. The third Book was next composed, and contains a circumstantial account of the steps taken by the Congregation to obtain assistance from England, which it was judged imprudent to disclose when the former book was drawn up. It brings down the history to Queen Mary's arrival in Scotland. The book which occupies the first place in the printed history was composed after these, and intended as an introduction to them, bringing down the history from the first dawn of the Reformation in Scotland to 1558. See Preface to the Gentill Reidare, ut supra. The publication being still delayed, the fourth Book was added, which contains the history of ecclesiastical transactions from the arrival of Mary to the end of 1564. The first and fourth Books were composed during the years 1566, 1567, and 1568. Historie, p. 86, 108, 282. Some additions were made to the fourth Book as late as 1571. Ibid. p. 338. The fifth Book in the printed History is not found in any of the ancient MSS. It was added by David Buchanan, but whether he published it from an old MS. or compiled it himself, cannot now be ascertained.

The History was composed by one person, (Preface, ut supra.) and there is no reason for doubting that Knox was the author. In a letter which he wrote on the 23d of October 1559, he mentions the design of publishing it. Keith, Append. p. 30. The English Ambassador, Randolph, says, in a letter to Cecil, dated Edinburgh 23d September, 1560, "I have tawlked at large with Mr. Knox concernynge hys Hystore. As mykle as ys wrytten thereof shall be sent to your Honour, at the comynge of the Lords Embassadors by Mr. John Woode: He hath wrytten only one Booke. If you lyke that, he shall contynue the same, or adde onie more. He sayethe, That he must have farther Helpe, then is to be had in thys Countrie for more assured Knouledge of Thyngs passed, than he hath hymself, or can com by here: yt is a Worke not to be neglected, and greatly to be wyshed that yt sholde be well handled." Life of the Author. p. xliii. prefixed to Knox's Historie, edit. 1732. From a letter written by Knox to Mr. John Wood, and dated Feb. 14. 1568, it appears that he had come to the resolution of withholding the History from the public during his life. See Appendix. The important light in which he considered the work appears from the way in which he expressed himself in April 1571, when he found that the state of his health would not permit him to finish it. "Lord provyde for thy flocks trew pastouris; rease thou up the spreitis of some to observe thy notable workis, *faythfullie to comit the same to writ*, that the prosperities [postcrities] to come may praise thy holie name, for the great graces plentyfullie powrd foorth upon this vnthankfull generatione. Jhone Knox trusting end of trawell." Bannatyne's Journal, p. 129. He did not however desist altogether from the prosecution of the work. It appears from two letters of Alexander Hay, Clerk to the Privy Council, written in December 1571, that the Reformer had applied to him for papers to assist him in the continuation of his History. The papers which Hay proposed to send him relate to the years 1567—1571, a period which the printed History does not reach. Bannatyne, p. 294—302.

The following petition presented by Bannatyne to the first General Assembly which met after our Reformer's death, with the Act of Assembly relating to it, gives the most satisfactory information respecting the History. "Unto your Wisdoms humbly means and shows, I your Servitor Richard Bannatyne, Servant to your Unquhill most dearest Brother John Knox of worthy Memory; That where it is not unknown to your Wisdoms, that he left to the Kirk and Town of Edinburgh his History, containing in effect the Beginning and Progress of Christ's true Religion, now of God's great Mercy established in this Realm; wherein he hath continued and perfectly ended at the Year of God 1564. So that of Things done sinsyne, nothing be him is put in that Form and Ordour, that he has put the former. Yet not the less there are certain Scrolls and Papers, and Minuts of Things left to me by him, to use at my Pleasure, whereof a Part were written and subscribed by his own Hand, and another be mine at his Command, which, if they were collected and gathered together, would make a sufficient Declaration of the principal Things, that have occurred since the ending of his former History, at the Year foresaid; and so should serve for stuff and Matter, to any of Understanding and Ability in that Kinde of Exercise, that would apply themselves to make a History even unto the Day of his Death. But for so meikle as the said Scrolls are so intacked and mixed together, that if they should come in any Hands not used nor accustomed with the same, as I have been, they should altogether lose and perish: And seeing also I am not able on my own Costs and Expences, to apply myself and spend my Time, to put them in Order, which would consume a very long Time; much less am I able to write them, and put them in Register, as they require to be, without your Wisdoms make some Provision for the same: Wherefore I most humbly request your Wisdoms, That I may have some reasonable Pension, appointed to me by your Wisdoms Discretion, that thereby I may be more able to await and attend upon the samine; lest these Things, done by that Servant of God dear to you all, should perish and decay, which they shall do indeed, if they be not put in Register, which I will do willinglie, if your Wisdoms would provide as said is. And your Wisdoms Answer &c." To this Supplication, the Assembly gave the following Answer. "The Assembly accepted the said Richard's Offer, and request the Kirk of Edinburgh, to provide and appoint some learned Men, to support Richard Bannatyne, to put the said History, that is now in Scrolls and Papers in good Form, with Aid of the said Richard. And because he is not able to await thereon, upon his own Expences, appoints to him the Sum of Fourty Pounds, to be payed of the 1572 Years Crope, be the Collectors under-written, viz. the Collector of Lothian, Fife, Angus, and the West, Galloway, and Murray, every one of them to pay six Pounds thirteen Shillings four Pennies of the said Crope; and it shall be allowed to them in Count, they

bringing the said Richard's Acquittance thereupon." Life of the Author. p. xliv. xlv. prefixed to Historie, edit. 1732.

It is probable that the deficiency of the funds of the church prevented the publication of the History during Morton's regency: and the change of politics after James assumed the reins of government into his own hands, precluded all hope of its being allowed to be printed in Scotland. An attempt was made to have it printed in England; but after the work had proceeded so far, the press was stopped. This appears from the following extract from Calderwood's MS. "February 1586, Vaultrollier the printer took with him a copy of Mr. Knox's History to England, and printed twelve hundred of them; the stationers, at the archbishop's command, seized them, the 18 of February; it was thought that he would get leave to proceed again, because the council perceived that it would bring the Queen of Scots in detestation." Calderwood's MS. apud Life of Knox, p. 45, prefixed to edition of Hist. Edin. 1732. Bishop Bancroft also mentions it, in the following terms, "If you ever meet with the History of the Church of Scotland penned by Mr. Knox, and printed by Vautrollier, read the pages quoted here in the margent." Bancroft's Survey, (originally printed in 1593), republished in 1663, p. 37. Copies of this imperfect edition were allowed to go abroad, and are still to be met with. In 1644, David Buchanan published his edition of Knox's History at London in Folio, which was reprinted the same year at Edinburg in Quarto. The editor prefixed a Preface concerning the antiquity of the Scots, and a Life of Knox, both of which were written by himself. He modernized the language of the History; but not satisfied with this, he also altered the narrative by excluding some parts of it, and by making numerous interpolations. It appears from the passage formerly quoted from Milton (see page 167.) that attempts were made to suppress, or at least to mutilate this edition; but the passage is so obscure that we cannot learn from what quarter these attempts were made. At last, a genuine and complete edition of the History was printed in 1732, from a Manuscript belonging to the University of Glasgow, compared with several other manuscripts of undoubted antiquity. Those who wish to know the great difference between this edition and that of David Buchanan may consult Mr. Wodrow's letter, inserted at large in the Life of the Author, p. xlvi—li. prefixed to the Historie, edit. 1732, and partially inserted in Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, p. 132—141. Lond. 1736. All the editions of the History lately published are mere copies of Buchanan's spurious and interpolated one.

This deduction of facts may serve to clear the subject of the History from the difficulties in which it has been involved. That Knox was the author of the first four Books, as they are printed in the edition 1732, is beyond all reasonable doubt. After the publication of that edition, it is mere perverseness to endeavour to discredit the authenticity or genuineness of the History, by harping on the alterations and interpolations of David Buchanan. To infer that he was not the author of the History from the difference between its style and that of his undoubted works, is quite conjectural. The historical and the didactic styles are different in themselves; and when we consider the intervals at which the history was composed, the numerous avocations which distracted the author's attention, and the multiplicity of facts which it was requisite for him to collect and investigate, we will not be surprised to find this work inferior, in point of language and arrangement, to those tracts which he composed on single topics, and which, having the sentiments at his command, he was left at liberty to arrange and to adorn. The facts which I have produced tend also to corroborate the credibility of the History, as they evince that, however negligent as to points of inferior consideration, the author was most active and laborious in searching for materials, and in procuring, when it was at all possible, original and authentic documents. And such was his character for integrity, that I am persuaded there are very few who believe that he would insert as a fact any thing of whose truth he was not fully convinced.

Note LXVI. p. 139.

Catalogue of Knox's writings.—The following Catalogue of the Reformer's Works will, I trust, be found more correct and complete than any one which has hitherto appeared. The titles have been accurately copied from the books themselves, when I could possibly procure them, and at the end of each I have mentioned where a copy may be seen. For the titles of such as I have not seen, I have had recourse to the best authorities, as marked after each article. I have also noticed those of which there are copies in the MS. volume in my possession.

1. "An admonition, or warning, that the faithful Christians in London, Newcastel, Berwycke any others, may avoide God's vengeance both in thys life and in the life to come. Compyled by the servaunt of God, John Knokes." A cut of truth, poor woman, handcuffed and fastened in the stocks with a halter about her neck, held by Tyrannye, on the one hand; while Crueltye, with a cornered cap, is threatening her with a rod on the other. Beneath the cut, "The persecuted speaketh,

> I fear not death, nor passe not for bands:
> Only in God put I my whole trust,
> For God will requyre my blod at your hands,
> And this I know that once dye I must,
> Only for Chryst, my lyfe if I give;
> Death is no death, but a meane for to leyve."

Under these verses in ancient writing "John Frythe boke Red and send yt agayne." E. in eights. "From Wittonburge by Nicholas Dorcastor. Anno M.D.LIIII. the viii of May. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." W. H. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1576.) sixteens. Comp. Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 460. See above, page 47, note.

2. "A faythfull admonition made by John Knox, unto the professours of God's truthe in England, whereby thou mayest learne howe God wyll have his churche exercised with troubles, and how he defendeth it in the same. Esaie ix. "After all this shall not the Lordes wrath ceasse, but yet shall hys hande be stretched out styll. Ibidem. Take hede that the Lorde roote thee not out both heade and tayle in one daye."

On the back of title: "The epistle of a banyshed manne out of Leycestershire sometime one of the preachers of Goddes worde there, to the Christen reader wysheth health, deliveraunce, and felicitie."

"Imprynted at Kalykow the 20 daye of Julii 1554. Cum gratia et privilegio ad Imprimendum solum." French black letter, extends to I. and makes 63 leaves. Advocates Library. A copy of this in MS. Vol.

3. "A godly letter sent too the faythefull in London, Newcastell, Barwyke, and to all other within the realme of Englande, that love the coming of our Lorde Jesus by Jhon knox. Matth. x. He that continueth unto the ende shall be saved. Imprinted in Rome, before the Castel of S. Aungel, at the signe of Sainct Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lord 1554." D. 28 leaves, Fr. black letter. Advocates Library. A copy in MS. Vol.

4. "A confession and declaratio of praiers added thercunto, by Jhon Knox, minister of christes most sacred Evangely, upon the death of that moste famous king Edward the VI. kynge of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, in which confession, the sayde Jhon doth accuse no lesse hys owne offences, than the offences of others, to be the cause of the awaye takinge, of that most godlie prince, now raininge with Christ whyle we abyde plagues for our authafulnesse. Imprinted in Rome, before the Castel of S. Aungel, at the signe of Sainct Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1554." C. 19 leaves. Fr. black letter. Advocates Library.

The "Confession" is inserted in Note XX. The "Declaration of Praiers" is in MS. Vol. See Note XIII. Another edition was licensed 1580, see Ames, p. 1146.

5. "The copie of a letter sent to the ladye Mary dowagire, Regent of Scotland, by John Knox in the yeare 1556. Here is also a notable sermon, made by the sayde John Knox, wherin is evydentlye proved that the masse is and alwayes hath ben abhominable before God, and Idolatrye. *Scrutamini Scripturas.*" H. extends to 64 leaves, 16mo. Black letter. A copy of this rare book, which belonged to the late Duke of Roxburg, is now in the Advocates Library.

Ames (p. 1587.) introduces this book as printed in 1556, but without alleging any authority; and (p. 1834.) he speaks of the Sermon against the Mass as printed in 1550, for which he quotes T. Baker's Maunsell, p. 101. Both the tracts contained in this book are in MS. Vol.

6. "Ane Exposition upon the syxt Psalme of Dauid, wherein is declared hys crosse, complayntes and prayers, moste necessarie too be red of all them, for their singular comforte, that vnder the banner of Christe are by Satan assaulted, and feele the heauye burthen of synne, with which they are oppressed. ☞The paciente abydinge of the sore afflicted was neuer yet

confounded." Ends on the reverse of the last leaf of F. On G, 1. begins, "A comfortable Epistell sente to the afflicted church of Chryst, exhortynge thē to beare hys crosse with pacièce, lokyng euery houre for hys commynge agayne to the greate comfort and consolacion of hys chosen, with a prophecy of ye destruction of the wycked. Whereunto is joyned a most wholesome counsell, howe to behaue oureselues in the myddes of thys wycked generacion touching the daily exercise of Gods most holy and sacred worde. Wrytten by the man of God. J. K."

A copy of this very rare collection, which also belonged to the late Duke of Roxburgh, is now in the Advocates Library. It wants two or three leaves at the close,—ending with I, 5. Black letter, 16mo. (All of these are in MS. Volume. The "wholesome counsell" is inserted in Note XXV.) In the same volume, and printed with the same type, are two tracts by "Gracious Menewe," the first on "Auricular Confession," and the second, "Of the Communion in both kyndes." It has been conjectured that Knox wrote these under a fictitious name.

7. "The copie of a lettre delivered to the ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland, from Johne Knox minister of Goddes worde, in the yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented and explaned by the author in the yeare of our Lord 1558." Device: two arches, one narrow, the other broad; over the narrow one is a crown of laurel, over the broad one flames of fire, with this motto about them, "Enter in at the streit gate: for wide is the gate, and brode is the waye, that leadeth to destruction, Matth. vii." Printed at Geneva, by James Poullain, and Antonie Rebul. M.D.LVIII. D, extends to 28 leaves. Rom. Letter, 16mo. Advocates Library.

8. "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regement of Wemen. Veritas temporis filia. M.D.LVIII." 56 leaves, Rom. Letter. Advocates Library.

9. "The Appellation of John Knoxe from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland, with his supplication and exhortation to the nobilitie, estates, and comunalitie of the same realme. Printed at Geneva M.D.LVIII." The appellation is addressed "To the nobilitie and estates of Scotlad" only; the epistle, "To his beloued brethren the comunalitie of Scotlad," annexed, begins at folio 47, and concludes at folio 59, "Be witnesse to my appellation.—From Geneva, the 14 of July, 1558. Your brother to commaunde in godlines John Knoxe." On the back of which leaf begins: "An admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance, written by Antoni Gilby." On the back of leaf 78, "Psalme of David xciiii turned into metre by W. Kethe," ends on first page of folio 80—Rom. Letter, 16mo. Advocates Library.

It is a mistake to suppose that "Antoni Gilby" was a fictitious name assumed by Knox. Gilby was a member of the English church at Geneva. (See page 57.) Ames mentions several publications by him. See also Tanneri Bibliotheca, p. 318.

10. "The copie of his (*John Knox's*) epistle, sent unto Newcastle, and Barwick. (This was, perhaps, another edition of No. 3.) Also a brief exhortation to Englande for the speedy embracing of Christes gospell, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary suppressed. Prin. at Geneva, 1559." Maunsell, p. 65. With a catalogue of Martyrs, 16mo. Ames, p. 1600. Comp. Tanner, p. 460.

11. "An Anser to a great nomber of blasphemous cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversarie to Gods eternal Predestination; and confuted by Iohn Knox, minister of Gods worde in Scotland: Wherein the Author so discouereth the craft and falshode of that sect, that the godly knowing that error, may be confirmed in the treuth by the euident worde of God. Prov. xxx. There is a generatiō that are pure in their owne cōceit, and yet are not washed from their filthines. Printed by Iohn Crespin, M.D.LX." Rom. Letter, 454 pages. Advocates Library.

Another edition was licensed 1580; and it was again printed in 1591. See Ames, p. 1196, 1254, 1263.

12. "Heir followeth the coppie of the ressoning which was betuix the Abbote of Crosraguell and John Knox in Mayboill concerning the Masse, in the yeare of God, a thousand five hundreth thre scoir and two yeares. Apocalips xxii. For I protest, &c." Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekpreuik, and are to be solde at his hous, at the nether bow. Cum privilegio, 1563." The running title is "The ressoning betwixt Jo. Knox and the abbote of Crossraguell." In the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck. See above, p. 99.

13. "A sermon preached by John Knox, minister of Christ Jesus, in the publique audience of the church of Edenbrough, within the realme of Scotland, upon Sonday the 19 of August, 1565. For the which the said John Knoxe was inhibite preaching for a season, 1 Tim. iv. The tyme is come that men cannot abyde the sermon of veritie nor holsome doctrine. To this is adjoyned an exortation unto all the faithfull within the sayde realme, for the relicfe of such as faythfully trauayle in the preaching of Gods word. Written by the same John Knoxe, at the commandment of the ministrie aforesaid." 49 leaves; and 11 more, "Of the superintendents to the faithfull." No name of place, nor printer. Sixteens. Ames, p. 1488—9. Tanner, p. 460.

14. "To his loving brethren whome God ones gloriously gathered in the church of Edinburgh, and now are dispersed for tryall of our faith, &c. Johne Knox. Imprented at Striviling be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno Do. M.D.LXXI." Rom. Letter, 4 leaves, 18mo. Advocates Library.

15. "An Answer to a Letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie, be Johne Knox. Proverbs xxvi. Answer not a fōole according to his foolishnes, least thou be lyke him: answer a foole according to his foolishness least he be wise in his owe cōseat.

"The contrarietie appearing at the first sight betwix thir twa sentecis, stayit for a tyme, baith heart to meditate and hand to wryte any thing, cōtrair that blasphemous letter. But when with better mynd, God gave me to considder, that whosoever opponis not him self bouldly to blasphemy and manifest leis, differis lytill fra tratouris: cloking and fostering, so far as in them ly, the treasoun of tratouris, and dampnable impietie of those, against whome Gods just vengeance mon burne without end, unless spedie repentāce follow: To quyet therefore my owne conscience, I put hande to the pen as followeth:—Imprentit at Sanctandrois be Robert Lekpruik Anno Do. 1572."

"Johne Knox the servand of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie luiking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernakle, to the faithful" &c. 3 pages. Then a Prayer on 3 pages, which concludes, "Now Lord put an end to my miserie. At Edinburgh the 12 day of Marche 1565."—On next page begins "An Answer" &c. At the end "Of Edinburgh the 10 day of August, Anno Do. 1568." Next "To the Faithfull Reader"—ends "For the worlde is wearie of me: so am I of it. Of Sanctandrois the 12 of Julii 1572. Johne Knox. Followeth the letter as it past from my hand at Deip the 20 Julii 1554. To his loving Mother &c." (This letter is in MS. Vol.) In all 45 leaves. Rom. letter. Advocates Library.

16. "A Fort for the Afflicted. Wherein are ministred many notable and excellent remedies against the stormes of tribulation: Written chiefly for the comforte of Christes little flocke, which is the smal number of the faithfull, by John Knoxe. John xvi. 23." This is an exposition upon the 6th Psalme. It has prefixed, an epistle "To the Religious Reader *by* Abr. Flemming."—"To his beloved mother J. K. sendeth greeting in the Lorde." At the end is a comfortable epistle sent to the afflicted churche of Christ, exhorting them to bear his crosse with patience, &c. Written at Deepe 31 May 1554." F 4 in eights. W. H. (Ames, p. 1118.) Tanner (p. 460.) says it was printed "Lond. 1580." This is another edition of the two first tracts described in No. 6.

17. Sermon on Ezekiel ix. 4. printed Anno 1680. See a Catalogue of Writers on O. and N. Test. p. 107. Lond. 1663.

18. "A Notable and Comfortable exposition of M. John Knoxes upon the fourth of Matthew, concerning the tentations of Christ. First had in the public church, and *afterwards* written for the comfort of certaine private *friends and now* published in print for the benefit of all that fear God. At London printed by Robert Waldegrave for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster Row, at the signe of the Talbot." Advocates Library. In MS. Vol.

The words in Italics are supplied, the copy being torn in these places. The book is dedicated by "Johne Fielde," the publisher, to "the vertuous and my very godly friend Mres Anne Prouze of Exeter," who was the widow of "M. Edward Dering," a celebrated non-conformist. Field was also a noted puritan. See Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, B. iii. chap. 1—5. Field had received the MS. from Mrs. Prouze. At the end of the dedication is "London the first day of the first moneth in the year 1583." The book consists of 24 leaves.

19. "The Historie of the Church of Scotland." Imperfect, beginning with p. 17. "By these articles which God of his merciful providence causeth the enemies of his truth to keep in their registers &c." and ending with M m p. 560. "For we judge it a thing most contrarious to reason, godlynes, and equitie, that the widow and the children of him who in" being part of "the fift head" of the First Book of Discipline. 8vo. Advocates Library. This edition is very rare, and none of the copies which have been seen are more complete than that which has been just described. See above, p. 186.

It is unnecessary to give the title of David Buchanan's edition, printed in 1644, at London, in Folio, and reprinted the same year at Edinburgh in Quarto.—The genuine and complete edition of the History, was published in folio, under the following title:

"The Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland, conteining the Manner and be quhat Persons the Lycht of Chrystis Evangell has bein manifested unto this Realme, after that horribill and universal Defectioun from the Treuth, whiche has come by the Means of that Romane Antichryst. Together with the Life of Johne Knoxe the author, and several curious pieces wrote by him; particularly that most rare and scarce one entitled, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, and a large Index and Glossary. Taken from the Original Manuscript in the University Library of Glasgow, and compared with other ancient Copies. Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Fleming and Company, 1732." The Life was written by Mr. Matthew Crawfurd. See above Note XXVIII.

Besides the above publications, which were all undoubtedly composed by our Reformer, there are others ascribed to him upon more dubious grounds. Bale, in his Scrip. Maj. Brit. post. pars. art. *Knoxus*, and Verheiden and Melchior Adam, upon his authority, appear, in several instances, to have given different names to the same tract. They mention among his printed works "In Genesin Conciones." We know that he preached sermons on Genesis at Franckfort, (See page 49.) and it is not unlikely that he continued to do so at Geneva. Perhaps Bale, hearing of these, might think that they were published. Bishop Tanner has enumerated among his works, "Exposition on Daniel, Malburg. M.D.XXIX. 8vo." Bibliotheca, p. 460. As he mentions the place and year of printing, more credit is due to his account; but there is evidently a mistake in the year, for Knox had not at that time begun to write. It may however be an error of the press for a later year. We have seen (page 122.) that he preached on Daniel, at St. Andrews.

During the reign of Queen Mary of England, a book was published entitled, "The Huntyng of the Romysh Vuolfe" &c. Of this tract a new edition was published in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, under the title of "The Hunting of the Fox and the Wolfe, because they make hauocke of the sheepe of Christ Jesus." This edition is introduced with a preface by an anonymous author, "To al my faithful Brethren in Christ Jesu, and to all other that labour to weede out the weedes of poperie," &c. The writer of the preface is very severe against the relics of popery retained in the worship of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity. "My good fathers and deare Brethren who are first called to ye battel to strive for Gods glory and the edificatiō of his people, againste the Romish reliques and rags of Antichriste, I doubt not but that you will courageouslye and constātly in Christ, rap at these rages of Gods enemies, and that you will by this occasiō race vp many as great enormities, that we al know and labour to race out al the dregs and remnāts of transformed poperie, that are crept into England, by too much lenitie of the that wilbe named the Lords of the clergie," &c. This preface has been ascribed to our Reformer. "So far (says Herbert) as one may be allowed to guess at the author by the style, &c. i am inclined to believe this address was written by John Knox, who for magnanimity, courage and zeal for God's glory was at least equal to any of our reformers. This surmise is in some measure supported by the cut of Truth, &c. at the end of this tract; the same as prefixed to that author's "Admonition or warning" &c. as p. 1576, except only the name of *Sutleti* being here given to the figure there inscribed *Cruellye*." Herbert's edition of Ames, p. 1605, 1606.

I have not introduced into this catalogue the *Form of Excommunication* which was wholly, nor the *Treatise of Fasting*, which was chiefly composed by Knox, nor any other of the public papers in which he had a hand, but which were published in the name of the General Assembly.

In an epistle to the Reader contained in his answer to Tyrie, Knox mentions that he had beside him a collection of letters which he had written to Mrs. Bowes, and which the state of his health alone prevented him from publishing. It also appears from Field's Dedication prefixed to Knox's Exposition of the fourth of Matthew, (see p. 132.) that a number of our Reformer's manuscripts were in circulation both in England and Scotland. I have in my possession a manuscript volume, containing tracts and letters written by him between 1550 and 1558. This is unquestionably the identical volume which formerly belonged to the Rev. Mr. Wodrow, (Author of the History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland) and described under the name of the *Quarto volume* of MSS. in Crawfurd's Life of Knox, p. 53, 54. prefixed to the edition of his Historie published in 1732. It consists of 518 pages, including the contents. On the leaf at the beginning of the volume is this title: "The Epistles of Mr. John Knox, worthy to be read because of the authority of the wryter, the solidity of the matter, and the comfortable Christian experience to be found therein. Edr. 22. feb. 1683. H. T. m. p." Below, in a hand considerably older, are these words: "This booke belong'd somtyme to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr. Knox, afterwards married to the knight of fawdonesyde. Sister shee was to James Earl of Arran." Then follow the six tracts described by Mr. Crawfurd, in the place above referred to. At the beginning of the Letters, in a hand older than the former, and the same with that in which the Letters themselves are written, is this title: "Certane epistillis and letters of ye servand of God, Johne Knox, send from dyvers places to his friendis and familiaris in Jesus Chryst." On the margin of the tracts are several short notes by the transcriber, referring to his own times, such as this, "our case at this day in Scotland 1603." This ascertains the date of their transcription; and I think it highly probable that they were copied by Mr. John Welsh, a son-in-law of the Reformer, one of whose letters is inserted on some blank leaves in the middle of the volume. The letters have evidently been written by the same person (although the hand appears older); and on the margin of a treatise at the end of them, "1603" occurs. Margaret Stewart, the Reformer's relict, was alive about the end of the 16th century; but whether the manuscript in my possession belonged to her, or be considered as a transcript from hers, there can be no doubt of its antiquity and genuineness. I have found, upon examination, that all the six tracts in the beginning of the volume have been published; but as the manuscript is more correct than any of the printed editions which I have seen, I have generally followed it in the extracts which I have given from these tracts. The letters are forty-three in number, besides the letter to the queen regent, the Discourse on the Temptation of Christ, and the Additions to the Apology of the Parisian Protestants, which are inserted among them. Three of the letters also have been published, and are noticed in Nos. 6 and 15 of this Catalogue: the remainder as far as I can learn, never appeared in print. They consist chiefly of religious advices to the friends with whom he corresponded, but a number of facts, and allusions to his external circumstances are interspersed. Mr. Wodrow possessed another volume of Knox's MSS. in folio, which is described by Crawfurd, Life p. 53, ut supra. It contains nothing additional to what I have mentioned in this Note.

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY KNOX, AND OTHER PAPERS, HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

* No. I. [From MS. Letters, p. 243.]

The firste letter to his mothir in law, mestres Bowis.

Rycht deirlibelovit mother in oure saviour Jesus Chryst, when I call to mynd and revolve with myself the trubillis and afflictionis of Godis elect frome the begyning (in whiche I do not forget yow) thair is within my hart tuo extreme contrareis; a dolour almaist unspeakabill, and a joy and comfort whilk, be mannis sences, can not be comprehendit nor understand. The cheif causis of dolour be two; the ane is the remembrance of syn, whilk I daylie feill remanyng in this corrupt nature, whilk was and is sa odius and detestabill in the presence of oure hevinlie father that by na uther sacrifice culd or myght the same be purgeit, except by the blude and deth of the onlie innocent sone of God. When I deiplie do considder the caus of Chrystis deth to haif bene syn, and syn yit to dwell in all flesche, with paule I am compellit to sob and grone as ane man under ane heavie burdene, ye, and sumtymes to cry, O wreachit and miserabill man that I am, wha sall delyver me fra this bodie of syn! The uther caus of my dolour is that sic as maist gladlie wald remane togidder for mutual comfort ane of another can not be sufferit sa to do. Since the first day that it pleasit the providence of God to bring yow and me in familiaritie, I have alwayis delytit in your company, and when labours wald permit, ye knaw I have not spairit houris to talk and commoun with yow, the frute whairof I did not than fullie understand nor perceave. But now absent, and so absent that by corporal presence nather of ws can resave comfort of uther, I call to mynd how that oftymes when with dolorous hartis we haif begun our talking, God hath send greit comfort unto baithe, whilk now for my awn part I commounlie want. The exposicioun of your trubillis and acknawledging of your infirmitie war first unto me a verie mirrour and glass whairin I beheld myself sa rychtlie payntit furth that nathing culd be mair evident to my awn eis. And than, the searching of the scriptures for Godis sueit promissis, and for his mercies frelie givin unto miserable offenderis (for his nature delyteth to schew mercie whair maist miserie ringeth), the collectioun and applying of Godis mercies, I say, wer unto me as the breaking and handilling with my awn handis of the maist sweit and delectabill ungumentis, whairof I culd not but receave sum comfort be thair naturall sweit odouris. But now, albeit I never lack the presence and plane image of my awn wreachit infirmitie, yit seing syn sa manifestly abound in al estaitis, I am compellit to thounder out the threattnyngis of God aganis the obstinat rebellaris, in doing whairof (albeit as God knaweth I am no malicious nor obstinat synner) I sumtymes am woundit, knawing my self criminall and giltie in many, ye in all (malicious obstinacie laid asyd) thingis that in utheris I reprehend. Judge not mother that I wrait theis thingis debassing my self utheris wayis than I am: na; I am wors than my pen can expres. In bodie ye think I am no aduiterer; lat sa be, but the hart is infectit with foull lustis, and will lust albeit I lament never samekill. Externallie I commit na idolatrie; but my wickit hart luffeth the self and cannot be refranit fra vane imaginationis, ye, not fra sic as wer the fountane of all idolatrie. I am na mankiller with my handis; but I help not my nedie brother sa liberallie as I may and aucht. I steill not hors, money, nor claithis fra my nychbour; but that small portioun of warldlie substance I bestow not sa rychtlie as his halie law requyreth. I bear na fals witnes aganis my nychbor in judgment or utherwayis befor men; but I speik not the treuth of God sa boldlie as it becumeth his trew messinger to do. And thus in conclusioun thair is na vyce repugnyng to Godis halie will expressit in his law whairwith my hart is not infectit.

This mekill writtin and dytit befoir the resait of your letteris, whilk I resavit the 21st of June. Thay war unto my heart sum comfort for dyvers causis not necessar to be rehersit, but maist (as knaweth God) for that I find ane congruence betwix ws in spreit being sa fer distant in bodie. ffor when that digeslie I did avys with your letter, I did considder that I my self was complenyng evin the self sam thingis at that verie instant moment that I ressavit your letter. Be my pen ffrome a sorrowfull hart I culd not brust furth and say, 'O Lord, how wonderfull ar thi workis! how dois thou try and prufe thi chosin children as gold by the fire! how canest thou in maner hyd thi face fra thy awn spous, that thi presence efter may be mair delectabill! how canest thou bring thi sainctis lowe, that thou may carie thame to glorie everlasting! how canest thou suffer thi strang faithful messingeris in many thingis yit to wressill with wreachit infirmitie and febill weaknes, ye and sumtymes permittis thou thame horribillie to fall, partlie that na flesche sall have whairof it may glorie befoir the, and partlie that utheris of smaller estait and meaner giftis in thi kyrk myght resave sum consolatioun, albeit thay find in thame selves wickit motions whilk they are not abill to expell!' My purpois was, befoir I ressavit your letter, to have exhortit you to patience and to fast adhering to Godis promisis, albeit that your flesche, the devill, and uther your enemyis, wald persuad you to the contrare, for, by the artis and subtcliteis that the adversarie useth aganis me, I not onlie do conjecture, but also planelie dois sie your assaltis and trubill. And sa lykwys in the bowellis of Chrystis mercie maist ernistlie I beseik you by that infirmitie that ye knaw remaneth in me, (wars I am than I can wryt) pacientlie to beir, albeit that ye haif not sic perfectioun as ye wald, and albeit also your motionis be sic as be maist vyle and abominabill, yet not to sorrow abuf measure. Gif I to whom God hes gevin greatter giftis (I wryt to his prais) be yit so wrappit into miserie, that what I wald I can not do, and what I wald not that with sainct paule, I say, daylie ye everie hour and moment I devys to do, and in my hart, ficht I never sa fast in the contrarie, I perform and do: gif sic wreachit wickitnes remane in Godis cheif ministeris, what wonder albeit the same remane in yow? Gif Godis strangest men of war, be beattin bak in thair face, that what thay wald thay can not destroy nor kill, is it any sic offence to yow to be tossit as ye compleane, that thairfoir ye suld distrust Goldis frie promissis? God forbid, deir mother! the power of God is knawin be oure weaknes, and theis doloris and infirmiteis be maist profitabill to ws, for by the same is our pryde beattin doun, whilk is not easie utherwayis to be done. By thame ar oure misereis knawin, sa that we acknawledging oure selves misterfull seikis the phesitioun. By thame cum we, be the operatioun of the halie spreit, to the hatred of syn, and be thame cum we to the hunger and thrist of justice, and to desyre to be desolved and sa to ring with oure Chryst Jesus, whilk without this battell and sorrow this flesche culd never do. And as fra the doloris I proceit to the comfort.

As the caussis of dolour be tuo, whilk ar present syn, and the lack of sic company as in whome we maist culd delyt, sa is the caussis of my comfort not ymaginit of my brane, but pronuncit first be God, and efter graftit in the hartis of Godis children by his halie spreit. Thay ar lykwys tuo; whilk is a justice inviolable offerit be our flesche befoir the trone of our heavinlie father, and ane assureit hoip of that generall assemblie and gathering togither of Godis dispersit flok in that day

* The first five Nos. are religious letters; the rest contain historical matter.

when all teairs salbe wipit fra oure eis, when deth salbe vincuisit, and may na mair dissever sic as feiring God this day in the flesche murnis under the burdene of syn. Off oure present justice, notwithstanding syn remane in oure mortall bodeis, ar we assureit by the faithfull witnes of Jesus Christ, Johne the apostill, saying, "gif we confes oure synnis, faithfull and just is God to remit and forgive oure synnis." Mark the wordis of the apostill, gif we confess oure synnis God man forgive thame, becaus hie is faithfull and just. To confessioun of synnis ar theis thingis requisit, ffirst we man acknawledge the syn, and it is to be notit that sumtymes Godis verie elect, albeit they have synnit maist haynouslie, dois not acknawledge syn and thairfoir can not at all tymes confes the same, for syn is not knawin unto sictyme as the vale be takin fra the conscience of the offender, that he may sie and behald the filthines of syn, what punisment be Godis just jugenentis is dew for the sam. And then (whilk is the 2 thing requisit to confessioun) begynnis the haitred of syn and of oure selves for contempnying of God and of his halie law; whairof last springis that whilk we call hoip of mercie, whilk is nathing els but a sob fra a trubillit hart, confoundit and aschamit for syn, thristing remissioun and Gods frie mercie, whairupon of necessitie man follow this conclusioun, God hes remittit and frelie forgevin the syn; and why! for "hie is faithfull and just" sayeth the apostill. Comfortabill and mervelous caussis! first, God is faithfull, ergo: hie man forgive syn. A comfortable consequent upon a maist sure ground! for Godis fidelitie, can na mair faill nor can him self. Then lat this argument be gatherit for oure comfort, the office of the faithfull is to keip promeis; but God is faithfull, ergo: he man keip promeis. That God hes promissit remissioun of synis to sic as be repentant, I neid not now to recit the places. But let this collectioun of the promissis be maid, God promissis remissioun of synis to all that confessis the same; but I confes my synnis, for I sie the filthines thairof, and how justlie God may condemp me for my iniquities. I sob and I lament for that I can not be quyt and red of syn, I desyre to leif a mair perfyt lyfe. Thir ar infallible signis, seillis, and takinis that God hes remittit the syn, for God is faithfull that sa hes promissit, and can na mair deceave nor hie can ceis to be God. But what reasone is this, God is just, thairfoir hie man forgive syn? A wonderous caus and reasone in deid! ffor the flesche and naturall man can understand nathing but the contrar, for this man it reasone: the justice of God is offendit be my synnis, as God man neidis have a satisfactioun, and requyre ane punissment. Gif we understand of whome God requyris satisfactioun, whether of ws, or of the handis of his onlie sone, and whais punisment is abill to recompens oure synnis, than sall we haif greit caus to rejose, remembering that God is a just God. For the office of the just man is to stand content when hie hes ressavit his dewtie. But God hes ressavit alredie at the handis of his onlie sone all that is dew for our synnis, and sa can not his justice requyre nor craif any mair of ws ather satisfactioun or recompensatioun for our synnis. Advert, mother, the sure pilleris and fundation of oure salvation to be Godis faithfulnes and justice. Hie that is faithful has promissit frie remissioun to all penitent synneris, and hie that is just, hes ressavit alredie a full satisfactioun for the synis of all thais that imbrace Chryst Jesus to be the onlie saviour of the warld. What restis than to us to be done? nathing but to acknawledge our miserie and wrechednes, whilk na flesche can do sa unfenidlie as they that daylie feillis the wecht of syn. And uther, mother, caus haif we nane of desperatioun, albeit the divill rage never sa cruellie, and albeit the flesche be never sa fraill, daylie and hourlie lusting aganis Godis halie commandementis, ye, stryving aganis the same. This is not the tyme of justice befoir our awn eis, we luke for that whilk is promissit, the kingdome everlasting, preparit to ws fra the begynning, whairof we ar maid airis be Godis apoyntment, reabillit [i. e. *legitimated* or *restored*] thairto be Christis death, to whome we sall be gatherit, when efter we sall never depart, whilk to remember is my singular comfort, but thairof now I can not wryte. My commendationis to all whome effeiris. I commit you to the protectioun of the Omnipotent.

At Londoun the 23d of June, 1553, your sone unfeaned,
Johne Knox.

No. II. [MS. Letters, p. 333.]

To mariorie bowis wha was his first wife.

Deirlibelovit sister in the commoun faith of Jesus our saviour. The place of Johne forbidding ws to salut sic as bringeth not the hailsome doctrine, admonisseth ws what danger cumeth be fals teacheris, evin the destructioun of bodie and saule; whairfoir the spreit of God willeth ws to be sa cairfull to avoyd the company of all that teachis doctrine contrarie to the treuth of Chryst, that we communicat with thame in nathing that may appeir to manteane or defend thame in thair corrupt opinioun, for hie that biddis thame Godspeid, communicatis with thair syn, that is, hie that apeiris, be keiping thame company, or assisting unto thame in thair proceidingis, to favour thair doctrine, is giltie befoir God of thair iniquitie, baith becaus hie doith confirme thame in thair error be his silence, and also confirmes utheris to credit thair doctrine, becaus hie opponis not himself thairto: and sa to bid thame Godspeid is not to speik unto thame commounlie as we for civill honestie to men unknawn, but it is efter we have hard of their fals doctrine to be conversant with thame, and sa intreat thame as thay had not offendit in thair doctrine. The place of Jamis teachis ws, belovit sister, that in Jesus Chryst all that unfeanedlie profes him ar equal befoir him, and that ryches nor warldlie honouris ar nathing regairdit in his sycht, and thairfoir wald the spreit of God speiking in the apostill that sic as ar trew christianis suld have mair respect to the spirituall giftis whairwith God had doteth his messingeris nor to externall ryches whilk oftymes the wicket possessis, the having whairof makis man nether nobill nor godlie, albeit sa judge the blind affectionis of men. The apostill dampneth sic as preferis a man with a goldin chayne to the pure, but heirof will I speik no more. The sprcit of God sall instruct your hart what in maist comfortable to the trubillit conscience of your mother, and pray ernistlie that sa may be. Whair the adversarie objectis, 'sche aucht not think wicket thoughts,' answer thairto that is trew, but seing this oure nature corruptit with syn whilk entirrit be his suggestioun, it must think and wirk wickitlie be his assaltis, but hie sal beir the condigne punisment thairof, becaus be him syn first entirit, and also be him it doith continew whillis this karkais be resolved. And whair hie inquyris what Chryst is, answer hie is the seid of the woman promissit be God to break down the serpentis heid, whilk hie hath done alreadie in him self appeiring in this oure flesche, subject to all passionis that may fall in this oure nature onlie syn exceptit, and efter the death sufferit, hie heth, be power of his godheid, rissin agane triumphant victour over deth, hell and syn, not to him self, for thairto was hie na dettour, but for sic as thristis salvatioun be him onlie, whom he may na mair los, nor he may ceas to be the sone of God and the savoiour of the warld. And whair hie wald perswade that sche is contrarie the word thairinto, hie leis according to his nature, whairin thairin is na treuth, for gif sche were contrarie the word, or denyit it, to what effect sa ernistlie suld sche desyre the company of sic as teacheth and professeth it. Thair is na dout but hie, as hie is the accusatour of all Godis elect, studieth to trubill her conscience, that according to hir desyre, sche may not rest in Jesus our Lord. Be vigilant in prayer. I think this be the first letter that ever I wrait to you.

In great haist your brother,
Johne Knox.

No. III. [MS. Letters, p. 283.]

To his Mother in law, and his Wife.

ffrome the eis of his sanctis sal the Lord wype away all teiris and murnying. (See page 44.)

Deir mother and spous unfeadnedlie belovit in the bowells of our Saviour Chryst Jesus, with my verie hartlie commendationis. I peruisit baith your letteris, not only directit to me, but also it that sorrowfullie compleanis upon the unthankfulnes of your brother as also of myne, that ye suld not have bene equallie maid privie to my coming in the countrie with utheris, whairof the enemy wald persuad yow (ane argument maist fals and untrew) that we judge you not to be of our noumber. Deir mother, be not sa suddanlie moveit. hie is your enemy that sa wald persuad you. God I tak to recorde in my conscience that nane is this day within the realme of Ingland, with whome I wald mair gladlie speik (onlie sche whome God hath offirit unto me, and commandit me to lufe as my awn flesche, exceptit) than with you. For your causis principallie enterprysit I this jurney, for hering my servand to be stayit, and his letteris to be taken, I culd na wys be pacifeit (for the maist part of my letteris was for your instructioun and comfort) till farther knawledge of your estait, and that ye

wer na soner advertisit onlie want of a faithfull messinger was the caus; for my coming to the countrey, was sa sone noysit abrod that with greit difficultie culd I be convoyit fra a place to another. I knew na sic danger as was suspectit be my brethrene; ffor as for my letteris in them is nathing conteaned, except exhortation to constancie in that treuth whilk God hes opinlie laid befoir our eis, whilk I am not myndit to deny whenever sic questioun sal be demandit of me. But the caus moveing me that ffor a tyme I wald have bene clos, was, that I purposit (gif sa had bene possible) to have spokin with my wyfe, whilk now I persave is nathing apeirand, whill God offer sum better occasioun. My brethren partlie be admonitioun, and partlie by teiris, compellis me to obey sumwhat contrair to my awn mynd. for never can I die in a mair honest quarrell, nor to suffer as a witnes of that treuth whairof God hes maid me a messinger, whilk with hart I believe maist assuredlie, (the halie Gaist beiring witnes to my conscience) and with mouth I trust to God to confes, in presence of the warld, the onlie doctrine of lyfe. Notwithstanding this my mynd, gif God sall prepair the way, I will obey the voces of my brethrene, and will gif place to the furie and rage of Sathan for a tyme. And sa can I not espy how that ether of yow baith I can speik at this tyme. But gif God pleis preserve me at this tyme, whairof I am not yet resolved, then sal thair lak in me na gud will, that ye may knaw the place of my residence, and farthir of my mynd. But now deir mother haif we caus to rejos, for oure heavinlie Father, wha callit us be grace to wryt in our hartis the signis and scallis of our electioun in Christ Jesus his sone, begynnis now to correct our crukedness, and to mak us lyke in suffering afflictionis, scheme and rebuke of the warld, to the greit bischope of our saullis, wha by mekill tribulatioun did enter in his glorie, as of necessitie man everie ane to whome that kingdome is apoyntit. And thairfor, mother, be nathing abasched of theis maist dolorous dayis, whilk schortlie sal have end to oure everlasting comfort. Thay ar not cropin upon ws, without knawledge and foirsight, how oft have ye hard theis dayis foirspokin, thairfoir, now grudge not, but pacientlie abyd the Lords delyverance. Hie that foirspak the trubill, promissis everlasting pleasure by the same word, albeit the flesche complene, dispair nathing, for it must follow the awn nature, and it is not dampnabill in the syght of oure Father, albeit the corrupt fraill flesche draw bak and refuse the croce, ffor that is as naturall to the flesche, as in hunger and thirst to covet reasonable sustenance. Onlie follow not the affectionis of the flesche to comit iniquytie, nether for feir of deth, nor for love of lyf, comit ye idolatrie, nether yit gif your presence whair the same is committit, but hait it, avoid it, and flie frome it. But your leter maks mention that ye haif pleasure and delyt in it: na mather I espy the contrarie, for ye compleane and lament that sic motionis ar within you; this is na sing that ye delyt in thame, for na man compleanis of that whairin hie delytis. Ye ar in na wors cas, tuiching that poynt, nor yet tuiching any uther whairof ye desyre to be red than was the apostill, when with gronying and angusche of hart he did cry, 'O unhappie man that I am, wha sal delyver me fra this bodie of syn' reid the haill chapter. and gif glorie to God that lattis you knaw your awn infirmitie, that from Chryst allone ye may be content to ressave that whilk never remanit in corruptibill flesche, that is, the justice whilk is acceptabill befoir God, the justice by faith and not by workis, that ye may glorie in him wha frelie gives that whilk we deserve not. And thus nether feir that, nor uther assaltis of the divill, sa lang as in bodie ye obey not his persuationis. Schortnes of tyme, and multitude of cairis will not lat me wryt at this present sa plentifullie as I wald: ye will me to charge you in suche thingis as I mister, God grant that ye may be abill to relief the nedie. Ye may be sure that I wald be bold upon you, for of your gude hart I am persuadit, but of your power and abilitie I greitlie dout. I will not mak you privie how ryche I am, but off Loundoun I departit with les money then ten grottis, but God hes sence provydit, and will provyd I dout not heirefter aboundantlie for this lyfe. Ather the quenis majestie, or sum thesaurer will be XL pounds rycher by me for samekill lack I of dewtie of my patentis, But that litill trubillis me. Rest in Chryst Jesus. your sone,

1553. Johne Knox.

No. IV. [MS. Letters, p. 303.]

To his mother in law, Mrs. Bowis.

Blissit be thais that mourne for ryghteousnes sake, &c.

Belovit mother with my hartlie commendatioun in the Lord. Let not your present dulnes discorage yow above measure: the wisdome of our God knawis what is maist expedient for our fraill nature. gif the bodie suld alwayis be in travell it suld faynt and be unabill to continew in labour, the spreit hes his travell whilk is a sobbing and murnyng for syn, fra whilk unles it sumtymes suld rest, it suddanlie suld be consumit. It doith na mair offend Godis maiestie that the spreit sumtyme lye as it were asleip, nether having sence of greit dolour nor greit comfort, mair than it doith offend him that the bodie us the naturall rest ceassing fra all externall exercis. Ye sall consider, mother, that the eis of God dois pers mair deiplie than we be war of, we according to the blind ignorance whilk lurketh within ws, do judge but as we do feil for the present, but hie according to his eternall wisdome dois judge thingis lang befoir thay cum to pas. We judge that caldnes and angusche of spreit ar hurtfull becaus we sie not the end whairfoir God dois suffer ws to be trubillit with sic temptationis, but his maiestie wha onlie knawis the mass whairof man is maid, and causeth all thingis to work to the profit of his elect, knawis also how necessarie sic trubillis ar to dantoun the pryd of oure corrupt nature. Thair is a spirituall pryd whilk is not haistelie suppressit in Godis verie elect childreu, as witnesses sanct paule. God hath wroth great thingis be yow in the syght of uthir men. With whilk (unles the mell of inward angusche did beat them doun) ye myght be steirit up to sum vane glorie whilk is a vennoume mair subtill than ony man do espy. I can wryt to yow be my awn experience. I have sumtymes bene in that securitie that I felt not dolour for syn, nether yit displeasure aganis myself for any iniquitie in whilk I did offend, but rather my vane hart did this flatter myself, (I wryt the treuth to my awn confusioun and to the glorie of my heavenlie father through Jesus Christ) "Thou hes sufferit great trubill for professing of Chrystis treuth, God hes done great thingis for the, delyvering the fra that maist cruell bondage, [*'galleis' on the margin*], hie has placeit the in a maist honourabill vocatioun and thy labours ar not without frute, thairfoir thow aucht rejos and gif prais unto God." O mother this was a suptill serpent wha this culd pour in vennoume, I not perceaving it; but blissit be my God wha permitteth me not to sleip lang in that estait. I drank schortlie efter this flatterie of myself a cup of contra poysone, the bitternes whairof doith yit sa remane in my breist, that whatever I have sufferit or presentlie dois, I reput as doung, yea and my self worthie of dampnation for my ingratitude towardis my God. The lyke, mother, may have cumin to yow, gif the secret brydall of afflictioun did not refrane vane cogitationis, but of this I have written to yow mair planelie in my other letteris. And this I commit you to the protectioun of the Omnipotent for ever.

Yours at his power,

Johne Knox.

No. V. [MS. Letters, p. 335-6.]

To his Sister.

The spreit of God the father, be Jesus Chryst, comfort and assist yow to the end. Amen.

Touching the sonis of Jacob, who cruellie contrar to thair solempned promeis and othe, did murther and slay the citisens of Sichem; whasa ryghtlie marketh the scriptures of God, sal easelie espy thame maist grevouslie to have offendit. Ffor albeit the transgression of the young man was haynous befoir God, yit wer thay na civill magistratis, and thairfoir had na autoritie to punis. And farther thay committit treasone, and in sa fer as in thame was blasphemit God and his halie name, making it odius to the nationis about, seing thay under the pretence of religioun, and of ressaving them in leage with God and with the pepill, did disceatfullie as also cruellie destroy the haill citie suspecting na danger. Albeit sum laboureth to excus thair syn be the zeall thay had that thay myght not suffer thair sister to be abusit lyke ane harlot, yit the spreit of God speiking in thair awn father efter lang advysement in the extreamitie of his deth, utterlie dampneth thair wickit act, saying, "Semioun and Levi, brethren, &c. lat not my saule entir in thair consall, nor yit my glorie into thair company, for in thair fur'e thay killit a man, and for thair lust destroyit the citie, cursit is thair heit or rage for it is vehement, and thair indignatioun for it is intractable, I sall dispers thame in Jacob and scatter thame abrod in Israell." Heir may ye espy, sister, that God dampneth thair het displeasure and cruell act as maist wickit and worthie of punisment. But perchance it may be inquyrit, why did God suffer the men that had pro

fessit his name be ressaving the sing of circumsitioun sa unmercifullie to be entreatit, I myght answer, God sufferis his awn in all ageis be the ungodlie to be cruellie tormentit. But sic was not the cas of thir men whom na doubt the justice of God faund cryminal and worthie the deth. Ffor thay did abus his sacramentall signe, receaving it nether at Gods commandement nor having any respect to his honour nor to the advancement of his name, nor yit trusting in his promissis nor desyreing the incres or multiplicatioun of Godis pepill, but onlie for a warldlie purpois, thinking thairby to have attaynit ryches and ease, be joynyng thameselves to Godis pepill. And sa the justice of God faund thame worthie of punisment, and sa permittit thame justlie on his part to be afflictit and destroyit be the ungodlie, whilk is a terribill exampill to sic as in caus of religioun mair scikis the profit of the warld nor eternall salvatioun. But heirof na mair. Thus brieflie and rudlie have I writtin unto yow becaus I remember myself anis to have maid yow a promeis sa to do, and everie word of the mouth of the faithfull (yf so impeid not God) aught to be keipit. And now rest in Christ. After this I think ye sall rasave na mair of my handis. In haist with sair trubillit hart.

Yours as ever in godlines,
[Anno 1553.] Johne Knox.

No. VI. [Cald. MS. Vol. I. p. 427.]*

Extract of a Letter from John Knox to Mrs. Anne Locke.
(See page 73.)

——The Queen and her counsell made promise that no person within Sanct Johnston, neither yet of these that assisted them, should be troubled for any thing done either in religion, either yet in down casting of places, till the sentence of the estates in Parliament had decided the controversie, and that no bands of French souldiers should be left behind the Queen and counsell in the town, and that no idolatrie should be erected nor alteration made within the town. But after she had obtained her desire, all godlie promises were forgotten, for the Sunday next after her entering, mess were said upon a dyeing table (for ye shall understand all the alters were prophaned); the poor professors were oppressed; when children were slain, she did but smile, excusing the fact be the chance of fortune; and at her deperture she left 400 souldiers, Scottismen, but paid by France, to dantoun the town. She changed the provist and exiled all godlie men. This crueltie and deceit displeased many that before assisted her with their presence and counsell, and among others the earl of Argyle and the prior of Sanct Andrews left [her], and joyned themselves to the congregation openly, whilk as it was displeasing to her and to the shavellings, so it was most comfortable and joyfull to us, for by their presence were the hearts of many erected from desperation. At their commandment I repaired to them at St. Andrewis, wher consultation being had, it was concluded that Christ Jesus should there be openlie preached, that the places and monuments of idolatrie should be removed, and superstitious habits changed. This reformation was begun the 14th of June. In the meantime came the bishop of St. Andrewis to the towne accompanied with a great band of warriours, and gave a strate commandment that no preaching should be made by me who was both brunt in figure and horned, assuring the lords that if they suffered me to preach that twelve haquebuts should lyght upon my nose at once. O burning charitie of a bloodie bishop! But as that boast did litle affray me so did it more incense and inflamme with courage the harts of the godlie, who with one voyce proclaimed that Christ Jesus should be preached in despite of Sathan, and so that Sabbath and three dayes after I did occupy the publike place in the midst of the doctors who this day are even as dumbe as their idols which wer brunt in their presence. The bishop departed to the Queene, frustrat of his intent, for he had promised to bring me to her either alyve or dead: and incontinent was a new army assembled, and forward they marched against St Andrews. It was not thought expedient that we should abide them lurking in a town, and so we past to the fields and met them at Couper, where lodging was appointed for the camp, but we prevented them: where we remained upon their coming till the nixt day, when both armies were in sight of other within shot of cannon, and we looked for nothing but the extremitie of batle: not that we intended to pursue, but only to stand in camp where oure field was pitched for defence of ourselves. There came from our adversaries ane ambassadour desiring speech and communing of the lords, which gladlie of us being granted, after long reasoning the queene offered a free remission of all crimes bypast, sua thot they would no furder proceed against friars and abbayes, and that no more preaching should be used publicklie. But the lords and the brethren refused such appointment, declaring that the fear of no mortal creature should cause them betray the veritie known and professed, neither yet to suffer idolatrie to be maintained in the bounds committed to their charge. The adversaries perceiving that neither threatening, flatterie, nor deceit, could break the bold constancie and godlie purpose of the lords, barons, gentlemen, and commons, who were there assembled to the number of 3000 in on days warning, they were content to tak assurance for 8 days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black monkes, distant from St Andrewis twelve myles we reformed, their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits. Divers chanons of St Andrewis have given notable confessions and have declared themselves manifest enemies to the pope, to the mass, and to all superstition. [*Then follows what is inserted in* page 75.] We fear that the tyrannie of France shall, under the cloak of religion, seek a plain conquest of us; but potent is God to confound their counsell and to break their force. God move the hearts of such as profess Christ Jesus with us, to have respect to our infancie, and open their eyes to see that our ruin shall be their destruction. Communicat the contents herof (which I write to you, least by divers rumours ye should be troubled and wee slandered) with all faithfull, but especiallie with the afflicted of that little flock, now dispersed and destitute of these pleasant pastures, in which some tyme they fed abundantlie. If any remain at Geneva let either this same or the double of it be sent unto them, and likeways unto my dear brother Mr Goodman, whose presence I more thirst for than she that is my own flesh. Will him therefor in the name of the Lord Jesus (all delay and excuse set apart) to visit me; for the necessity is great here. If he come be sea, let him be addressed unto Dundie, and let him ask for George Levell, for George Rollock, or for Wm. Carmichael. If he come to Leith, let him repair to Edinburgh, and enquire for James Baron, Edward Hope, Adam Fullertoun, or for John Johnston writer, be whom he will get knowledge of me. If my mother and my wife come be you, will them to make the expedition that goodly they can to visit me, or at least to come to the north parts, where they shall know my mind, which now I can not write, being oppressed with hourly cares. This bearer is a poor man unknown in the country, to whom I beseech you shew reasonable favour and tenderness, touching his merchandise and the just selling thereof. Thus, with hearty commendatioun to all faithfull I heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From Sanct Andrewes the 23d of June 1559.

No. VII. [Cald. I. 522.]

To Mrs Anne Locke. (See page 82.)

Lest that the rumors of our troubles trouble you above measure, dear sister, I thought good in these few words to signifie unto you that our esperance is yet good in our God, that he for his great names sake will give such success to this enterprise as nether shall these whom he hath appointed to sigh in this be utterlie confounded, neither yet that our enemies shall have occasion to blaspheme the verity, nor yet triumph over us in the end. We trusted too much, dear sister, in our owne strenth, and speciallie since the erle of Arran and his friends were joyned to our number. Amongst us also were such as more sought the purse than Christ's glory. Wee by this overthrow are brought to acknowledge what is a multitude without the present help of God! and the hollow hearts of many are now revealled. God make us humble in his eyes, and then I fear not the furie of the adversaries, who, be ye assured, doe sore rage, so as yet their crueltie must neids crave vengeance from him whose members they persecute. Our dear brethren and sisters in Edinburgh and Lothian who lay nearest these bloode thirsty tyrants, are so troubled and vexed that it is a pity to remember their estate. Our God comfort them. We stand universally in great fear, and yet we hope

* The following letters from Calderwood have been corrected by comparing different copies. The style is evidently modernized.

deliverance. I wrote to you before to be suitor to some faithfull, that they would move such as have abundance to consider our estate, and to make for us some provision of money to keep soldiers and our company together. And herein yet again I cannot cease to move you. I can not well write to any other, because the action may seem to appertaine to my own country onlie. But because I trust ye suspect me not of avarice, I am bold to say to you that if we perish in this our enterprise, the limits of London will be straiter than they are now within few years. Many things I have which I would have required for myself, namely Calvin on Isaiah, and his Institutions revised. But common troubles cause me to neglect all private business. If ye can find the means to send me the books before written, or any other that be new and profitable, I will provide that ye shall receive the prices upon your advertisement. My wife saluteth you. Salute all faithfull heartilie in my name, especially those of familiar acquaintance, of whom I crave pardon that I write not, being not so quiet as ye would wish. My onlie comfort is that our troubles shall pass sooner, peradventure than our enemies look. Grace be with you. From St Andrews in haste the 18th November 1559. Yours known.

John Knox.

Mr Gudeman is in the west country in Ayr who willed me to salute you in his name as oft as I wrote you.

No. VIII. [Cald. I. 524.]

To the same. (See page 82.)

We shall meet when death shall not dissever.

Two letters I have received from you, dear sister, both almost at one time, the one is dated at London the 28th of November, the other of the same place the 2nd of December. The letter of the last date I first read, which made mention of your trouble be reason of a suddan fire in a lodging near to you; that you had sought all means for our support as well of those of high as of low degree; but that it was not needful that any thing should be sent unto us because it was supposed that the highest would support us; and last that ye had not received the answer of your doubts. In your other letters, after your most comfortable discourse of God's providence for his people in their greatest necessitie, ye godlie and trulie conclude that neither could their unworthiness, neither yet their want of things judged necessarie for their preservation, stop his majestie's mercie from them. Thereafter ye will me to avoid danger and rather to fight by prayer in some place removed from danger than expose my self to the hazard of battell, and so ye conclude by praising God's mercie as did Jeremy in his greatest anguish, &c.

What support should come to us be consent of counsell and authoritie I am uncertain. But suppose it shall be greater than yet is bruted, that ought not to stay the liberall hands of the godlie to support us privatelie. For the publick support of an army shall not make such as now be superexpended able to serve without private support. I will make the matter more plain be one example. I know one man that since the 0th of May hath spent in this action thirteen thousand crowns of the summe [sonne], besydes his victuals and other fruits of the ground. His treasure being now consumed he cannot without support susteane the number which before he brought to the field. If he and such others that are in lyke condition with him shall be absent, or yet if numbers shall decay, our enemies shall seem to prevaill in the field, and therefor desired I some collection to be made, to the end that the present necessitie of some might have been relieved. If the matter pertained not to my native countrie I would be more vehement in persuasion, but God shall support even how, when, and by whom it shall please his blessed majestie. Sorry I am that ye have not received my answer unto your doubts, not so much that I think that ye greatlie need them, as that I would not put you in suspicion that I contemned your requests. The rest of my wife hath been so unrestful since her arrival here, that scarcelie could she tell upon the morrow what she wrote at night. She cannot find my first extract. And therfor if any scruple remaine in your conscience, put pen again to paper, and look for ane answer as God shall give opportunitie. God make yourself participant of the same comfort which you wrote unto me: and in very deed, dear sister, I have no less need of comfort, notwithstanding that I am not altogether ignorant, than hath the bound man to be fed, albeit in store he hath great substance. I have read the cares and tentations of Moses, and sometymes I have supposed myself to be well practised in such dangerous battells. But, alace! I now perceive that all my practice before was but mere speculation, for one day of troubles since my last arrival in Scotland hath more pierced my heart than all the torments of the galleys did the space of 19 months. For that torment for the most part did touch the bodie, but this pierceth the soul and inward affections. Then was I assuredlie persuaded that I should not die untill I had preached Christ Jesus even where I now am, and yet having now my heart's desyre, I am nothing satisfied, nether yet rejoice. My God remove my unthankfulness. From Sanct Andrews the last of December 1559.

Yours known in Christ.

John Knox.

No. IX. [Cald. I. p. 533.]

To the same. (See page 000.)

The eternal our God shall shortly put an end to all our troubles.

Lest that sinister rumours should trouble you above measure, dear sister, I can not but certify you of our estate as often as convenient messengers occur. The French, as before I wrote unto you, have pursued us with great furie, but God hath so bridled them, that since the 5th day when they put to flight the men of Kinghorn, Kircaldy, and Dysart, they have had of us (all praise be to our God) no advantage. They lost in a morning a lieutenant, the boldest of their company, and fourty of their bravest soldiers, diverse of them having been taken and diverse slain in skirmishing. They have done greatest harm to such as did best entertain them; for from them they have taken sheep, horse, and plenishing. Our friends, and foes to them, did continually remove from their way all moveables that to them appertained. They have casten down to the ground the laird of Grange's principal house, called the Grange, and have spoiled his other places. God will recompense him, I doubt not, for in this cause, and since the beginning of this last trouble especially, he hath behaved himself so boldly as never man of our realm hath deserved more praise. He hath been in many dangers, and yet God hath delivered him above mens expectation. He was shot at Lundie right under the left pape, thorrow the jacket, doublet, and shirt, and the bullet did stick in one of his ribs. Mr Whitelaw hath gotten a fall, by which he is unable to bear arms. But God be praised both their lives be saved. I remained all this time in St Andrews with sorrowful heart, and yet as God did minister his spirit comforting the afflicted, who, albeit they quaked for a time, yet do now praise God who suddenly averted from them that terrible plague devised for them by the ungodly. The French men approached within 6 miles, yet at the sight of certain of your ships, they retired more in one day than they advanced in ten. We have had wonderful experience of God's merciful providence, and for my own part I were more than unthankful if I should not confess that God hath heard the sobs of my wretched heart, and hath not deceived me of that little spark of hope which his holy spirit did kindle and foster in my heart. God give me grace to acknowledge his benefit received, and to make such fruit of it as becometh his servant. If ye can find a messenger, I heartily pray you to send me the books for which I wrote before. I must be bold over your liberality not only in that, but in greater things as I shall need. Please you cause this other letter inclosed be surely conveyed to Miles Coverdale. Salute all faithful acquaintance, Mr Hickman and his bedfellow, your husband, Mr Michael and his sponse as unacquainted, especially remembered. I know not what of our brethren at Geneva be with you. But to such as be there I beseech you to say, that I think that I myself do now find the truth of that which oft I have said in their audience, to wit that after our departure from Geneva should our dolour beginne. But my good hope is in God that it shall end to his glory and our comfort. Rest in Christ Jesus. From Sanct Andrews the 4th of February 1559.

Your brother.

John Knox.

No. X. [Cald. II. p. 89.]

John Knox to Mr. John Wood, Secretary to the Regent. 14th Feb. 1568.

My purpose, beloved in the Lord, concerning that which oft, and now last ye crave, I wrote to you before, from which I

can not be moved, and therefore, of my friends I will ask pardon, howbeit on that one head I play the churle, retaining to myself that which will rather hurt me than profit them, during my days, which I hope in God shall not be long, and then it shall be in the opinion of others whether it shall be suppressed, or come to light.* God for his great mercies sake put such end to the troubles of France, as the purity of his evangell may have free passage within that realme; and idolatry with the maintainers of the same may once be overthrown be order of justice, or otherways as his godly wisdom hath appointed. In my opinion England and Scotland have both no less cause to fear than the faithfull in France, for what they suffer in present action is laid up in store, let us be assured, for both countries. The ground of my assurance is not the determination of the council of Trent, for that decree is but the utterance of their own malice; but the justice of God is my assurance, for it cannot spare to punish all realmes and nations that is or shall be like to Jerusalem, against whose iniquity God long cried be his servants the prophets, but found no repentance. The truth of God hath been now of some years manifested to both, but what obedience, the words, works and behaviour of men give sufficient testimony. God grant Mr Gudman a prosperous and happy success in the acceptation of his charge, and in all his other enterprises to God's glory and the comfort of his kirk; and so will I the more patiently bear his absence, weaning myself from all comfort that I looked to have received be his presence and familiarity. Because I have the testimony of a good conscience, that in writing of that treatise against which so many worldly men have stormed, and yet storm, I neither sought myself nor worldly promotion, and because as yet I have neither heard nor seen law nor scripture to overthrow my ground, † I may appeal to a more indifferent judge than Dr. Jewell. I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, in meditation with my God and giving thanks to his holy name, for that it hath pleased his mercy to make me not a lord bishop, but a painful preacher of his blessed evangell, in the function whereof it hath pleased his majesty for Christ his son's sake to deliver me from the contradiction of moe enemies than one or two, which maketh me the more slow and less careful to revenge be word or writ whatever injury hath been done against me in my own particular. But if that men will not cease to impugne the truth, the faithfull will pardon me if I offend such as for pleasure of flesh fear not to offend God. The defence and maintenance of superstitious trifles produced never better fruit in the end than I perceive is budding amongst you, schisme, which no doubt is a forerunner of greater desolation unless there be speedy repentance. [*The reader will find what follows already quoted in* page 117.] The faithfull of your acquaintance here salute you. The grace of the Lord rest with you.

No. XI. [Cald. II. 107.]

The same to the same. (See page 117.)

I thank you heartily, dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus, that ye had such rememberance of me as to certify of that part which not a little troubled and yet troubleth me. What I have done or am able to do in that behalf I will not trouble you at this present, this only excepted, that it will please you to travel as in the end of your letter ye write ye would do, to wit, that my sons might be Denezans there. I am informed both be letter and be tongue, besides conjectures that probably may be gathered, that the Duke and his friends are inflamed against me. Ofter than once I have called to mind your words to me that day that I had been more than vehement, as some men thought, in the end of the —— chapter of John's Evangell concerning the treasonable departure of Judas from Christ, and of the causes thereof. Before that I came forth of the preaching place ye said, Before my God I think your eyes shall see performed that which your mouth hath pronounced. My words were these, I fear that such as have entered with us in professing of the Evangell, as Judas did with Christ, shall depart and follow Judas, how soon the expectation of gain and worldly promotion faileth them. Time will try farther, and we shall see overmuch. We look daily for the arrival of the duke and his Frenchmen, sent to restore Satan to his kingdome, in the person of his dearest lieutenant, sent, I say, to repress religion, not from the king of France, but from the Cardinall of Lorrane in favour of his dearest nice. Lett England take heed, for surely their neighbours houses are on fire. I would, dear brother, that ye should travell with zealous men, that they may consider our estate. What I would say, ye may easily conjecture. Without support we are not able to resist the force of the domesticall enemies (unless God work miraculously) much less are we able to stand against the puissance of France, the substance of the Pope, and the malice of the house of Guise, unless we be comforted be others than by ourselves. Ye know our estate, and therefore I will not insist to deplore our poverty. The whole comfort of the enemies is this, that be treason or other means they may cutt off the Regent, and then cutt the throat of the innocent king. How narrowly hath the regent escaped once, I suppose ye have heard. As their malice is not quenched, so ceaseth not the practice of the wicked, to put in execution the cruelty devised. I live as a man already dead from all affairs civil, and therefore I praise my God; for so I have some quietness in spirit, and time to meditate on death, and upon the troubles I have long feared and foreseeth. The Lord assist you with his holy spirit, and put an end to my travells, to his own glory, and to the comfort of his kirk; for assuredly, brother, this miserable life is bitter unto me. Salute your bedfellow in my name, and the rest in Christ Jesus. The faithfull here salute you. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you for ever.

Of Edinburgh the 10 of September 1568.

No. XII. [Cald. MS. I. 380.]

Extract of a Letter from John Knox to Mrs. Anne Locke, dated 6th of April 1559. (See page 134.)

——Your letters, dear sister, dated at Geneva the 17th of February, received I in Deepe the 17th of March. Touching my negligence in writing to you, at other times I fear it shall be little amended, except that better occasions than yet I know be offered. For oft to write when few messingers can be found is but foolishness. My rememberance of you is not yet so dead, but I trust it shall be fresh enough, albeit it be renewed be no outward tokin for one year. Of nature I am churlish, and in conditions different from many. Yet one thing I ashame not to affirme that familiarity once thoroughly contracted was never yet broken be my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all than that any have need of me.—

Extract of a Letter from John Knox "To a friend in England."

[Cald. II. p. 144.]

Of Edinburgh, 19th August, 1569.

——If from day to day thir seven years bypast, I had not looked for ane end of my travells, I could have no excuse of my obstinate fault toward you, beloved in the Lord, be whom I have received, beside commendations and letters, divers tokens of your unfained friendship, yet have I negligently pretermitted all office of humanity toward you, whereinto I acknowledge my offence, for albeit I have been tossed with many storms all the time before expressed, yet might I have gratified you and others faithfull, with some rememberance of my estate, if that this my churlish nature, for the most part oppressed with melancholy, had not stayed tongue and pen from doing of their duty. Yea, even now, when that I could somewhat satisfy your desire, I find within myself no small repugnance, for this I find objected to my wretched heart, "Foolish man! what seeks thou in writing of missives in this corruptible age? Hath thou not a full satiety of all the vanities under the sun? Hath not thy eldest and stoutest acquaintance buried thee in oblivion, and are not thou in that estate be age, that nature itself calleth thee from the pleasures of things temporall? Is it not then more than foolishness unto thee to hunt for acquaintance on the earth, of what estate or condition whatsomever the person be? To these objections I could answer nothing, (much more I think than is written) but that I would write with what imperfections I little regard.—

No. XIII. [Cald. II. p. 269.]

John Knox to the Laird of Pittarrow.

The end of all worldly trouble and pleasure both approacheth. Blessed are they that patiently abide in the truth, not joining hands nor heart with impiety, how that ever it triumph.

* He seems to refer here to his History of the Reformation.

† Referring, most probably, to his Treatise against Female Government.

Right worshipfull, after heartly commendations, your letter, dated at Pittarrow the 14th of July, received I in SanctAndrews, the 15th of the same. The brute and rumour of Adam Gordon and his doings, and preparations made to resist him was diverse, but nothing that I heard moved me, for I perceive the cup of iniquity is not yet full. Of one thing I am assured, that God of his mercy will not suffer his own to be tempted above measure, neither will he suffer iniquity to be ever unpunished. From me can come no other counsel than ye have heard from the beginning of our acquaintance, to wit, that not only action defileth and maketh guilty before God, but also consent of heart, and all paction with the wicked. Out of bed, and from my book, I come not but once in the week, and so few tidings come to me. What order God shall put into the mind of the authority to take for staying of thir present troubles, I know not, but ever still my dull heart feareth the worst, and that because no appearance of right conversion unto God, but both the parties stands as it were fighting against God himself in justification of their wickedness. The murderers assembled in the castle of Edinburgh, and their assisters, justify all that they have done to be well and rightly done; and the contrar party as little repenteth the troubling and oppressing of the poor kirk of God as ever they did; for if they can have the kirk-lands to be annexed to their houses, they appear to take no more care of the instruction of the ignorant, and of the feeding of the flock of Jesus Christ, than even did the Papists whom we have condemned, and yet are worse ourselves in that behalf: for they according to their blind zeal spared nothing that either might have maintained or holden up that which they took for God's service; but we, alace! in the midds of the light forgett the heaven and draw to the earth. Dayly looking for an end of my battel, I have set forth ane answer to a Jesuit who long hath railed against our religion, as the reading of this tractat will more plainly let you understand. The letter in the end of it, if it serve not for the estate of Scotland, yet it will serve a troubled conscience, so long as the kirk of God remaineth in either realm. With my hearty commendations to your bedfellow, and to my Lord Marshall, the Master, and to the faithful in your company. Deliver to them the book according to their directions, and pray the faithful in my name to recommend me to God in their prayers, for my battel is strong, and yet without great corporal pain. The Lord Jesus who hath once redeemed us, who hath also of his mercy given unto us the light of his blessed countenance, continue us in that light that once we have received externally, and at his good pleasure putt an end to all the troubles of his own spouse, the kirk, which now sobbeth and crieth, Come Lord Jesus, come Lord Jesus; whose omnipotent Spirit conduct you to the end. Amen.

At Sanct Andrews, 19th of July, [1572.]

No. XIV. [Cald. II. 270.]

John Knox to Mr. Goodman.

Written about the same time with the preceding.

Beloved brother, I can not praise God of your trouble; but that of his mercie he hath made you one against whom Satan bendeth all his engines, therof unfainedlie I praise my God, beseeching him to strengthen you to fight your battell lawfully to the end. That we shall meet in this life there is no hope; for to my bodie it is impossible to be carried from countrie to countrie, and of your comfortable presence where I am I have small, yea no esperance. The name of God be praised, who of his mercie hath left me so great comfort of you in this life. That ye may understand that my heart is pierced with the present troubles: from the castle of Edinburgh hath sprung all the murthers first and last committed in this realme, yea, and all the troubles and treasons conspired in England. God confound the wicked devisers with their wicked devises. So long as it pleased God to continue unto me any strength, I ceased not to forewarn these dayes publickly, as Edinburgh can witness, and secretlie, as Mr Randolph and others of that nation with whom I secretlie conferred can testifie. Remedy now on earth resteth none, but onlie that both England and Scotland humbly submit themselves to the correcting hand of God, with humble confession of their former inobedience, that blood was not punished, when he be his servants publickly craved justice according to his law; in which head your ralme is no less guilty than we, who now drink the bitter part of the cup, which God of his mercie avert from you. And thus weary of the world, with my hearty commendations to all faithfull acquaintance, Mr Bodlih and his bedfellow especially remembered, I commit you to the protection of the ommpotent. Off Sanct Andrews.

No. XV. [Calderwood's MS. ad an. 1570. Advocates Library.]

Prayer used by John Knox, after the Regent's death.

O Lord, what shall we add to the former petitions we know not; yea, alace, O Lord, our owne consciences bear us record that we are unworthie that thou should either encreass or yet continue thy graces with us, be reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreame miseries we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us; and first thou delivered us from the tyrannie of merciless strangers, next from the bondage of idolatry, and last from the yoak of that wretched woman, the mother of all mischife, and in her place thou didst erect her sonne, and to supply his infancie thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him, this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevail in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been execute upon her, and upon her complices, the murtherers of her husband. O Lord, in what miserie and confusion found he this realme! To what rest and quietnesse now be his labours suddanlie he brought the same, all estates, but speciallie the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearlie shyne in that personage, that the divell, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abyde it. And so to punish our sinnes and ingratitude, who did not ryghtlie esteem so pretious a gift, thou hes permitted him to fall, to our great griefe, in the hands of cruell and traterous murtherers. He is at rest, O Lord, and we are left in extreame miserie! Be mercifull to us, and suffer not Satan to prevail against thy little flocke within this Realme, neither yet, O Lord, let bloode thirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, O Lord, our young king, although he be ane infant; give unto him the spirit of sanctification, with encrease of the same as he groweth in yeares. Let his raigne, O Lord, be such as thou may be glorified, and thy little flock comforted by it. Seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor, in civill policie, and as a shippe without a rudder in the midst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous dayes, that the wicked of the world may see that as weill without the help of man, as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee. And because, O Lord, the shedding of innocent bloode hes ever been, and yet is odious in thy presence, yea, that it defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished, we crave of thee, for Christ thy sonnes sake, that thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruell murthers latelie committed, that the inventars, devysers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable crueltie, may be either thoroughlie converted or confounded. O Lord, if thy mercy prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained the lyfe of that most wicked woman. Oppose thy power, O Lord, to the pryde of that cruell murtherer of her owne husband; confound her faction and their subtile enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know, that thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdome, and the proude in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusioun. Lord, retain us that call upon the in thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give thou strength to us to fight our battell, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfullie, and to end our lifes in the sanctification of thy holie name.

No. XVI. [Cald. MS. ad an. 1572. Advocates Library.]

The last will and words of John Knox, minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, put in order at St Andrews, the 13th May, 1572.

Lord Jesus, I commend my troubled spirit in thy protection and defence, and thy troubled kirk to thy mercie.

Because I have had to doe with diverse personages of the ministrie whereunto God of his mercie directit me within this Realme, my duty craveth that I shall leave unto them now a testimonie of my mynd.

And first to the Papists, and to the unthankful world: I say, that although my lyfe hath beene unto them odious, and that

often they have sought my destruction, and the destruction of the kirk which God of his great mercie planted within this Realme, and hath alwise preserved and keeped the same from their cruell interpryses, yet to them I am compelled to say, that unless they speedilie repent, my departing of this life shall be to them the greatest calamitie that ever yet hath apprehended them. Some small appearance they may have yet in my life, if they had grace to see. A dead man I have beene now almost these two years bypast, and yet I would that they should rypelie consider in what better estate they and their maters stand than they have done before, and they have heard of long tyme before threatned. But, because they will not admit me for admonisher, I give them over to the judgment of him who knoweth the hearts of all, and will disclose the secrects thereof in due time. And this farre to the papists.

To the faithfull. Before God, before his sone Jesus Christ, and before his holie angels, I protest that God be my mouth (be I ever so abject) hath shewed to you his truth in all simplicitie. None I have corrupted, none I have defrauded, merchandise I have not made (to God's glorie I write) of the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ, but according to the measure of grace granted unto me, I have devyded the sermon of truth in just parts, beating down the rebellion of the proud in all who did declare their rebellion against God, according as God in his law giveth to me yet testimonie, and raising up the consciences troubled with the knowledge of their sinne, be declaring of Jesus Christ, the strenth of his death, and mighty operation of his resurrection, in the hearts of the faithfull. Of this, I say, I have a testimonie this day in my conscience before God, however the world rage. Be constant therefor in the doctrine which once publicklie you have professed. Let not thir scandalous dayes draw you away from Jesus Christ, neither let the prosperitie of the wicked move you to follow it or them. For however that God appeareth to neglect his owne for a season, yet his majestie remaineth a just God who neither can nor will justifie the wicked. I am not ignorant that many would that I should enter in particular determination of thir present troubles, to whom I planelie and simplie answer, that, as I never exceeded the bounds of God's scriptures, so will I not doe in this part be God's grace. But hereof I am assured, by him who neither can deceave nor be deceaved, that the castell of Edinburgh, in which all the murther, all the trouble, and the whole destruction of this poore commonwealth was invented, and, as our owne eyes may witnesse, be them and their maintainers were put in execution, shall come to destruction, maintain it whosoever, the destruction I say of bodie and soule, except they repent. I looke not to the momentarie prosperitie of the wicked, yea, although they should remaine conquerours to the coming of our Lord Jesus, but I look to this sentence, that whosoever shedeth innocent bloode defyleth the land, and provoketh Gods wraith against himself and the land, till his bloode be shedd againe be order of law to satisfie God's anger. This is not the first tyme that ye have heard this sentence; although many at all tymes have sturred at such severitie, I yet affirme the same, being readie to enter to give an account before his majestie of the stewardship that he committed to me. I know in my death, the rumours shall be strange. But, beloved in the Lord Jesus, be yee not troubled above measure, but remaine constant in the truth, and he who of his mercie sent me, conducted me, and prospered the worke in my hand against Satan, will provyde for you abundantlie, when either my bloode shall water the doctrine taught by me, or he of his mercie otherwise provide to put an end to this my battell.

No. XVII. [Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 58. Advocates Library.]

My Lord Regent's Letter to the Assembly.

After our maist hearty commendationis, seing we are not able to [be] present [at] the Assembly now approachand, as our intention was, we thocht it convenient, brieflie to give you significationis of our meining in wreit, of the whilk we pray you to take good consideration, and accordingly to give your advertisement. Ye are not ignorant, as we suppose, what hes bene the estate of the kirk of God within this realme, baith before we accepted the burding of Regment, and sensyne. How first the thrids of benefices war grantit to the ministrie, hereby partly relievit and sustainit in sic sort, that nothing inlaikit that our travells could procure. The first order indeed was diverse ways interruptit and broken in, but chiefly in that year when we were exyled in England, quherthrough that year the haill ministers war frustrat in their livings; shortlie the estate of government altering at Gods pleasure, and the King our soveraigne being inaugurate with the crown of this kingdom, the first thing we war careful of was, that the trew religion might be established, and the ministers of the evangell made certain of their living and sustentation in tyme comeing. Ye knaw, at the Parliament we war maist willing that the kirk should have been put in full possession of the proper patrimonie. And toward the thrids, we expedit in our travells, and inlaikit only a consent of the dissolution of the prelacies, whereunto although we were earnestly bent, yet the estates delayit and wald not agree thereunto. And sen that tyme to this houre, we trust ye will affirme, that we have pretermittit nothing that may advance the religione, and put the professors thereof in surtie. whereanent the haill and only inlaik hes been in the civill troubles that God hes suffered the cuntrie to be plagued with: now the matter being after so great rage brought to some stay and quietness, it was convenient that we return where matters left, and prease to reduce them to the estate they stand in. Ane thing we must call to remembrance, that at sic time as we travellit in the Parliament to cause the estates to grie that the thrids should be discernit to appertaine to the ministrie, they plainly opponit them to us in respect of the first act, alleadgeand that with the sustentation of the ministerie, there was also regard to be had to the support of the prince, in sustaining of the publick chairges, quhilles if they had not some reliefe be that meine, the revenue of the crown being so diminished, and the ordinarie chairges cume to sic grytnes, on force they wold be burdenit with exaction, and so this dangerous argument compellit us to promitt to the estates, That we wald take upon us, the act being grantit to the kirk, they should satisfy and agrie to any thing suld be thocht reasonable for supporting the publick chairges of the prince, and according to this the Comission deput for the affaires of the kirk agreit to certain assignations of the thrids for supporting of the king and us bearing authoritie. Quhilk order had been sufficient for the haill, give the civill trouble had not occurit, yet the disobedience growand so universallie, we ar content to sustain ane part of the inlaik and loss for the tyme past, but because there hes been murmure and grudge for that thing assignit to the kings house and ours, and some other needful things in the state, as that thereby the ministers were frustrate of their appointit stipendis, some communication was had at St Androis, and nothing yet concludit, quhill the general assembly of the kirk; quilk now moves us [to] wreit to you in this forme, prayand you rychtly to consider the necessity of the cause, and how the same hes proceeded frae the beginning, haveing respect that the kirk will not be very well obeyit without the kings authoritie and power, and that now the propertie of the crowne is not able to sustaine the ordinarie chairges. How in the beginning the thrids had not been grantit, give the necessitie of the prince had not been ane of the chief caussis, and at the parliament the estates, as we have before written, stak to consent that the haill thrids sould be declareit to pertaine to the ministrie, whill first we take in hand, that they being made without conditione in favours of the kirk, the same wald againe condescend to so meikle as wold be sufficient to the support of the publick affaires, in supporting of the kings authoritie, and that therefore ye will now agrie, and condescend to ane certaine and speciall assignatione of it that sall be employit in this use. The quantity whereof diverse of yourselves, and the bearer hereof Mr John Wood our servant, can informe you, that after ye may distribute to every ane having chairge in the kirk of God, his stipend according to the conditione of the place he serves in, according to your wise discretione. Hereby all confusione that lang has troublit the estate of the kirk toward the stipend shall be avoydit, and some special provisione being made for sustaining of their publick chairges, we may the better hald hand to sie the kirk obeyit of that whereon the ministers should live, as they shall report, that durcing our travells in the north countrey, they have found our effectuous good will, and travellis in their furtherance. ffarder, we man put you in mind brieflie, of ane matter that occurrit at our late being in Elgine. Ane Nicoll Sudderland in ffores, was put to the knawledge of ane assyze for incest, and with him the woman; the assyze hes convict him of the fault, but the question is, whether the same be incest or not, so that we behovit to delay the executione whill we micht have your resolutions at this assemblie. The case is, that the woman was harlot of before to the said Nicoll's mother brother, herein Mr Robert Pont can informe you mair

emplie, to whais sufficiencie we remitt the rest. Mairover, at ur coming at Aberdeen, there came ane named Porterfield, minister provydit of before to the viccarage of Ardrossane, and required also of us, that he micht have the viccarage of Steinsone, sicing both was ane matter meine aneuch to sustain him, and because the kirks war neir, he micht discharge the cure of both. We haveing him commendit be diverse great men to the same, but thocht guid to advertise you, that this preparatione induce not evill example and corruption; always in caise sic things occur hereafter, let us understand what ye would have us to doe, as in like manner towards the chaiplanries shall happen to vaike, whereanent because there is no certain order, and some confusion stands, some desyrand them for lyfetyme, some for inffants that are not of the schools, and some for seven years, we are sometymes preasit to receave or confirme assignations or demissions of benefices, the preparature whereof appears to bring with it corruptione, and so we would be resolvit how to proceed, before our coming from ffyfe, and sensyne we have been very willing to doe justice on all suspect persons of witchcraft, as also upon adulterers, incestuous persons, abusers of sacraments, quherein we could not have sic expeditione as we could have wisched, because we have no uther probabilitie whereby to try and convict them, but ane general delatione of names, the persons suspect not being for the maist part tryit and convict be order of the kirk of before. This henderit many things that utherwayes micht have been done, and therefore we pray you appoint and prescryve how the judgement of the kirk may proceed and be execute against all sic trespassors, before complaint be made to us, that when we come to the cuntrie, we may cause execute the law, and be relievit of the triall of inquisitione heiranent. We thocht expedient to give you this for advertisement, and so remitts the haill to your care and diligence, committis you in the protectione of Eternall God,

Your assurit friend,

James Regent.

Aberdeene, Junii Ultimo, 1569.

No. XVIII.

Extracts from "A Historie of the Estate of Scotland from the year 1559 to the year 1566."—MS. belonging to Thomas Thomson, Esq; Advocate.

[This is the MS. to which I have frequently referred in the account which I have given of the differences between the Queen Regent and the Protestants, in the years 1558 and 1559. At the beginning of it is the date "7th January, 1663," most probably the day on which the writing was begun. It is undoubtedly a transcript from a more ancient MS. and the transcriber has not been well acquainted with the old hand. Accordingly he has sometimes left blanks, and at other times has evidently given a false reading. Only a small part of the original MS. seems to have been transcribed by him. In making the following extracts from it I have endeavoured to select such passages as contain facts or circumstances not mentioned in other histories; and I am not without hopes that the publication of these may contribute to the discovery of the original MS. which may be hid in some public library or private repository.]

In the moneth of Julij anno 1558. conveened in Edenburgh a certen number of the professours of Christ's Evangell. The cause of their meeting wes partly to assist certen brethren of Dundie who wer summoned to vnderly the law by instigation of the Bishops. And after consultation ād advice taken, the presented a Suplication in the palace of Halyrud house to the Queene Regent, conteining in effect thes articles ffollowing. In the first desyring that it might be lawfull to all such as pleased to meete publiquely that in any part within this Realme of Scotland to read Comon prayers in the mother tongue. Secondly, that it should be lawfull to all persons haveing knowledge to preach the word of God without the leaven of mens Traditions. Thirdly, that it should be lawfull for the sayd persons, ministers of God's word, to minister the Sacraments, to witt, of baptisme and the lords supper, according to the true institution commanded by Christ and his Apostels, and to the faithfull to receave the same. The which Supplication the said Queene Regent receaved with a joyfull countenance forth of the hands of the Laird of Cadder in the presence of a great part of the nobilitie, the Papist Bishops also being present. And at that tyme shee gave ane indifferent Answere, saying alwayes shoe would advise in the matter. But soone after shoe delivered the sayd supplication to the Bpp of St Andrewes to be advised with him that wes to be done, as the yssue of the said matter did declare. Alwayes the faithfull reioiced and gave condigne thanks to the eternall our God, for that it had pleased him to give them the boldness to vtter themselves to be such as desyred the advancement of his glory notwithstanding the multitude of their enemies. At the same meeting ther wer certen brethren of Dundie, who were summoned to vnderly the law for the cause of religion. They were releived vpon securitie to enter vpon eight days warning. Finally departing from Edenbrugh, everie man in their owne shyrs and Townes they beganne to proceed according to the effect of the said articles privatly and publickly where they might without occasion of sedition or greate trouble: the greatest fervencie apeared in the Mearns and Angus, and Kyle and Fyfe or Lothian; but cheifly the faithfull in Dundie exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldnes, preferring the true religion to all things temporall, But in Edenburgh their meeting wes but in private houses.——

In October the minister of Gods word John Willok came into this countrie, by whose godly sermons the brethren were strengthened in all places where the faithfull came, and the number increased dayly; bot Sathan never ceases to suppress by all meanes the truth where he perceaves the same truely to increase. In the end of September following the Bpp of St Andrewes caused summone the preachers, viz. John Willok, John Douglas, William Harlaw, Paul Meffan, and John to appeare before him at St Andrews the second of February following; whereof the brethren being advertised advised what wes to be done, and after consultation taken in the matter caused informe the Queene Regent that the said preachers would appear with such multitude of men professing their doctrine as wes never seen befor in such like cases in this countrie. Then the Queene fearing some vproare or sedition desyred the Bishopp to continue the matter, and declared that shee would send for the nobilitie and Estates of the Realme to advise for some reformation in religion, and for the same purpose assigned the seventh of March following for a convention to be holden at Edenburgh. bot the Bpp of St Andrewes caused warne all the sects of the Papists to the said day to hold a Provincial Counsell at Edenburgh, wher they being mett after some commoneing by the principall Bpps with the nobles, whereof nothing in effect followed; then the sayd Bpps after their old manner offered themselves to the Queene, to doe all that shee would command them proveiding that they might be maintined in their dignitie for the suppressing of the truth, and after they wer aggreed with her vpon the summe which wes within 15000*l.* they sate them downe in the Blackfryers of Edenburgh in their vsuall councell. Where the 7th day wes devised, and the next sunday the 15th of March the said Bpp sang a Magnifick mass of the holy Spirit, as they tearmed it, for a beginning of the deformation. On the other part the Comissioners of the faithfull mett by themselves at the same tyme in Edenburgh, and everie day consulted for the furtherance of the gospell; and finally perceaving that the Queene Regent and the Papists were agreed by reasone of the said summe promised by them to her, they departed leaving the Papists still at their provincial Councell; Where, amongst others of the statutes, the 23th of March the Queene Regent caused proclame this at the Markett crosses at Edr. and other places, conteining in effect, that no manner of persone should take vpon hands to preach or minister the Sacraments, except they were therto admitted by the ordinarie or Bishopp vnder no lesse paine then death. And because they vnderstood perfectly of the afore said Proclamation that it wes disobeyed and contemned by the Preachers, in Aprill following,* for contravening of the said acts and proclamations vnder the paine of Rebellion and putting to the horne, which thing was done express agt. the lawes and practise of the Countrie. In the end of this moneth of Aprill the minister of Gods word John Knox arrived at Leith,† and on the next day after his commeing which was called Phillipp and Jacobs day, the Papists meeting at the Councell being well sett downe in the Blackfryers of Edenbrugh, one came in and assurred them that John Knox wes now come out of ffrance, [and] had beine all that night in the Towne: at the wch

* "They were summoned," or some such words must be supplied here.

† There is a mistake here as to the date. Knox arrived on the 2d of May. See page 68, 70.

newes they being all astonished leaving the councell rose suddenly from the board where they satt, and passing forth to the yeard altogether abashed fearing the thing which came suddenly to pass. In the mean tyme that court wes cast so that they never mett there again to this day. Nevertheless they sent incontinent a post to Glasgow to the Queene, acquainting her of the matter, who caused him to be blowne loud to the horne the third day after. Bot in the mean tyme the faithfull being informed of his commeing and therwith encouraged ceased not to give praise to God, and finally he being convoyed to Dundie incontinent preached the word publicquely.———

Alwayes when they [the Lords of the Congregation] had purged the kirks in Sterling, and ordered the Friers as they had done with them in St Johnstone and St Andrewes, destroying the Altars and Idolis, caused the Evangell to be publicquely preached in the Parish Kirk, then they came to Edenbrugh the penult day of June not above 1000 horse in companie, at the first commeing, with some men of warr about 300 men. But before their commeing to Edenbrugh, the Friers takeing the fray, for their master the Lord Seyton then Provost who hes appointed them, wes wearie of his office, the ffriers then begane to dispose amongst their acquaintance the best of their goods which were left at that tyme, which thing the Rascall people perceaving went in, finding the yates open, and suddenly fell to work and saked all. So that before the arriving of the Congregation neither Altars, nor Idolls, nor any thing pertaining to Idolatrie in the friers, wes left standing: soe that the whole Churches about Edenburgh, as well as within the Towne being purged, the faithfull reioiced giving condigne thanks to the Eternall God who of his mercie had wrought so great things without the expectation of all men. The minister of Gods word John Knox the same day that the Congregation came to Edenbrugh, made a Sermone in St Giles Church, and the next day in the Abbay, soe that the dumbe Idolls and all darknes being taken away, the clear Ligh-shineing of Gods word was truely preached. The third day after the arriveing of the Congregation at Edenburgh, My Lord of Glenkarne with the Gent. of the west countrie came *to her* [there?] after that they had *purchased* [purged] the churches in Glasgow of Idolatrie. The names of the Lords of the Congregation wes the Earle of Argyle, the Lord James, the Earle of Glencarne, the Earle of Menteeth, the Earle Rothes. The same day after their comeing to Edr. the Lords and Principalls of the Congregation send to the Queene Regent, being at Dumbarr, my Lord of Glencarne, the lairds of Cunninghamhead and Pittaro, declaring to her that the whole prætence wes for the suppressing of Idolatrie and advancement of the glory of God, desyring her to release the Preachers from the horne, so that they might publicquely preach the word of God. The Lords in that cause offered to doe obedience and service, protesting that they meant nothing but the setting furth of true religion, and suppressing Idolatrie and superstition, and advanceing the glory of God by preaching of the word. Att that tyme they obtined of the Queene that the Preachers should be released from the horne so that they might preach freely to all such as pleased to heare them, which wes put in execution the nixt day after when they were released.* After this there were divers commeing [cummunings] for appointment in Haddington and other places, the Earle of Huntley being present for the Queene and others such as shee pleased to appoint. The things that the Lords demanded consisted only of these two heads, that the word of God might be publiquely preached, and the frenchmen sent forth of the countrie; bot her mind wes to drive tyme with them as well appeared. For shee had sent allreadie to france for more men of warr. During this tyme the Congregation of Edenbrugh elected and chose John Knox publiquely in the Tolbooth of Edr. for their minister the 7th of July.———

At lenght shee [the Queen Regent] took purpose at Dumbarr, by conclusion of the Councell, the 22th of Julij, being assuredly informed that the number of the Congregation wes verie small, should come to Edr. and compell the Congregation to dislodge. And for this purpose they made all readie that night to depart in the morning following. The Lords of the Congregation being advertised hereof (not withstanding theire small number) resolved constantly to resist their [the] violence of their adversaries putting their trust in God whose cause they meantyned, preferring the equitie of their cause before the power and strenght of men. In the mean tyme there wes greate feare in the Towne everie man wundring what end and successe the matter should take. Shortly so shoone as the Lords were advertised that the men of warr commeing from Dumbarr drew neere the Towne, the 25th of June airly in the morning at the sound of the Commoon Bell where forth of Edr. with soe money as God had moved their herts to assist them. The whole number of the Congregation exceeded not 1500 men. Which small number being putt in order in the East side of Graigingate, incontinent the horse men being with my Lord Duke and Monsieur D'ossell appeared to them vpon the sands of Leith north west from Lestellrigg moveing towards Leith. And as soone as they come neere the East part of Gouburnes house that wes, they shott from the said place a peece of ordinance which dispersed the said horsemen, but soone after they yielded [i. e. the Lords of the Congregation retired] themselves, perceaving the whole number approaching, which were about 5000 men, horse and foote. The Congregation stood still in order on the East side of the Craig, and perceaving the adversaries within halfe a mile they prepared themselvis to battell, not mynding [i. e. meaning] to remove out of that place. And albeit the Lords had desyred the Captaine of the Castell, the Lord Erskin, to be on their side, nevertheless they could not persuade him to shew them any favour, yet after the Principall Lords had spoken with him, they sent from the Craigs desyring him that in respect in his conscience he favored the Evangell, and that the matter depended fully here vpon, that he would assist them with such help as he might, which thing he refused vtterly, assuring them that, if they would now [not?]-take such appointment as they might have, he would declare himselve their enemie, as he had promised to the Queene in Dumbarr. In the meau tyme rideing on either side, they began to speake to appoint the matter which wes agreed vpon.———

[Anno 1560.] It wes printed that the English men would be In Scottland the 25th of March by land. After my Lord James had finally agreed with the Duke of Norfolke vpon all things, he arrived againe at Pettenweeme the 9th day after his departing. In the meane tyme the Princippalls of the ffrenchmen being informed that the Queenes Armie wes not in readiness to come in before the said day, they tooke a high enterprice. For the 7th of March, they departed forth of Leith and other places where they had beine in garrisone to the greate destruction and loss of the Countrie, the number of 2000 souldiers of the most able and best equipeit, beside 300 Horsemen, and marched towards Lithgow, where they remained the first night. All the Countrie wes in a fray, not knowing their purpose vntill the nixt day at night they came to Monebeth, and some of them lodged in Kirk in Tillock. The Duke being surely advertised that their purpose wes to come to Glasgow, he departed with small company the night before their arriving. There wes in my Lord Dukes Company, the Earles of Arrane, Argyle and Glencarne, with their howsholds only, ffor they suspected not nor would not have thought that the ffrenchmen durst at that tyme have taken such an enterprice. Imediately there wes proclamation made through Cliddesdale and other shires, and likewise privie writings sent by my Lord Duke and the other Lords to their friends and servants, That they should incontinently come to him in Hamilton for their defence, and resistance of the ffrenchmen, and *because warr* [beacons of war?] brunt vpon the highest hills for the same effect. But indeed they gathered slowly, so that it appeared planly, if God would have suffered it, the ffrenchmen might easily and without any resistance have come vp Clyde, and had done whatever it had pleased them throughout all that Countrie. Not with standing after that they had taken by force the Bpps Castle, and had cruelly hanged a part of the souldiers, (Scotts men) that were therein, and had chased the rest that made resistance in the Towne, the second day after ther comeing to Glasgow there came a writing to him [them] from the Queene, containing in effect that shee wes surely informed that the English armie was alreadie come from Barwick and within Scotland; wherefore shee willed them with all possible expedition to returne againe, which they did imediately. The damage which they did wes not so greate as men supposed, for they had no tyme sufficient. When the Lords that were at Hamilton were advertised of their departing, my Lord of Arrane with soe many horsemen as were readie, past fordward to follow the ffrenchmen, pretending that if they had seen sufficient occasione to have midled with them. The next day they shewed themselves as the ffrenchmen past by the Callender, but there wes no appear-

* Are we to infer from this that the protestant ministers had desisted from preaching while they were outlawed? I do not, indeed, recollect of an instance of any of them, except Knox, preaching during that time.

ance, ffor their wes no partie. Alwayes they kept them closs together, for they exceeded not 800 men. Soe the ffrenchmen came to Lithgow, where they lay the space of 8 dayes, and made continuall spoile in all the Countrie about within the space of viii miles. The damage which they did of all especially of cattle, sheepe and horse wes exceeding great, and likewise killed and tooke diverse men prisoners. Durcing this tyme the Congregation prepared themselves to meet the English armie, and for the same purpose there wes proclamation made in Cliddesdall, ffyfe, Angus, Mernes, and Strathearne. The ffrenchmen being surely advertised that the English armie wes in readinesse they came to Leith the 29 of March, where all things were prepared that were necessare for their defence, and every day they made spoil in the Countrie.

SUPPLEMENT.

The first Poem inserted in the Supplement is so exceedingly rare, that the copy from which I have printed is supposed to be unique. It is valuable, as the principal events in our Reformer's life are commemorated in it, and the leading features of his character delineated, by the pen of one who was personally acquainted with him. As a curious specimen of the Scottish language and versification at the period in which it was composed, the old orthography has been carefully retained. The serious reader will be pleased in tracing the vein of piety which runs through rhymes which must appear to him rude, and sometimes almost unintelligible.—Its author, John Davidson, was a regent in the University of St Andrews, and afterwards minister, first of Libberton, and then of Salt-Preston, now called Prestonpans. I have already referred to several of his other writings. (Page 144, 182.) In 1602 he published a Catechism, entitled "Some Helpes for Young Schollers in Christianity," printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1602. And he died about 1608. Note subjoined to Jameson's edition of his Catechism, 1708. Life of Davidson, in Wodrow's MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.

The Latin Poems which follow are taken from a MS. in the Advocates Library. They exhibit traits in the characters of the principal Scottish Martyrs and Reformers, and contain allusions to several events in their lives which I have not met with elsewhere. On this account, and also as a specimen of Scottish literature, I have published a selection from the MS. which appears to have been written about the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the corrections with which it abounds there is reason to think that the copy in the Library had belonged to the author. It likewise contains Latin Poems, entitled "Icones Regum Judæ et Israelis."—The author, John Johnston, was a professor of the New College in the University of St Andrews, at the close of the sixteenth and commencement of the seventeenth century. He was the intimate friend and associate of Andrew Melville, the learned principal of that College. He published, "Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica lectissimi. Lugduni Batavorum, 1603." 4to. And also "Inscriptiones Heroicæ Regum Scotorum," which were reprinted in "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." His Verses on Buchanan are inserted in "Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ," Tom. ii. p. 500. It is said that he also published a book on the government of the church by Bishops; but this I have not seen. There is a Life of Johnston, in Wodrow's MSS. vol. ii. Bibl. Coll. Glas.

ANE BREIF COMMENDATIOVN OF VPRICHTnes, in respect of the surenes of the same, to all that walk in it, amplifyit chiefly be that notabill document of Goddis michtie protectioun, in preseruing his maist vpricht seruand, and feruent Messinger of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Set furth in Inglis meter be M. Iohne Dauidsone, Regent in S. Leonards College.

¶ Quhairunto is addit in the end ane schort discurs of the Estaitis quha hes caus to deploir the deith of this Excellent seruand of God.

¶ PSALME. XXXVII.

¶ Mark the vpricht man, and behauld the Iust, for the end of that man is peace.

¶ IMPRENTIT AT SANCTANdrois be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno. 1573.

TO THE MAIST GODLIE, ANCIENT, AND WORthie Schir Iohne Wischart of Pittarrow Knicht, M. Johne Dauidsone wissis the continuall assistance of the Spreit of God, to the end, and in the end.

Considdering with my self (maist worthie Knicht) the greit frailtie and vnsureness of all strenthis eirthly quhatsueuer, quhar in ma lefing god, vsis to put his traist on the ane part, and the sure fortres and saifgaird of vprichtnes, howbeit destitute of all aide warldly on the vther part: I culd not withhald my pen frō vttering of that praise and commendatioun of vprichtnes, quhilk in my mynde I had consauit of the same. Being chiefly mouit heirunto be the Miraculous (as I may weill call it) and maist wonderfull preseruatioun of that maist notabill seruand of God, and sinceir Preicheour of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Quha being bot of small estimatioun befoir the eyis of the warld (zit greit befoir God) was hatit vnto the deith.

And that euin be Kingis, Quenis, Princes, and greit men of the warld, and finally be all the rabill of Sathanis suddartis (*a*), in Scotland, Ingland and France. Zea, not only was he hatit, and raillit on, bot also persecutit maist scharply, and huntit from place to place as ane vnworthie of ony societie with man. And althocht thay wer michtie and potent, zea, and wantet na euill will, and he on the vther syde ane pure man, alane, and oft tymes without help, or assistance of ye warld, zit was he michtely preseruit, and as in a maist sure saifgard (all the wickits attentis quha thristit nathing mair nor his bludе being frustrat) conducted to ane maist quyet, peaciabill and happy end, to the greit aduancement of Goddis glorie, aud singulare comfort of his Kirk, and to the confusioun of Sathan and discōfort of all his wickit instrumētis. Thairfoir that this sa notabil and euidēt ane documēt of the louing cair of our god towardis his seruāds suld not with him be buryit bot abyde recent in memorie till all the inhabitantis of this Realme in all ages to cum. I haue preissit (*b*) schortly in this lytill paper to mak, as it wer, ane memoriall of the same, and yat in that laguage quhilk is maist cōmoun to this hail Realme, to the intent that asweill vnleirnit as leirnit may be partakeirs of the same. Not that I think my self abill to handill sa worthie ane mater vorthelie in ony toung, bot that partly I may schaw my gude will in this mater, and partly to gif occasioun to vtheris, that baith hes mair dexteritie in sic thingis, and greiter opportunitie of tyme, to intreit the same at greiter lenth. That be calling to mynd this notabill exēpill of Godis louing cair towardis vs, we in all thir feirfull dayis (quhairin he that seis not tryall approching neir is destitute of Iudgement) may be strenthnit and encourageit to ga fordwart vprichtly, euerie ane in our awin vocatioun, without declyning outher to the richt hand or to the left. And principally that our watche men faint not, nor begin to iouk (*c*), or flatter with the world for feir of Tyrānis, bot that thay may haue brasin faces, and foirheidis of Iron aganis the threitnings of the wickit, cōdempning impietie of all persounis in plane termis, following the ensāpill of this maist zelous seruād of God, of quhōe heirtofoir we haue maid mentioun, and that being assurit gif sa thay walk vprichtly in dischargeing of thair office, that thay ar in ye protectioun of the Almichtie.

¶ And this small frute of my sober trauellis, I haue thocht gude to offer and present to zow (maist worthie Knicht) not sa mekill for that, that I thocht it worthie to be presentit til ony; as that I wald let my gude will and grate (*d*) mynd, be the same appeir towardis zow, throw quhais procurement I obtenit the benefite of that godly and faithfull (thocht mockit and falsely traducit of the warld) societie, quhairof presently I am participant. For the quhilk I acknawledge me, and my humbill seruice alwayis addettit to zour honour. And howbeit (as I mon confes) nathing can proceid of me that may in ony wayis correspond to zour meritis towardis me: zit sal the thankfulnes of mynd at na tyme (God willing) be deficient. Quhilk is to be acceptit quhair uther thingis are lacking, in place of greit rewaird. And the rather haue I takin bauldness to dedicat this lytill Treateis vnto zour honour, baith becaus I vnderstude, zow euer to haue bene sen zour Chyldheid, ane vnfenzeit fauourar, and mantenar to zour power of vprichtnes, quhais praise in this lytill Volume is intreatit. And also, that this notabill seruand of God (quhais michtie preseruation, notwithstanding the wickitis rage, to ane quyet end, chiefly mufit me to this busines) was maist belufit of zow quhile he leuit, and yat for yat greit vprichtnes quhilk ze saw from tyme to tyme maist viuely expres the self in him. And finally, that your honour may be mufit heirby, as ze haue begunne and continewit to this day ane zelous professour of Goddis word, mantenar of the samin, and lufer of his seruandis: sa ze may perseucir to the end of zour lyfe, without sclander to zour professioun, euer approuing the treuth, and haitting impietie in all persounis, not leaning to warldly wisdome, nor louking for the pleasure of greit men in the warld: Sen nane of thir thingis, but only vprichtnes can outher mak ane pleasand to God, or zit sure in this warld. And sa traisting that zour honour will accept this my sober offer (till God grant better occasioun of greter) intil gude part. I commit zow to the protectioun of the Almichtie, that quhen it sall pleis God to tak zow furth of this miserie, ze may end zour life in the sanctificatioun of his haly name. To quhom be praise and Glorie, for euer. Amen. From Sanctandrois the XVIII. of February.

(*a*) soldiers. (*b*) pressed, endeavoured. (*c*) shift. (*d*) grateful.

ANE BREIF COMMENDATIOVN OF VPRICHTNES

SEN that we se men till haue studyit ay.
Into this eirth sic strenthis to prepair
As micht be saifgaird to thame nicht and day,
Quhen ony danger dang thame in dispair.
Wald thow gude Reider haue ane strenth preclair (*e*), Prouer. 10.
Maist strang and stark to rin to in distres 12, 13, 18.
This lytill schedull schortly sall declair Ecclesi. 9.
How that the surest Towre is vprichtnes. Ps. 25, 27, 91.

Quhilk vprichtnes we may descriue to be:
Ane traid of lyfe conforme to Godds command, Iob. 31.
Without all poysoun of Hypocrisie
Or turning to or fra, from hand to hand.
Bot stoutly at the word of God to stand, Prouer. 5.
Eschewing alwayis it for to transgres Psalm 18.
Not bowing back for thame that contramand.
This wayis we may descriue this vprichtnes.

For first thare is na Castell, Towre, nor Toun,
Nor naturall strenth, as Alexander sayis, Q. Curt. li. 7.
Bot mānis Ingyne may vincous and ding doun,
As that he had experience in his dayis,
Na strenth was sure to thame that was his fais:
The Craig in Asia did beir witnes, Q. Curt. li. 5.
Howbeit in hicht vnto the sky it rais,
It was ouercum for laik of vprichtnes.

Euin sa that bailfull Bour of Babilone, Q. Curt. li. 5.
Na saifgaird was to Darius we reid, Ieremi. 51.
Suppois it was ane maist strang Dongeone,
And mony ma I micht declair in deid,
Bot sic exempellis Foraine nane we neid,
Quhat surenes fand the Bischopis halynes,
Into Dumbartane quhair he pat his Creid.
It was not half sa sure as vprichtnes.

The force of men gif ony will obtend, Ps. 33. 40. 60.
Kinred, or friends to be ane gaird maist strang, Esai. 31.
All is bot vane, thay can not man defend, Jeremi. 17.
For quha mair surely into Royat (*f*) rang,
Nor the greit Conquerour his friendis amang, Q. Curt. lib. 10.
Zit was he poysonit as sum dois express,
Intill his Camp quhilk he had led sa lang,
Than quhat is force of man till vprichtnes.

Riches and rent we ken dois not abyde, Prouer. 11
Bot flitts and fochis (*g*) euer to and fra, Eccles. 5.
Than vane it is in thame for to confyde, Job. 11.
Sen that we se thame as weill cum as ga, Psalm. 49.
Thairfoir my friendis sen that the cace is sa, 1. Timot. 6.
That warldly strenth can haue na sickernes, Zephan. 1.
Sum vther saifgaird surely we mon ha, Ecclesi. 2.
Quhilk is nocht ellis bot only vprichtnes. Nahum. 3.

Bot sum perchance that winks mair wylelie,
Will say thay wait ane wyle (*h*) that I na wist,
With iouking thay will Iangil (*i*) craftelie,
And on thair feit will ay licht quhen thay list:
Thinking all surenes thairin to consist:
Hypocrisie is quent (*k*) with quyetnes,
Bot all begylit thay ar into the mist.
For nathing can be sure but vprichtnes.

For quhat become of fals Achitophell,
For als far as he saw befoir his neis. 2. Sam. 17.
Tho Scripture schawis I neid not heir to tell.
The lyke of this in mony Historeis,
I micht bring furth that to my purpois greis, Psalm. 7.
How Hypocrites into thair craftynes, Ester. 7.
Thame selfis hes trappit with greit misereis,
Becaus thay did eschew all vprichtnes.

Bot quha sa euer on the vther syde,
Hes preissit peirtly to leif vprightlie, Ester 6.
And be the treuth bound bauldly till abyde: Dani. 6.
Hes euer had the maist securitie.

(*e*) excellent. (*f*) royalty. (*g*) changes situation.
(*h*) know a trick. (*i*) juggle. (*k*) acquainted, or (perhaps) crafty.

For thay had God thair buckler for to be,
Quhome we mon grant to be ane strang fortres, Psalm. 76.
Of quhome the Deuill can not get victorie Psalm. 89.
Nor all the enemies of vprichtnes.

Think weill my friendis this is na fenzeit fair (*l*), 1 Sam. 17. 18.
For quha sa list of Dauid for to reid, 19. 20. 21. 22.
May se quhat enemies he had alquhair, 29. 33.
And zit how surely he did ay proceld. 2 Sam. 2. 3. 5.
Becaus he walkit vprichtly in deid. 8. 15. 16. 18.
He was mair sure from Saulis cruelnes, 20.
Nor gif ten thousand men intill his neid, 1 Sam. 23.
Had with him bene syne lackit vprichtnes.

Of sic exempills we micht bring anew,
Bot ane thair is that preifis our purpois plane
Of Daniell that Propheit wyse and trew, Dani. 6.
How oft was he in danger to be slane.
Into the Lyonis Den he fand na pane.
The three Children the fyre did not oppres. Dani. 3.
I think this only Historie micht gane,
To preif how sure ane Towre is vprichtnes.

Bot zit becaus exempills fetchit far,
Mufis not so muche as thay thingis quhilk we se,
I purpois schortly now for to cum nar,
Vnto the but (*m*) quhair chiefly I wald be:
That is to schaw the prufe befoir zour Ee.
Of thir premissis, as all mon confes
That hes sene God wirking in this countrie,
How ane hes bene preseruit in vprichtnes.

It is Iohne Knox in deid quhome of I mene,
That feruent faithfull seruand of the Lord,
Quhome I dar bauldly byde at till haue bene,
Ane maist trew Preicheour of the Lordis word.
I rak nathing quhat Rebalds (*n*) heir record,
Quha neuer culd speik gude of godlynes.
This man I say eschaipit fyre and sword,
And deit in peace, in praise of vprichtnes.

Bot that this may be maid mair manifest:
I will discurs sum thing in speciall,
Tuiching this Lamp, on lyfe quhill he did lest,
First he descendit bot of linage small.
As commounly God vsis for to call, Amos. i. 7.
The sempill sort his summoundis til expres. Mark 1.
Sa calling him, he gaue him giftis with all 1. Cor. 1.
Maist excellent besyde his vprichtnes. Iaco. 2.

For weill I wait that Scotland neuer bure,
In Scottis leid (*o*) ane man mair Eloquent.
Into perswading also I am sure,
Was nane in Europe that was mair potent.
In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,
And als in Latine toung his propernes,
Was tryit trym quhen scollers wer present.
Bot thir wer nathing till his vprichtnes.

For fra the tyme that God anis did him call,
To bring thay joyfull newis vnto this land,
Quhilk hes illuminat baith greit and small,
He maid na stop but passit to fra hand,
Idolatrie maist stoutly to ganestand:
And chiefly that great Idoll of the Mes.
Howbeit maist michtie enemies he fand,
Zit schrinkit he na quhit from vprichtnes.

The greuous Galayis maid him not agast,
Althocht the Prelats gold in greit did geif,
Onir schipburd in the sey him for to cast,
He fand sic grace they sufferit him to leif.
Zea mairatour thay did him not mischeif,
As thay did his Companzeounis mair and les,
With pynefull panis quhen thay thair pythis did preif,
God sa prouydit for his vprichtnes.

In Ingland syne he did eschaip the Ire,
Of Iesabell, that Monstour of Mahoun, (*p*)
In Scotland nixt with terrour him to tyre,
Thay brint his picture in Edinburgh Toun.
Bot sen to Scotland last he maid him boun, (*q*)
Quhat battell he hes bidden ze may ges,
Sen Dagon and thay Deuillis he gart ding doun,
In spyte of thame that hatit vprichtnes.

Thay that hes bene cheif in Authoritie,
For the maist part had him at deidly feid,
Zit he eschaipit all their crueltie,
Howbeit oftymes thay did deuyse hes deid,
Zea, sum wer knawin perfitely be the heid,
Quha vndertuke his Dirige for to dres,
Zit bauldly be his baner he abaid,
And did not iouk ane ioit from vprichtnes.

Bot cheifly anis he was put to ane preace, (*r*)
Quhen that the Quene of tressoun did accuse him
Befoir hir Lords in haly Rudehous place.
Quhair clawbacks of the Court thocht till abuse him
Sa prudetly this Propheit yair did vse him,
Into refuting of thair fulischenes.
That all the haill Nobilitie did ruse (*s*) him
And praisit God for his greit vprichtnes.

Quhen Quene and Conrt could not get him cõuict,
Bot sa wer disappointit of thair pray,
Thay fryit in furie that he schaipit quick,
Zit at the leist to get thair wills sum way,
Thay wald haue had him wardit for ane day,
In Dauois Towre, zea, for ane hour or les,
It was denyit for ocht the Quene culd say.
Thair micht be sene how sure was vprichtnes.

Bot in quhat perrell trow ze he was last,
Quhen Edinburgh he left with hart full sair,
Doubtles na les nor ony that hes past,
In spyte thay spak that him thay suld not spair
Thay suld him schuit into the Pulpet thair
Becaus he did rebuke thair fylthenes,
And mischant (*t*) murther that infects the air,
Zit God preseruit him in vprichtnes.

Mony may dangers nor I can declair,
Be sey and land this Propheit did sustene,
In France and Ingland, Scotland, heir and thair,
Quhilk I refer to thame that mair hes bene,
Intill his company and sic things sene.
Bot this far schortly I haue maid progress,
To preif how God maist surely dois mantene,
Sic as continew intil vprichtnes.

For this Excellent seruand of the Lord,
Vnto the deith was hatit as we knaw,
For sinceir preiching of the Lordis word
With Kingis, Princes, hie estait and law,
Zit in thair Ire him micht thay not ouirthraw,
He did depart in peace and plesandnes:
For all the troublis that ze hard vs schaw
That he sustenit for lufe of vprichtnes.

And this is merwell gif we will considder,
Ane sempill man but (*u*) warldly force or aide,
Againis quhome Kingis and Princes did confidder (*v*),
How he suld fend (*w*) from furie and thair fead (*x*),
Syne leaue this lyfe with list for all thair plaid (*y*),
He had ane surer gaird we mon confes,
Nor ony warldly strenth that can be maid.
Quhilk was nathing but only vprichtnes.

Bot sum may say quhairto suld thow prefer
This vprichtnes quhilk thow extolls sa hie
Vntill all warldly strenthis that euer wer?
Sen that the contrair daylie we may se,
How upricht men ar murtherit mischantlie, Gene. 4.
As first was Abell with greit cruelnes, Matth. 14.
Gude Iohne the Baptist, and als Zacharie, 2. Chro. 24.
Zea, Christ him self for all his vprichtnes. Matth. 27.

(*l*) feigned affair. (*m*) butt, or mark. (*n*) I regard nothing what worthless fellows, &c. (*o*) language. (*p*) the devil.

(*q*) ready. (*r*) press, difficulty. (*s*) extol. (*t*) wicked. (*u*) without. (*v*) confederate. (*w*) defend. (*x*) enmity. (*y*) plea, controversy.

Peter and Paull with mony ma sensyne. Euseb. To. 4.
And of lat zeiris in Ingland as we knaw, fol. 7.
How mony piteously was put to pyne. Vide Slei-
And now in France that schame is for to schaw. danum.
Iames our gude Regent rakkin in that raw (*z*),
Quha had rung zit wer not his richteousnes.
Sa, I can se nathing sa sone ouirthraw,
Man in this eirth as dois this vprichtnes.

To this I answer into termis schort,
Quhen warldly strenth is vincust and maid waist, Prouer. 11.
With it man tynis baith courage and comfort,
Quhen it is tynt quhairin he pat his traist:
Bot quha that deith in vprichtnes dois taist, Prouer. 11.
Sall haue the lyfe that lests with joyfulnes, Matth. 16.
Sa thay are sure, becaus thay ar imbraist
Be the Eternall for thair vprichtnes.

But this sa lichtly we may not pass by:
I grant indeed quha preissis vprichtlie
To serue the Lord mon first them selfis deny, Matth. 16.
And na wayis dres to daut (*a*) thame daintelie
Bot thame prepair for troublis Identlie (*b*), 2. Timo. 3.
For troublis ar the bage thay mon posses, Psalm. 34.
Sen Sathan ceisis not continuallie. 1. Pet. 5.
To troubill thame that followis vprichtnes. Iob. 1.

Quhylis harling (*c*) thame befoir Princes and Kings, Luc. 21.
As rauing Rebalds rudelie to be rent, 1. Reg. 10.
Accusing thame of troubling of all things, 1. Reg. 17.
As cankerit Carlis that can not be content;
Except all things be done be thair consent:
Now scornit, now scurgeit, now bad with bitternes, Matth. 27.
Imprissonit, and sindrie fassiounis schent (*d*), Ieremi. 38.
And sum tymes dreuin to deith for vprichtnes. Act. 12.

This is thair lote oftymes I will not lane (*e*)
Into this eirth that vse to be vpricht,
Bot quhat of this? my purpois zit is plane:
That is, that thay ar surer day, and nicht, Psalm. 91.
For all this wo, not only warldly wicht. Psalm. 118.
For in thair conscience is mair quyetnes
In greitest troublis, nor the men of micht
Hes in thair Castells, without vprichtnes.

For quhen Belshazzer greit King of the Eist, Dani. 5.
Ane thousand of his Princes had gart call,
Drinkand the wyne befoir thame at the Feist,
Intill his prydefull Pomp Imperiall:
Euin in the middis of this his mirrie hall
He saw ane sicht that sank him in sadnes,
Quhen he persauit the finger on the wall,
Wryting his wrak for his vnvprichtnes.

Quhat sall I say I neid not till insist,
To schaw how thay to God that dois Rebell.
In thair maist micht can not be haldin blist,
For in this warld thay do begin thair hell,
As Cain did that slew the iust Abell, Gene. 4.
Within thair breist thay beir sic bailfulnes, Esai. 66.
That toung of men can not the teynd part tell, Prouer. 15.
Of inward torments for vnvprichtnes.

Bot thay that walks vprichtly with the Lord, Prouer. 14.
In greitest troublis wantis not inwart rest,
As the Apostillis doung (*f*) for Goddis word, Acts. 5.
Reioysit that for Christ sa thay wer drest.
Peter in prisone sleipit but molest. Act. 12.
Paull in the stocks and Sylas with glaidnes, Act. 16.
Did sing ane Psalme at midnicht, sa the best
Surenes that man can haue, is vprichtnes.

Sa be this surenes now I do not mene,
That Godds seruands ar neuer take away,
Be cruell men, for the contrair is sene,
For God oftymes of his Iudgements I say,
Letts thame so fall, as thocht befoir the day:
To plague the warld for thair vnthankfulnes,

Quhilk is not worthie of sic men as thay. Esai. 3.
Bot I mene this be strenth of vprichtnes. Heb. 11.

That quhen it plesis God to let thame fall,
Thay haue sic inwart comfort without cair, Acts 7.
That thay depart with ioy Angelicall, 2 Timot. 4.
Of lyfe assurit that lestis for euer mair.
And zit sum tyme he dois his seruands spair, Esai. 41.
To let the Tyrannis se his michtines, Ierem. 1. 4. 5.
In spyte of thame, that he can his alquhair,
Preserue maist surely intill vprichtnes.

Quhilk we haue sene as we can not deny,
Into Iohne Knoxis michtie preseruation,
Quhilk till our comfort we suld all apply,
I mene that ar the Faithfull Congregatioun.
Sen he departit with sic consolatioun
Euen as he leuit, he deit in Faithfulnes,
Being assurit in Christ of his Saluatioun,
As in the end he schew with vprichtnes.

Sa is he past from pane to plesure ay,
And till greit eis doutles vntill him sell,
Bot for ane plague till vs I dair weill say,
As sair I feir we sall heir schortly tell,
Schir wink at vice (*g*) beginnis to tune his bell.
Bot on this heid na mair I will digres,
That gude men hes mair rest in all perrell
Nor wickit in thair welth but vprichtnes.

Then sen alwayis we se that men ar sure
Throw vprichtnes quhidder thay liue or die, Psalm. 37.
Let all gude Cristianes Imploy thair cure,
In thair vocatioun to leif vprichtlie;
And cheifly let all preichcouris warnit be,
That this day God and the gude caus profes,
Na wayis to wink at sic Impietie Tit. 1.
And cheifly dois withstand all vprichtnes.

Taking exempill of this Prophcit plane,
Quhome heir befoir we breuit in this bill (*h*),
Quha Godds rcuelit will wald neuer lane,
Quhen men begouth for to delyte in ill,
He wald not wane ane wy (*i*) for na mānis will
For to rebuke Erle, Barrone, or Burges,
Quhen in thair wickit wayis thay walkit still.
Follow this Lamp I say of vprichtnes.

Let nouther lufe of friend, nor feir of fais,
Mufe zow to mank (*k*) zour Message, or hald bak
Ane iot of zour Commissioun ony wayis Psalm. 40.
Call ay quhite, quhite, and blak, that quhilk is blak, Esai. 5.
Ane Gallimafray (*l*) neuer of thame mak:
Bot ane gude caus distingue from wickitnes, 2. Timoth. 2.
This kynd of phrais sumtymes this Propheit spak
Quhen he saw sum not vsing vprichtnes.

In generall do not all things inuolue,
Thinking zour selfis dischargeit than to be, 2 Timot. 2.
Thocht na manis mynd in maters ze resolue:
For (zit till vse this same manis Elogie)
To speik the treuth, and speik the treuth trewlie, Num. 23. 24.
Is not a thing (*m*) (said he) brethren doutles.
Thairfoir speik trewly but Hypocrisie,
Gif ze wald haue the praise of vprichtnes.

Let vice ay in the awin cullouris be kend. 2 Timot. 4
But beiring with, or zit extenuatioun
Schawing how heichly God it dois offend, Act. 17.
Spairing na stait that maks preuaricatioun, Esai. 58.
Let it be sene till all the Congregatioun, 1 Timot. 5.
That ze sic haitrent haue at wicketnes
That ze mon dampne their greit abhominatioun,
Quha planely fechtis aganis all vprichtnes.

Quhilk tred of doctrine gif ze anis begin Psalm. 38.
I grant the Deuill and warld will be agane zow Psalm. 41.

(*z*) reckon in that rank. (*a*) cherish. (*b*) diligently.
(*c*) dragging. (*d*) maimed, or disgraced. (*e*) conceal.
(*f*) beat, or scourged.

(*g*) Sir Wink at-vice, an allegorical character. (*h*) described in this work. (*i*) probably *waynd ane wee*, i. e. swerve a little. (*k*) curtail.
(*l*) a hotch potch. (*m*) one thing.

The feid of fremmit, and craibing of zour kin (*n*)
First ze sall find, syne terrour to constraine zow
To syle the suith (*o*), and sunze (*p*), I will plane (*q*) zow.
The Zock is not sa licht as sum dois ges. Nahum. 1.
Bot zit haue ze na dreid quha do disdane zow, Psalm. 31.
Sen that zour fortres sure is vprichtnes. Psalm. 34.

For pleis it God zour lyfe to lenthen heir,
Thocht all the warld aganis zow wald conspyre,
Thay sall not haue the power zow to deir, (*r*)
Albeit thay rage and rin wod (*s*) in thair Ire,
And gif that God thinks gude be sword or fyre,
To let zow fall be ay in reddynes:
Being assurit that heuin salbe zour hyre 2 Timot. 4.
Because ze endit sa in vprichtnes.

Let not the lufe of this lyfe temporall,
Quhilk ze mon lose, but let quhen ze leist wene (*t*)
Stay zow to cois (*u*) with lyfe Celestiall,
Quhen euer thar the chois cumis thame betwene.
Christis sentence in zour garden keip ay grene,
Quha sauis his lyfe shall lois it not the les. Math. 16.
Quhilk euin into this warld hes oft bene sene,
Quhat gaine is than to deny vprichtnes?

Than to conclude, sen in thir dangerous dayis
Sa meny terrours Tyrānis casts befoir zow
Call vpon God to strenthen zow alwayis
That with his haly Spreit he will decoir zow
As he hes done his seruands ay befoir zow
That ze may neuer wink at wickitnes Esai. 51.
With Gun & Gainze (*v*) thocht thay boist to gor zow
Sen that zour Towre sa sure is vprichtnes.

¶ FINIS. M. I. D.

ANE SCHORT
DISCVRS OF THE ESTAITIS
quha hes caus to deploir the deith of this Excellent seruand of God.

THOW pure contempnit Kirk of God,
In Scotland scatterit far abrod,
Quhat leid (*a*) may let the to lament:
Sen baith the Tyger and the Tod,
Maist cruellie cummis the to rent.
Thow wants ane watcheman that tuke tent,
Baith nicht and day that nocht suld noy the,
Allace thow wants the Instrument,
That was thy Lanterne to conuoy the.

Thy lemand (*b*) Lamp that schew sic licht,
Was gude Iohne Knox, ane man vpricht,
Quhais deith thow daylie may deploir,
His presence maid thy bewtie bricht,
And all thy doings did decoir,
He did him haillie indeuoir,
Thy richteous actioun to mantene,
And libertie to the restoir,
Pleading thy caus with King and Quene.

He neuer huntit benefice,
Nor catchit was with Couatice,
Thocht he had offers mony one:
And was als meit for sic Office
As outher gellie (*c*) Iok or Iohne,
His mynd was ay sa the vpon,
Thy only weilfair was his welth,
Thairfoir lament sen he is gone,
That huikit nathing (*d*) for thy helth:

Lament Assemblie Generall.
At thy Conuentiounis ane, and all,

(*n*) the hostility of strangers, and anger of relations.
(*o*) conceal the truth. (*p*) anxiety. (*q*) plainly tell.
(*r*) injure. (*s*) mad. (*t*) without hindrance, when ye least think.
(*u*) barter. (*v*) *gainze* seems to signify sometimes "an engine for throwing weapons," and sometimes "the weapon thrown."
(*a*) lay or song. (*b*) shining, blazing. (*c*) good fellow, *bon vivant*.
(*d*) thought nothing too much.

For thow will mis ane Moderatour,
Quhais presence mufit greit, and small,
And terrifeit baith theif and traitour,
With all vnrewlie Rubiatour (*e*),
Thair ionkers durst not kyith thair cure,
For feir of fasting in the Fratour (*f*),
And tynsall of the charge thay bure.

But now I feir that thow sall se,
Greit missing of that man to be,
Quhen craftie heidis sall na mair hyde,
The hurde (*g*) of thair Hypocrisie,
Bot all sinceirnes set asyde,
With policie will all things gyde,
Thir Balamis birds sair may thow feir:
Thairfor be Godds buke abyde,
And to sic Bablers giue na eir.

Giue strange opiniounis enteris in,
Tak tent quha sic thingis dois begin,
And with sic matteris mynts to mell, (*h*)
For Sathan ceisis not fra sin,
The Kirk of Christ seiking to quell,
Sic foly faill not to refell:
For quhen the reik (*i*) beginnis to ryse,
The fyre will follow as thay tell,
Be it not quencheit be the wyse.

Bot cheifly murne and mak thy mane,
Thow Kirk of Edenburgh allane,
For thow may rew by (*k*) all the rest,
That this day thow wants sickin ane,
Thy Speciall Pastour: and the best
That ony Kirk had Eist, or west.
He did comfort the in all cair,
And the foirwairnd of thy molest,
Quhairby thow micht thyself prepair.

There was na troubill come to the,
Bot he foirspak it oppinlie,
Thocht sum the mater than did mock,
Gif he spak suith now thow may se,
This day thy heid is in the zock,
God send the blyitnes of this block,
And freith the from thy fais aboue the,
For thow art the maist feruent flock
That Scotland beiris, as deid dois proue the.

And giue God sa handills the best,
Allace quhat sall cum of the rest,
Except repentance rin and red:
It is ane Mirrour manifest,
Of dule and dolour to be dred,
To fall on thame this barret (*l*) bred,
Bot till our purpois to returne,
Thocht of this feir thow salbe fred,
Zit hes thow mater for to murne.

Becaus that watcheman thow dois want,
That the in puritie did plant,
And comfortit thy Congregatioun:
Bot zit thocht he be gane I grant
The Lord can send the consolatioun,
Gif thow giue him dew adoratioun,
He will not leaue the comfortles.
As alreddy thow hes probatioun,
God grant thy Preicheours vprichtnes.

¶ Ze Lords also that dois frequent,
The Loft in Sanct Geills Kirk lament,
That Bogill (*m*) thair that ze hard blaw,
With quhome quhyles ze wer small content,
For the schairp threitnings he did schaw:
Zit thay maid zow sumquhat stand aw,
Thocht not so muche as neid requyrit:
This day in graue he lyis full law,
Quhilk langtyme was of him desyrit.

(*e*) ragamuffin, vagabond. (*f*) fraternity, alluding to the fastings of the friars. (*g*) treasure. (*h*) attempts to meddle.
(*i*) smoke. (*k*) above. (*l*) trouble, contention.
(*m*) bugle-horn.

For seing all things not go weill,
He said thair suld not mis ane reill.
That suld the cheifest walkin vp.
Gif he said suith this day ze feill,
Luke gif God hes begun to quhup,
Bot thair byds zit ane sowrer Cup,
Except zour maners ze amend,
The dreggs but dout als ze sall sup,
From whilk danger God zow defend.

Sanctandrois als not to leif out,
His deith thou may deploir but dout,
Thow knawis he lude the by the laue (*n*)
For first in the he gaue the rout,
Till Antechrist that Romische slaue,
Preicheing that Christ did only saue.
Bot last, of Edinburgh exprest,
Quhen he was not far fra his graue,
He come to the by all the rest.

God grant that thow may thankfull be,
For his greit graces schawin to the,
In sending the his seruands trew,
Amen. Thow heiris na mair of me.
Bot Kyle, and Cuninghame may rew,
Als sair as ony that I schew,
To quhome this darling was maist deir
And vther gentill men anew,
Quhome I haue not reheirsit heir.

Than last of all to turne to zow,
That wer our brethren, but not now:
God grant agane ze may cum hame,
For we suld wis zour weill I vow,
As also did this man be Name,
Thocht sum said he did zow defame,
He prayit to God that ze micht turne.
That ze micht schaip Eternall schame,
Thairfoir zour part is als to murne.

For doutles he was mair zour friend,
Nor thay that winkit, or manteind
Zour fulische factioun and vnfair
In deid that ze suld not susteind,
He thunderit threitnings to the air,
To terrifie zow mair and mair,
And rug (*o*) zow back that ze micht rew, (*p*)
For he knew perseueird ze thair,
Ze wer bot schipwrak but reskew.(*q*)

Than all this land thow may lament.
That thow lacks sic ane Instrument,
Till sum not pleasand, zit, sa plane,
That all the godly was content
Allace his lyke he left not ane.
Nor I feir sall not se agane:
Bot zit let vs nawayis dispair,
For quhy our God dois zit remane,
Quha can and will for his prepair.

For thocht his deith we do deploir,
Zit is he not our God thairfoir:
As wickit warldlings wald obtend,
Gone is zour God quhairin ze gloir.
The leuing God we mak it kend,
Is he, on quhome we do depend,
Quha will not leaue vs in distres,
Bot will his seruands till us send,
Till gyde vs throw this wildernes.

Thairfoir letting thir Bablers be,
Quhais cheif Religioun is to lie,
And all Godds seruands to backbyte,
Traducing this man principallie:
Let thame spew out in thair dispyte,
All that thay will be word or wryte.
Lyke as him self is into gloir,
Sa sall all ages ay recyte,
Johne Knoxis Name, with greit decoir.

¶ FINIS.

(*n*) Thou knowest he loved thee above the rest. (*o*) pull.
(*p*) repent. (*q*) but shipwrecked without rescue

QVAM TVTVM SIT PROPVGNACVLVM, DEO sine fuco inseruire, ex mirifica eximii Dei serui IOANNIS KNOXII, in tranquillum vitæ exitum, illusis omnibus impiorum conatibus, conseruatione, & eius exemplum sequi, monemur.

QVEM petiere diu crudelcs igne tyranni,
Sæpius & ferro quem petiere duces.
Occubuit (mirum) nullo violatus ab hoste,
Eximius Christi KNOXIVS ille sator.
Nam pater Æthereus Regum moderatur habenas,
Electosque potens protegit vsque suos.
Muniat hinc igitur nostras fiducia mentes,
Ne mors nos tetricis terreat vlla minis.
Quoq; minus trepidi sistamus tramite recto,
Huius ne pigeat viuere more viri.

¶ FINIS. Quod M. I. D.

EXCERPTA E POEMATIS JOHANNIS JONSTONI:

QUIBUS TITULI

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ,

SIVE

CORONIS MARTYRUM IN SCOTIA;

NECNON

PECVLIVM ECCLESIÆ SCOTICANÆ.

MS. IN BIBL. FACULT. JURID. EDIN. A. 6. 42.

Patritius Hamiltonvs,*

Martyr Andreapoli xxviii Febr. An. Christi 1527

E Cælo alluxit primam Germania lucem,
Qua Lanus, et vitreis qua fluit Albis aquis.
Intulit hinc lucem nostræ Dux prævius oræ.
O felix terra! hoc si foret usa duce!
Dira superstitio grassata tyrannide in omnes,
Omniaque involvens Cimmeriis tenebris,
Ille nequit lucem hanc sufferre. Ergo omnis in unam,
Fraude, odiis, furiis, turba cruenta coit.
Igne cremant. Vivus lucis qui fulserat igne,
Par erat, ut moriens lumina ab igne daret.

Joannes Machabævs.†

Alpinus, Christianismi in Dania Instaurator, Hafniæ Theol. Professor; floruit 1550, test Balæo.

I.

Qvæ tulit in lucem me Scotia, luce frui me
Non tulit. Haud mirum: sprevit et ipsa Deum.
Anglia vix cepit. Subeuntem Teutonis ora
Suscipiens fovit L . . . onis in gremio.
Lvtheri hic tetigisse datum dextramque Philippi:
Cernere et hic Christvm lucidiore die.
Me doctore dehinc amplexa est Dania Christvm.
Hafnia dat patriam, datque eadem tumulum.
Huc vitæ cursus: supremi hic meta laboris.
Hinc vehor exilii liber in astra metu.
Havd jactura gravis, patria tellure carere:
In patria gravior posse carere Deo.

* See page 26. † See page 146.

II.

De Joh. Machabæo Patre, et Christiano, Filio Patris simillimo.

Excedens terris Machabævs liquerat vno
Unius in Natio pectoris effigiem.
Filius hanc solam potuit tibi promere: at illvm
Mors habet. Ecquis eam reddere nunc valeat?

ALEX. ALESIVS,*

(Obiit Lipsiæ XX Junij 1565.)

Lipsiæ Theo. Professor, de se et Joh. Machabæo.

Sors eadem exilii nobis, vitæque laborumque
Ex quo nos Christi conciliavit amor.
Una salus amborum, unum et commune periclum.
Pertulimus pariter præstite cuncta Deo.
Dania te coluit. Me Lipsia culta docentem
Audiit, et sacros hausit ab ore sonvs.
Qui mea scripta legit, Machabævm cernat in illis.
Alterutrum noscis, noscis utrumque simul.

JOHANNES ROCHIVS† et THOMAS GULIELMIVS,‡

Uterque a sacris Jac. Hamiltono Scotie Gubernatori, uterque Christi nomine Exul; et ille postea Martyr in Anglia, 22 decemb. 1557. Londinj.

Postquam iterum premitur redivivi gloria Christi,
Et crudelis adhuc omnia Presul agit.
Cessimus inviti Invidiæ, et crudelibus iris.
Ah! facilis nocuit Principis ingenium.
Doctores nuper quæ nos adscripserat Aula
Deficit: et nostræ spes cecidere simul.
Redditur exilium Christi pro munere. Christvs
Exul erat: nobis sitne probro exilium?
Quid si mors adeunda sit? O mors illa beata!
Qua vitæ melior parta corona foret.

GEORGIVS SOPHOCARDIVS,‖

Sive Wys-hartus, Martyr Andreapoli Kal. Martii an. 1546.

Quam bene conveniunt divinia nomina rebus!
Divinæ hic Sophiæ corque oculusque viget.
Qui Patris arcanam Sophiam, cælique recessus
Corde fovens, terris Numine tanta aperit.
Vnvs amor Christvs. Pro Christo concitus ardor
Altius humanis Enthea corda rapit.
Præteritis aptans præsentia, judicat omnia:
Et ventura dehinc ordine quæque docet.
Ipse suam mortem, tempusque modumque profatur,
Fataque Carnifici tristia Sacrilego.
Terrificam ad flammam stetit imperterritus. Ipsa
Quin stupet invictos sic pavefacta animos:
Vt vix ausa dehinc sit paucos carpere. Tota
Ilicet innocui victa cruore viri est.

JOHANNES WEDDERBVRNVS,§

Pulsus in exilium, an. 1546. Exul in Anglia moritur 1556.

I.

Non meriti est nostri, meritas tibi dicere grates,
Aut paria, aut aliqua parte referre vicem.
Quæ meruisse alii vellent, nec posse mereri est:
Hæc velle, hæc posse, hæc te meruisse tuum est.
Sic facis atque canis sacra: sic agis omnia, nil ut
Sanctius, et nusquam purior ulla fides.
Hinc nullum magis invisum caput hostibus: hinc et
Nemo umquam meruit charior esse bonis.
Grandius hoc meritum, nil te meruisse fateris,
Humanis meritis nec superesse locum.

II.

DE JOHANNE, JACOBO, ET ROBERTO WEDDERBVRNO, FRATRIBUS.

Divisvm imperium, per tres, tria Numina, Fratres,
Infera quæque vides, quæque superna, canunt.
Vos miror potius tres vero nomine fratres,
Vosque supra veneror, Numina vana, Deos;
Concordes animas, clarissima lumina gentis,
Tres paribus studiis, tres pietate pares.
Felices qui vos tales genuere parentes,
Quæque orbi tellus pignora rara dedit.
Progenitos Cælo Alectum dedit inclyta terris:
Inde DEI-DONUM nomen habere putem.

JOHANNES KNOXVS,

Primus Evangelii Instaurator in Scotia, post superiora cruenta illa tempora. obiit placide Edinburgi XXIV. IXbris. Hora noctis undecima. 1572.

I.

Hic ille est Scotorum Knoxus Apostolus olim,
Cui prior hos ingens Beza dedit titulos:
Interpres cæli, vero qui Numine plenus,
Plurima venturi præscia signa dedit.
Fœcundum pectus. Libertas maxima fandi.
Totus inexhausto flagrat amore Dei.
Quam pia cura Poli, tam humani meta furoris:
Tanto plus victor, quo furit iste magis.
Post varios hostes aggressa Calumnia tandem,
Hoc didicit, nulli nec sibi habere fidem.
Herovm Pietas odio est mortalibus. Unum hoc
Arguat Heroem hunc cælitus esse datum.

II.

Cvra Dei: Romæ pestis: Mun di horror: et Orci
Pernicies: cæli fulmen ab arce tonans.
Limite in hoc modico tanti jacet hospitis umbra.
Vmbra silet: tamen est hos tibus horror adhuc.

JOHANNES WILLOCVS.*

Obiit in Anglia.

Cum Patriæ implessem donis cælestibus urbes,
Mille olim obiiciens mortibus hanc animam,
Ipsa adeo exultat cæli sic luce sereni,
Pene sibi ut cælum, et lux queat esse aliis:
Excessi patria lætus tellure, libensque:
Vt vicina istis cresceret aucta opibus.
Hic etiam sevi cælestia semina verbi;
Gensque pia hic nostram plurima sensit opem.
Hæc et opes mihi, cumque opibus cumulavit honores.
Nec secus ac Patria me Anglia civem habuit.
Bis civis gemina in patria: mihi tertia restat.
Possidet hæredem tertia sola suum.

CHRISTOPHORVS GVDMANNVS,†

Anglus, Ecclesiastes Andreapolitanus: moritur in Cestrensi provincia Angliæ an. 1601.

Non Ego, ceu credis, Scotis peregrinus in oris:
Publica nec rerum cura aliena mihi.
Hic geniti Christo, hic geritur Respublica Christi:
Christi Ego sum. In Christo his sumque ego congenitus;
Quin genui his partem Christo. Patremque Ducemque
Et licet, et gaudent me vocitare suum.
Queis patriam peperi: non hanc: sed quæ altera cælo est,
Hac prior; his dicar qui peregrinus ego:
Alterutra jactent se alii regione profectos,
Nomine se jactat utraque terra meo.

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* See page 145. † See page 31, 34. ‡ See page 29.
‖ See page 29. § See page 147.

* See page 54, 120. † See page 178.

Johannes Areskinvs,*

Dunius, Equestri familia ortus, Religionis gravis et constans assertor, concionator nobilis, natus annos lxx, moritur xii Martij 1590.

Post tot avos veteres, et tot decora inclyta rerum,
Surgit Areskino gloria major adhuc:
Scilicet illa Crucis Christi, quæ sola perennis:
Quæ regit una homines, quæ facit una deos.
Robora consiliis, pietatem miscet utrisque;
Et faciendo docet, atque docendo facit.
Heroem nullum huic æquarint secula. Nullus
Inter avos veteres fama et honore prior.

Johannes Brabnervs,†

Abredonensis, Ecclesiastes Celurcanus‡ et Dunensis, moritur an. 1564. postr. Kal. Novembris.

Nascendi primam dedit Aberdonia lucem:
Ille renascendi munera retribuit.
Vtrum ergo debet Patriæ plus, an Patria illi?
Mutua sic rerum gratia rite coit.

Johannes Vin-ramvs,‖

Cænobii Augustinianorum olim Præfectus apud Andreanos, postea inter Christi Ministros: obiit senex xxiix. Sept. 1582.

Quo te censu hominum, uno te, Vin-Rame, reponam
In numero? hic multum est anxia mens animi.
Se prodit Pietas, neque turbida lucis imago est:
Spargit enim de se lumina clara sui.
Quin te aperi tandem manifesto in lumine. Pelle
Turbidulos sensus, cumque pudore metus.
Cum pietate etenim postquam se nubila miscet
Mens hominum, lucis deperit ille vigor.
Gaudet agens Pietas manifesta in luce. Nec illa
Sit Pietas, quæ haud scit pro Pietate mori.

Johannes Rowivs,§

Ecclesiastes Perthensis, obiit xvi. viiibris an. 1580.

Consilio præstans, rebus gravis auctor agendis,
Præcipuos inter, Lumina prima, Patres.
Cognitio varia: immensa experientia rerum.
Omnigenam linguam mens præit ingenii:
Exactor disciplinæ, vindexque severus,
Ipse sibi censor, seque ad amussim habuit:
Sancta domus, castique lares, frons læta, severa:
Larga manus miseris, mensa benigna bonis.
Vrbis delicium: sancti pia copula amoris:
Una fides, fidei publica cura simul.
Clara viris, cultuque decens, pulcherrima Pertha:
Rowivs at Perthæ haud ultima fama fuit.

Jacobvs Lausonivs,*

Ecclesiastes Edimburgensis, obiit xii. Octobris an. 1584.

Ingenio felix Lausonivs, ore diserto,
Acer judicio, consiliisque gravis.
Corpore non magno, mens ingens: Spiritus ardens,
Invictumque decus pectoris atque animi.
Non tulit Impietas. Patria migrare necesse est.
Mitior in profugum terra aliena fuit.
Hospitii cui jura volens vivo ista dedisset,
Multa gemens tristi in funere dat tumulum.

David Fergvsivs,†

Pastor ad Fermilo-dunum, obiit xxiij Augusti an. 1598.

Qvem non erudiit solers Academia, quem non
Finxit Stagira nobilis:
Nesciit ille tamen nescire illa omnia solers,
Quæ et ista et illa prodidit.
Quin Doctore Deo scivit meliora sequutus,
Quæ et ista et illa nesciit.
Disce hinc quæ melius doceas Academia. Tuque
Disce hinc Stagira nobilis.

Georgivs Haivs.

Postqvam animum primis patriæ effinxere Camenæ
Artibus, excepit culta Lvteta sinu.
Cecropiis opibus, spoliisque orientis onustus,
Intulit in patriam munera opima suam.
Ingenium vegetum comitatur gratia Linguæ:
Lactea Nectareo verba lepore fluunt.
Dum parat excedens locupletes linquere natos,
Publica privatis posthabuisse ferunt.
Optima sed Pietas patrimoni portio. Privis
Si nimium indulges, publica rapta ruunt.

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* See page 54. † I have not met elsewhere with any notice of *Brebner* or *Bremner*. ‡ Montrose. ‖ See page 27, 158. § See page 88.

* See page 127. † See page 89.

LIFE

OF

ANDREW MELVILLE:

CONTAINING

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITERARY

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

DURING THE

LATTER PART OF THE SIXTEENTH AND BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH AN APPENDIX, CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The following work may be viewed as a continuation of the account of ecclesiastical transactions in Scotland, which I some years ago laid before the public in the Life of John Knox.

The period which it embraces, though not distinguished by any event so splendid as the Reformation, is by no means destitute of interest. It produced men who, in point of natural abilities, were scarcely inferior, and in respect of acquired talents were decidedly superior, to those who had been instrumental in bringing about the great religious revolution. The dangers to which the reformed religion and the liberties of the nation were exposed during the early administration of a youthful prince—the contests which the church maintained with the court in behalf of her rights—the establishment of the presbyterian polity—and its overthrow after a long and eager struggle—are events important in themselves, and in the influences which they had on the future affairs of Scotland and of Britain.

In one respect the present work will be found to differ considerably from that which I formerly published. As Andrew Melville, besides the active part which he took in the ecclesiastical transactions of his time, was successively at the head of two of our principal colleges, I have entered much more fully into the state of education, and the progress of literature, than I felt myself warranted to do in writing the Life of the Reformer.

James Melville, a nephew of the subject of this memoir, left behind him a *Diary*, or history of his own life and times, extending from 1555 to 1600, in which he has embodied much interesting information concerning his uncle. Several copies of this work are extant in manuscript. I quote the original copy, which is preserved in the Advocate's Library, fairly written with the author's own hand. In the same library is another manuscript, entitled, *History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland*, which I am satisfied was also composed by James Melville, and brings down the history of his times from 1600 to 1610. This, with the *Apologetical Narration*, written by William Scot, minister of Cupar, furnishes ample information respecting the conduct of Melville when called up to London, along with some of his brethren, before the introduction of episcopacy into Scotland.

The greater part of James Melville's Diary has been engrossed by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Woodrow in his Lives. I have seldom, if ever, referred to the two last of these writers as authorities when it appeared to me that they merely quoted from the first. It may be proper to mention, that, in the first part of this Life, the references are to the copy of Calderwood's MS. belonging to the church of Scotland; but from page seventy-sixth of the second volume I refer to the copy in the Advocates Library, which it was more convenient for me to consult at the time.

The epistolary correspondence which passed between Melville and his nephew from 1608 to 1613, has been preserved in the Library of the College of Edinburgh. And in the Advocates Library is a series of letters written by Melville, to a friend at Leyden, from 1612 to 1616. Both these collections are of great value, as throwing light on his character, and on some of the most interesting events of his life.

In giving an account of ecclesiastical transactions, I have, in addition to other sources of intelligence, availed myself of various registers of provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, which contain many facts curious in themselves, and illustrative of the internal history of the church. Several of these ancient records have been deposited in our public libraries; and I was allowed the readiest access to such of them as are in the possession of the courts to which they originally belonged.

My best ackowledgments are due to Thomas Thomson, Esq. for the facilities which he politely afforded me in consulting the public records; and to Sir William Hamilton, Bart. for pointing out to me various documents of great utility.

My inquiries relative to the state of education have, in every instance, been met with the utmost liberality by the Learned Bodies to which I applied. The account which I have given of the University of St. Andrews is chiefly taken from copies of papers and notes kindly furnished me by Dr. Lee, Professor of Church History and Divinity in the College of which Melville was formerly Principal. In acknowledging the great obligations I am under to Dr. Lee, I cannot refrain from expressing my earnest wish that he would favour the public with a history of the literature of Scotland, or at least of the university to which he belongs, for either of which tasks he is eminently qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the subject, and his habits of patient and discriminating research. Could I have obtained assurance of his engaging in such a work, I would have felt little difficulty in resisting a temptation which has proved too powerful for me, and has led me into literary details, particularly in the first volume, which may appear but remotely connected with the immediate object of my undertaking.

To make room for more important matter, I have been obliged to omit one or two papers referred to in the course of the work as to be inserted in the Appendix. For the same reason, several letters and unpublished poems of Melville, which I intended to add, have been kept back.

Edinburgh,
November 2, 1819.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this work for a second edition, I have corrected such inaccuracies in the language and in the statement of facts as occurred to me. But the chief alteration which has been made is on the arrangement. The accounts of the state of literature in Scotland, which were formerly interspersed through the work, are now collected and placed in two chapters at the close, with the exception of those facts which could not well be separated from the narrative of Melville's studies and academical employments. This, it is hoped, will be found an improvement, by enabling the reader to peruse the Life without interruption.

Edinburgh,
December 29, 1823.

THE

LIFE OF ANDREW MELVILLE.

CHAP. I. 1545—1574.

Origin of the Family of Melville—Parentage and Birth of Andrew Melville—Death of his Parents—Dutiful conduct of his Eldest Brother—His Education at Montrose—Mode of Instruction in Grammar Schools—Remarks on the Progress of the Reformation—Early attachment of the Melvilles to it—Andrew Melville acquires the Greek language—His academical Education at St. Andrew's—His connection with Buchanan—Compliment paid him by an Italian Poet—He goes to the University of Paris—State of that University—Royal Trilingual College—Mercerus—Ramus—Jesuits' College—Edmund Hay—Melville distinguishes himself in the Public Exhibitions—His Employment in the University of Poictiers—Incidents there—He goes to Geneva—Teaches in the Academy there—Prosecutes Oriental Studies under Bertramus—Learned Men with whom he became acquainted at Geneva; Franciscus Portus, Beza, Henry Scrimger, Joseph Scaliger, Hottoman—Connection between the Studies of Law and Theology—Writings in favour of Civil Liberty—Influence which Melville's residence at Geneva had upon his Political Sentiments—He resolves to return to his Native Country—His Testimonials from the Academy of Geneva—His Poetical Encomium upon that City—Occurrences in his Journey to Scotland.

Melville or Maleville was the name of a family, which is said to have come originally from Normandy, and had settled in Scotland as early as the twelfth century. It spread into numerous branches, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, flourished in the shires of Kincardine, Angus, Fife, and the Lothians. The principal of these were the Melvilles of Melville, in Mid-Lothian; the Melvilles of Carnbee; and the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary sheriffs of Kincardine.* Though none of them were raised to the peerage until a late period, they had long held a distinguished place among the gentlemen or lesser barons; they were allied by intermarriages to the principal families in the kingdom, and accustomed to claim affinity to the royal house.

Richard Melville, the father of the subject of this memoir, was brother-german to John Melville of Dysart, a cadet of the house of Glenbervie.† He was proprietor of Baldovy, an estate pleasantly situated on the banks of the South Eske, about a mile to the south-west of the town of Montrose, and which continued in the possession of his descendants until the beginning of the eighteenth century.‡ By his wife, Giles Abercrombie, daughter of Thomas Abercrombie, a burgess of Montrose, and descendant of the house of Murthlie, he had nine sons. Richard, the eldest, succeeded to the family estate, and, after the establishment of the Reformation, officiated as minister of the neighbouring parish of Maritoun:* Thomas, an accomplished scholar, and improved by travelling, rose to be Secretary-depute of Scotland: Walter settled in Montrose, and frequently discharged the office of a magistrate in that town: Roger, a man of great natural talents, became a burgess of Dundee, where he was held in great respect by his fellow-citizens:† James and John devoted themselves to the ministry in the reformed church; the former in Arbroath,‡ and the latter at Crail:‖ Robert and David, after being kept for some time at school, chose mechanical professions.§

Andrew, the youngest of the family, was born at Baldovy on the 1st of August, 1545. When only two years old he was bereaved of his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, along with the principal gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, fighting in the van-guard of the Scottish army, under their chief the Earl of Angus. The death of his mother, which followed soon after, left him an orphan.¶

The disaster at Pinkie, with the events that followed upon it, proved ruinous to many families of rank and opulence. And as the estate of Baldovy was small, as the family was numerous, and several of the sons were yet unprovided for, the sudden and premature death of his parents threatened to be an irreparable loss to young Melville. It was, however, greatly alleviated by the dutiful conduct of his oldest bro-

* See Note A. † James Melville's Diary, MS. p. 26.
‡ See Note B.

* "Richard Melvill" was declared "apt and able to minyster by the first General Assembly, 1560. Keith, 498—9. "Richard Melvill, Minister of Inchbraock and Maritoun," was a Member of the General Assembly which met in June, 1562. Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 4.

† William Christison, minister of Dundee, and Robert Bruce of Edinburgh, were among his intimate acquaintances; and the latter used to say, that if Roger Melville had enjoyed the education of his brother Andrew, "he would have been the most singular man in Europe." Melville's Diary, p. 27.

‡ He was made Bachelor of Arts at St. Andrew's in the year 1555. (Records of the University.)—April 27, 1591, Thomas Ramsay in Kirkton bound himself "to pay to the richt worchipfull Mr. James Melvill, minister of Aberbrothock, 4 bolls beir wt. ane peck to the boll and twa bolls ait maill wt. the cheritie, guid and sufficient stuff—the maill to be for the sd Mr. James awin aeting, all guid and fyne as ony gentill man sall eat in the countrie adjacent about him—or failzeing deliverie to pay for every boll 4 lib. of money." (Register of Contracts of the Commissariot of St. Andrew's.) He was alive in March, 1596, when he obtained decreet against John Richardson "for the few farme of the kirk lands of Aberbrothock, assigned to him by the Lords of Counsel; viz. 2 bolls wheat, 28 bolls bear, and twenty bolls ait meal."

‖ "Johanne Malwyll, minister of Crystis kirk in Crayll" is mentioned in the Register of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's, October 8, 1561. Comp. Keith, Hist. p. 553.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 27. ¶ Ibid. p. 26, 27.

ther, who kept him in his house, and acted in every respect the part of a father to him. The kind intentions of Richard Melville might have been of little benefit, had they not been zealously seconded by the exertions of the excellent woman whom he had married, and who took as great an interest in her young relation as in her own children. This kindness was not thrown away; for Andrew continued always to cherish the memory of his sister-in-law with the warmest gratitude, and after he came to manhood, took pleasure in mentioning the endearing marks of affection which he recollected to have received from her when he was a boy.*

There is something peculiarly interesting, though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But, without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that the kind offices which it dictates, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer, and more enthusiastic, than that which is merely filial—a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor.

Perceiving that his youngest brother was of a weakly habit of body, and that he evinced at an early age a capacity and a taste for learning, Richard Melville resolved to gratify his inclinations, by giving him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, who, at a subsequent period, became minister of that parish. Though his learning was slender, Anderson was esteemed one of the best teachers of his time; and under his tuition young Melville acquired the principles of the Latin language, in which he afterwards became so great a proficient.† It was the custom in the schools of that period to combine bodily exercises with the improvement of the mind. By means of these, joined to the attention paid to him at home, Andrew recovered from his early debility, and gradually attained that sound health which he enjoyed with little interruption to an advanced age.

The slightest hints respecting the state of education in Scotland, during the infancy of learning, are interesting. In this view the curious reader may wish to peruse the particulars inserted in the notes.‡ They relate to the plan of instruction pursued in the schools of Logie and Montrose, when James Melville, a nephew of Andrew, attended them. This was ten years posterior to the time of which we are now writing. But, with the exception of what regarded religion, it is probable that very little change took place in the management of schools during that interval; and we will not materially err in supposing, that the education of the uncle and the nephew was conducted in the same manner, at least as to the elementary books which they used, and the exercises to which they were trained in the house and in the fields.

Some of the most distinguished masters of schools were at this time secretly attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, and upon its establishment became ministers of the church. As Anderson was one of these, it may be presumed that Melville was indebted to him for instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of secular learning. But he had a more able instructor in his pious and intelligent brother, who for many years had been a convert to the protestant faith.

We have been accustomed to suppose that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear that the opinions of Wickliffe had a powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wickliffe to the days of George Wishart; and in Fife they were so numerous as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force on the day of his execution.*

It has been observed by a celebrated historian, and the observation is commonly received as correct, that the reformed preachers in Scotland "gained credit, as happens generally on the promulgation of every new religion, chiefly among persons in the lower and middle ranks of life."† This sentiment does not appear to be well-founded. It rests not upon proper evidence, but on inferences from what happened at the first promulgation of Christianity, and from the manner in which certain sects have arisen in modern times. The fact of the first preachers of the Christian religion, and the early converts to their doctrine, being found chiefly among the lower and middle ranks of society, is connected with its miraculous propagation. And we are not entitled to infer from this, either that it would have spread in this way if it had been left to the operation of natural causes, or that providence would always follow the same plan in its subsequent extension. The divine authority and truth of Christianity having been once completely established, it was fit that external means of a more ordinary kind should be employed to facilitate its future diffusion, and that these should be varied according to the circumstances of the people among whom it was to be introduced or restored. Accordingly, the reformation of religion was preceded by the revival of letters throughout Europe: the principal reformers were men of superior talents and education: and their cause was espoused and essentially promoted by persons who possessed secular authority and influence. We are extremely apt, if not on our guard against the bias of our thoughts, to form an opinion of a former period according to ideas borrowed from our own, without adverting duly to the points of difference between them. If we attend to the state of society in Scotland at that time—to the almost unbounded power of the barons,—the vassalage of the people,—the ignorance which reigned among the lower, and the rarity of education among the middle ranks, with other peculiar hindrances to the communication of knowledge, we shall be convinced that the Reformation, humanly speaking, and without a miracle, could not have spread

* I have often heard Mr. Andrew say, that he, being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her; embracing him, and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne take me to his rest.' Now she had two lads before me, whereof the eldest was dead, and between him and the second she bare three lasses; so in the end, God gave her one, who, would to God he were as like Mr. Andrew in gifts of mind, as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed but takes me for Mr. Andrew's brother. James Melville's Diary, p. 4.

† Melville's Diary, p. 27. Comp. p. 10. ‡ See Note C.

* See Note D. † Robertson's History of Scotland.

as it did—the truth could not have obtained a fair hearing, nor have come to the knowledge of the common people, if it had not been embraced and patronized by persons of superior rank and means of information. The fact exactly corresponds to this view. The opinions of Wickliffe were preserved in some of the most respectable families both in the western and eastern corners of the kingdom; Hamilton and Wishart were of honourable descent; and the sermons of the latter were attended by the principal persons in Ayrshire, the Lothians, Fife, and Angus.

The Melvilles of Fife were among the early adherents of the Protestant doctrine; and the family of Baldovy had embraced it before the birth of Andrew Melville. His eldest brother, Richard, having received a learned education, and being trained by his father to the knowledge of country affairs, was chosen to accompany John Erskine of Dun, on his travels to the Continent. It is probable that the young baron and his tutor had been initiated into the Protestant doctrine before leaving home. For they repaired to Wittemberg, and prosecuted their studies during two years under that distinguished reformer and scholar, Philip Melanchthon. They also visited Denmark, and attended the lectures of their countryman John Maccabeus, who had been recently admitted Professor of Divinity in the university of Copenhagen.* On their return to Scotland, they exerted themselves in diffusing the knowledge which they had acquired. With George Wishart they cultivated the most intimate acquaintance; and the houses of Dun and Baldovy became the resort of the friends of religion and letters.† Andrew Melville was eleven years old in 1556, when Knox paid a visit to Dun, and when the sermons which he preached there were attended by most of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.‡

I have elsewhere mentioned the important service which John Erskine of Dun rendered to the literature of Scotland by establishing a Greek school in Montrose.‖ Pierre de Marsilliers, a native of France, taught in it, when Melville had finished his course of Latin at the grammar school. This was an opportunity not to be neglected by one who was passionately fond of knowledge. Instead of going to the university, as was usual for young men of his age and progress, he put himself under the care of this learned Frenchman; and prosecuted the study of Greek during two years with great avidity.§ From Marsilliers he had also the opportunity of acquiring a more perfect acquaintance with the French language, the first principles of which were at that time commonly taught to young men along with Latin grammar.¶

In the year 1559 he went to the university of St. Andrew's, and entered the college of St. Mary, or, as it was sometimes called, the New College.** The writings of Aristotle were then the only text book, in all the sciences taught in our colleges; and the lectures given were properly comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics. But the professors were unacquainted with the original language of their oracle, and read and commented upon his works in a Latin translation. Melville, however, made use of the Greek text in his studies; a circumstance which excited astonishment in the university.†† But it should be recorded to the praise of his teachers, that, though they could not fail to be mortified under a sense of their own inferiority to their pupil, they indulged no mean jealousy of his superior acquirements, testified no desire to eclipse his reputation; threw no obstacles in the way of his advancement; but, on the contrary, loaded him with commendations, and did every thing in their power to encourage a youth, who, they fondly hoped, would prove a credit and an ornament to his country. When he first came to St. Andrew's, the admiration at his proficiency in learning was increased by his small stature and slender frame of body, which gave him a very boyish appearance. John Douglas, who was provost of St. Mary's college and rector of the university, distinguished him by marks of the kindest and most condescending approbation. He used to invite him to his chamber, take him between his knees, propose questions to him on the subject of his studies, and, delighted with his replies, to exclaim, "My silly, fatherless, and motherless boy, its ill to witt what God may make of thee yet!"*

In the College of St. Mary, Melville had for his class-fellows, two persons of excellent talents; Thomas Maitland, the brother of the celebrated secretary of Queen Mary, and James Lawson, the colleague and successor of Knox, with whom he continued afterwards to maintain an intimate friendship. It does not appear who was the tutor, or regent, as he was called, that carried them through their course of philosophy.† A view of the state of education at St. Andrew's will be given in a subsequent part of this work. It may be sufficient at present to notice, that the means of instruction in St. Mary's were more ample than in either of the two other colleges. It had separate classes for grammar and rhetoric; and, besides, a teacher of law, to whose lectures the students of philosophy had access before they commenced masters of arts.‡

Having finished the usual course of study, Melville left the University of St. Andrew's with the character of "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land."‖

While Melville was engaged in his academical education, Buchanan returned to his native country. It is much to be regretted, that we have such scanty information respecting the manner in which that great scholar was employed from 1561 to 1567, when he became principal of St. Leonard's college. As it is, we are left to suppose that he spent the time in teaching the queen Latin, and in preparing his poems for the press. In a copy of verses addressed to him on his recovery from a dangerous illness, Melville calls him his *Master*.§ In the absence of all other information,

* Melville's Diary, p. 2, 3.
† Ibid. p. 3.
‡ Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 177—180.
‖ Ibid. vol. i. p. 6.
§ Melville's Diary, p. 27.
¶ Ibid. p. 5.
** See Note E.

†† "Our Regent (says James Melville) told me of my uncle Mr. Andrew Melville, whom he knew in the time of his course in the New College to use the Greek logicks of Aristotle, which was a wonder to them, that he was so fine a scholar, and of such expectation."—"All that was taught of Aristotle he learned and studyed it out of the Greek text, which his masters understood not." Melville's Diary, p. 18. 28.

William Colless, or *Collace*, was James Melville's Regent. He was of St. Leonard's College, and was incorporated into the university at the same time with Andrew Melville.

* Melville's Diary, p. 28.

† Dempster mentions Alexander Ramsay as the preceptor of Melville. "Alexander Ramsayus vir doctissimus in patrio Sanctandreano Gymnasio præclaram famam ab eruditione accepit, *Andreæ Melvini præceptor*. Scripsit Panegyricos Latinos: Castigationem Veterum Dionysii Halicarnassæi Interpretum Latinorum: Notas in D. Paulini Opera." (Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 16. p. 563.) I have not met with the name of Alexander Ramsay as a teacher at St. Andrew's; perhaps he taught at Paris while Melville was there.

‡ Fundatio et Erectio Novii Collegii, Anno 1553. Melville's Diary, p. 16.

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 28. See also Note E.

§ "Andreas Melvinus Geo. Buchanano Præceptori suo et Musarum parenti." (Testimonia prefix. Oper. Buchanani, p. 21. Edit. Ruddim.) It may be remarked, that Sir Thomas Randolph, the well known ambassador from Elizabeth to Scotland, when he mentions Buchanan, uses the expression "my Master," both in letters to him and to others. (Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 18, 19.) Ruddiman, in his Notes on Buchanan's Life, says, that Randolph was taught humanity by Buchanan,—"a Buchanano humanioribus literis eruditus." The writer of Randolph's Life in the Biographia Britannica (vol. v. p. 3490.) understands this as meaning that he had Buchanan for "his schoolmaster," before he entered the university of Oxford.

we are not perhaps warranted to take this expression literally as implying that he had been under his tuition. But considering the zeal with which Buchanan patronized literature, and the affability with which he received young men of promising talents, it is highly probable that Melville was at this early period admitted to his society, and profited at least by his private instructions, during the visits which he appears to have paid to St. Andrew's.* The fame which his illustrious countryman had acquired, and the perusal of his poems, must have roused the youthful fancy of Melville, and led him to devote himself to a species of composition in which he afterwards attained to great excellence. To this, however, his mind had been attracted at a still earlier period. His brother was an admirer of the Latin poetry of the Italians, who had recently cultivated the ancient language of their country with uncommon ardour and the most wonderful success. Palingenius, in particular, was a favourite with Richard Melville on account of the purity of his moral sentiments, as well as the elegant dress in which they were clothed; and he was wont to repeat passages from his *Zodiacus Vitæ* to the youth of his family, and to make them commit the poem to memory.†

While Melville was yet at the university of St. Andrew's, his talents had attracted the notice of learned foreigners who visited Scotland. Among these was Petrus Bizzarus, a poet of Italy, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed religion. After spending some time at the court of London, he came to Scotland, where he was honourably received by Queen Mary, and by the Earl of Murray, who had then the chief direction of the government.‡ Melville was introduced to Bizzari, who expressed his warm regard for him in a copy of verses inserted in a work which was soon after published.‖ This was a flattering compliment to so young a man, especially as he was the only scholar in his native country who shared this honour with Buchanan.

Having acquired all the branches of learning which his native country afforded, Andrew Melville resolved to complete his education on the Continent. In autumn, 1564, being nineteen years of age, he set out for France, having previously obtained the consent of his brothers to the journey. His voyage was both tedious and dangerous. Through stress of weather he was obliged to land in England, and afterwards to go to Bourdeaux, from which he returned by sea to Dieppe. Having reached Paris, he immediately commenced his studies in the renowned university of that city.

We may in general form a correct estimate of the progress which a young man of talents and thirst for knowledge will make, from the state of education, and the character of the teachers, in the seminary which he attends. The university of Paris had long enjoyed a pre-eminent reputation among the great schools of Europe, founded on its antiquity, the number of its colleges, the extent of its revenues, and the venerated names which stood enrolled in its registers as professors and graduates. Attracted by these considerations, a multitude of young men from all the surrounding countries flocked to it annually, and were admitted citizens of one or other of the four nations into which that learned corporation was divided.*

But whatever was its popular celebrity, the university of Paris was indebted for its real eminence to the *Royal Trilingual College*, founded in 1529 by Francis I. at the recommendation of Budæus. That great scholar† had long lamented the inefficiency of the university for promoting the interests of literature, and despaired of introducing a tolerable reform into colleges founded in unenlightened times, and governed by laws and usages which were as deeply rooted in inveterate prejudice as they were irreconcileable to the principles of liberal science. The new institution was formed on the model of the Busilidian College at Louvain, which had been so zealously patronized by Erasmus.‡ It was the intention of Budæus to have had that distinguished scholar placed at its head; but he declined an honour which he foresaw would involve him in those troublesome and unsafe disputes from which it was his uniform object to escape. The Royal Trilingual College was originally intended, as its name imports, for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; although it was for some time before a teacher of Latin was appointed, owing to the opposition made by the members of the university which led Erasmus, in one of his letters, to call them *bilingual* pedants. The friends of learning obtained from Francis I. and his successors, the endowment of additional classes in the new establishment; and when Melville came to Paris, there were royal professors in all the branches of science, except Civil Law and Divinity. Previous to the erection of the Royal College, there was no provision in the university for instructing young men in the learned languages; the professors, in the different faculties, occupied themselves in commenting on barbarous and monkish

This is a mistake; and I have no doubt that Randolph studied under Buchanan in the University of Paris, when he fled from England into France to escape the persecution of Queen Mary. This was in 1553. (Biogr. Brit. ut supra. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. i. p. 567.) In the course of that year Buchanan taught at Paris, as a regent in the College of Boncourt. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 90. 2d Edit.

* Epist. Dedic. in *Franciscanos*. † Melville's Diary, p. 8.

‡ Bizzarus informs us that Mary presented him with a chain of gold, and he has addressed one of his treatises to that princess. (Varia Opuscula, f. 28, a.) In a poem inscribed "Ad Jacobum Stuardum Scotum," he celebrates the victory which that nobleman gained over the Earl of Huntly, in such terms as to warrant the conclusion, that he was then in Scotland. (Ibid. f. 93, a.) The battle of Corrichie, in which Huntly fell, was fought in October, 1562.

‖ The following are the lines referred to:—

Ad Andream Melvinum Scotum.

Nvlla apis Hyblæis legit de floribus unquam,
Deq; vllis herbis dulcia mella magis;
Dulcia vina magis nunquam de dulcibus vuis
Vlla dedit vitis quolibet axé poli:
Quàm mihi dulcis ades, dulci sermone, tuisq;
Mellitis verbis, moribus, ingenio.
Sincerum pectus, fidei constantia vere,
Veraq; sincera cum pietate, fides;
Me tibi sic vinclo dudum obstrinxere tenaci,
Meluine, vt possit soluere nulla dies.
Nulla dies soluet, distantia nulla locorum.
Imminuet, firmum sed mibi semper erit.

Petri Bizzari Varia Opvscvla, f. 109, b. Venetiis, 1565, 12mo.

For pointing out to me this rare book, and for other valuable notices, I am indebted to Dr. Irving, the learned biographer of Buchanan.—Some of Bizzari's poems were afterwards reprinted in *Delitiæ Poetarum Italorum*. The one just quoted is there inscribed "Ad Andream Miluinum," (tom. i. p. 437.) Bizzari is also the author of a history of the war in Hungary, from 1564 to 1568, written in Italian, and a history of Persia, in Latin. A letter from him to Lord Burleigh, written from the Turkish dominions, Aug. 18, 1575, is inserted in Murden's State Papers, p. 287.

* The four nations were those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany or England, in which last Scotland and Ireland were included. In 1513, there were 90 Regents belonging to the nation of France alone. (Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. vi. p. 59.) In the 12th century, the number of members of the university nearly equalled that of the citizens of Paris, and included students from every part of Christendom. (Epist. Diogillensis ad Abælardum, apud Bulæi Hist. tom. ii. p. 663.) About the beginning of the 16th century, there were 10,000 persons in it engaged in different branches of study. (Pontanus de Obedientia, lib. 5. cap. 6. apud Gratiarum Act. pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia. p. 14. Paris. 1601.) Joseph Scaliger says, that when he attended the university, (which was only a few years before Melville entered it,) there were *thirty thousand* students. Des Maizeaux, Scaligerana, &c. tom. ii. p. 490.

† "Nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus." Scaligerana Secunda.

‡ J. Frid. Borscher, Spicilegia Autogr. Epist. ad Erasmum, Spicileg. iv. p. 6, 7. Lips. 1802.

authors, and in the discussion of frivolous and intricate questions; the exercises of the students consisted of noisy and captious disputations; and degrees were conferred in a manner which would be reckoned disgraceful by those universities which are at present most lavish in the distribution of their nominal honours.* But a change to the better might now be observed in every branch of education. The court had the right of presentation to the chairs in the new college, and as it was become fashionable for the kings of France to act as the patrons of learning, men of talents and erudition were usually appointed to fill them. In addition to the direct influence of their instructions, they contributed indirectly but powerfully to reform the university. They excited strong hostility indeed, but they at the same time produced emulation. They occasioned fierce disputes by provoking the resentment of illiterate sophists and bigoted theologues, but they also broke the slumber which these literary drones had hitherto indulged in their cells, and roused them to exertions which otherwise they never would have made. The professors in the old colleges perceived that they were in danger of being eclipsed by their more learned and active rivals, and were reduced to the alternative of exerting themselves, and adopting the new improvements, if they did not wish to see their lessons contemned, their classes deserted, and their emoluments alarmingly reduced.

When Melville entered the university of Paris, it was in its most prosperous state. The late improvements had produced their salutary fruit, and they had not yet felt the blasting influence of the spirit of faction and fanaticism engendered by the infamous League, which, within a short time, destroyed the labours of many years, and reduced that flourishing seminary to its original barbarism.† The nation was enjoying a respite during the interval between the first civil war which ended in 1563, and the second which broke out in 1567; and several of the professors, who as well as the students, had been involved in the public confusions, had returned to Paris, and were restored to the charges which they had left, or from which they had been driven by the violence of the times.‡

Among the professors whose lectures were attended by Melville, we find the names of those who held a distinguished rank in their several professions, and to whom letters and philosophy are under the greatest obligations. The Greek chair in the Royal College was still filled by Turnebus, who had formerly been the colleague of Buchanan in that university, and who united an elegant taste with the highest critical attainments. Melville had the happiness to attend the last course of lectures delivered by that learned man in the year in which he died.‖ Mercerus and Quinquarboreus were conjunct royal Professors of Hebrew and Chaldee. By his oral instructions, the elementary treatises which he published, and his translations from Hebrew and Chaldee, the former contributed more than any individual of that age to the advancement of eastern learning. His commentaries on the Old Testament still deserve the attention of the biblical student; and Father Simon, whose judgment was sufficiently fastidious, has pronounced the highest eulogium on him, when he says, that Mercier possessed all the qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture, and that the only thing to be regretted in him is, that he suffered himself to be carried away by the novel opinions of the reformers.* Cinq Arbres, though destitute of the critical acumen and extensive knowledge of his colleague, has shown that he was well acquainted with the Hebrew grammar.† Under such able masters, Melville applied himself with great assiduity to the study of oriental languages, which he could not acquire in his native country.

We must not omit to mention here the celebrated Petrus Ramus, who excited so much notice by his bold and persevering attacks on the Aristotelian Philosophy, and became the founder of a new sect which made no inconsiderable progress in the schools of Europe. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the merits of his system of logic, or its tendency to advance real science, it does not admit of a doubt that a young man of talents must have derived the greatest benefit from a teacher of such ardour and independence; if not originality of mind, and of so much eloquence, as Ramus possessed. The greatest men of that age were trained up under him;‡ and several of those who, like Scaliger, have spoken disrespectfully of his merits, were indebted to him for that acuteness and classical taste which enabled them to detect the blunders which he committed, and into which he was betrayed by precipitation and a fondness for distinguishing himself in every department of knowledge. He was at this time Royal Professor of Roman Eloquence, as well as Principal of the College de Presle. Melville attended his lectures, and we shall afterwards have occasion to shew that he introduced the plan of teaching, and the mode of philosophizing, followed by his master, into the universities of Scotland.‖

* Bulæi Hist. tom. vi. p. ii. 915. Gratiarum Actio, ut supra, p. 14.

† Libellus Supplex ad August. Senatvm pro Academia Parisiensi, p. 14. Paris 1601. Gratiarvm Actio pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia, p. 14, 26-20. Paris, 1601.

‡ Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. t. vi. p. 550, 551. Bayle, Dict. art. *Ramee.*

‖ He died prematurely in June 1565. (Hist. Typographorum Paris. p. 47—78. Bulæus, vi. 918.) It has been supposed that he was of Scots extraction, and that his proper name was Tournebeuf or Turnbull. Dempster says that he was of the same family as William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 623.) Another writer says, "Ex familia Turnbullorum in Lisdalia Scotiæ provincia oriundus." (D. Buchananus de Script. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Coll. Edin.) And again, in the Appendix, "Hadrianus Turnebus Scoto avo natus."

* Simon, Histoire Critique de V. Testament, liv. iii. chap. 14. Bezæ Icones, Y. j. et Præfat. ejus in Merceri Comment. in Ecclesiasten. The first separate and formal treatise on Chaldaic grammar was "Tabulæ in Grammaticen linguæ Chaldææ, quæ et Syriaca dicitur—Johanne Mercero Hebraicarum Literarum Professore Regio. Paris. 1560." 4to. Beautifully printed at the royal press by William Morell.

† "De Re Grammatica Hebræorum Opus, in gratia Studiosorum linguæ Sanctæ, methodo facillima conscriptum, Authore Johanne Quinquarboreo Aurilacensi, linguarum Hebraicæ et Caldaicæ Regio Professore. Tertia et Postrema editio. Parisiis apud Martinum Juvenem. 1556." Wolfius says that this work was printed at Paris in 1549. 1556. and 1582. Bibl. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 615. But it appears from the above title that there were two editions of it before 1556.

‡ Nicolaus Nancelius, referring to his having taught in 1553 under Ramus in the College de Presle, says, in a letter to Buchanan, "ubi Regii tum juvenes Stuarti vestrates discebant." (Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 35.) One of these was the Prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the Regent Murray. It appears, from a Visitation of St. Leonard's college, that he was on the Continent in 1551; for a cause is delayed "usque ad redditum [reditum] Dni Commendatarii Prioratus S. Andreæ—ex partibus transmarinis." (Papers of St. Leonard's College.) And a Commission by William, bishop of Aberdeen, is signed by the Prior, as a witness, at Paris, September 13. 1552. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.)

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 33. Besides the lectures of these professors, he attended also those of Duretus, Paschasius, Forcatellus, Carpentarius, and Salignacus. Louis Durat was the favourite physician of Charles IX. and Henry III. (Teissier, Eloges, t. ii. p. 320, 2d. Edit.)—Paschasius Hamelius succeeded Orontius Finæus, the first royal Professor of Mathematics, and died in 1565. Bulæus, vi. 651. 915. 966.—Forcatellus was the author of two works on the science which he taught: "Le Troisieme Livre de Arithmetique, par Pierre de Forcadel." Paris, 1557, 4to; and "Les Six Premieres Livres des Elements d'Evclide trad. et commentez par Pierre Forcadel de Bezies." Paris, 1564. 4to.—Jacobus Carpentarius (Charpentier) the great opponent of Ramus, was chosen royal Professor of Mathematics in 1565. Ramus opposed his admission on the ground of his ignorance of that science, and urged that, as he had taken the title of Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, there was reason to fear he intended to confine himself to the former branch, and to neglect the latter. (Bulæus, tom. vi. p. 550—652.) James Melville mentions Salinacus among the professors of Mathematics. But this is a mistake. Joannes

While he listened to the instructions of the Royal Professors, Melville took his share in the usual academical exercises. And, during the second year of his abode in the university, he excited great admiration by the ease and fluency with which he declaimed in Greek.*

Two circumstances relating to the university of Paris, during the time that Melville attended it, are deserving of notice. The first relates to the religious liberty that was enjoyed, and the rapid progress which the protestant opinions were consequently making in it. A number of the professors, including several heads of colleges, avowed their attachment to these, and others were strongly suspected of the same religious bias.† But a few years after Melville left Paris, all those who refused to subscribe the Roman Catholic faith, including the students, were driven from the university.‡ The other circumstance alluded to is the opening of the College of Clermont at Paris by the Jesuits, with the exertions made by that intriguing order to gain admission into the university, and to insinuate themselves into the chief management of the education of youth. At the head of this new establishment was a countryman of Melville's, Edmund Hay, who had been a regent in the university of St. Andrew's, and left Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation, to which he was hostile.‖ The greater part of the Scots who retired to the Continent from attachment to the old religion, entered into the society of the Jesuits, in which they were sure to obtain promotion; owing to the ardour of their zeal, and a desire to allure converts from a kingdom that had made so sudden and general a defection from the Catholic Church. Hay was entitled to these honours by the respectability of his character no less than the sacrifices which he had made for the ancient faith. He afterwards became rector of the Academy which the Jesuits erected at Port-a-Mousson, Provincial of the Brethren in France, and Assistant to Claudius Aquaviva, the General of the whole order.§

The knowledge which Melville at this time obtained of the designs of the Jesuits, prompted him to exert himself afterwards in putting the universities of Scotland on such a footing as to render it unnecessary for young men to seek education abroad, where they were in the utmost danger of being seduced by these active and artful zealots of Rome.*

Melville also heard Francis Baldwin, the lawyer, who was allowed to read occasional or extraordinary lectures on Civil Law at Paris.† There was not then, nor for a considerable time after, a regular class for this science in the university of Paris, and it was not without strenuous opposition from the other learned corporations in France that its erection was obtained.‡ Melville had no intention of practising law, but he was anxious to avail himself of the opportunity which he enjoyed of going through a complete course of education. With this view he left Paris in 1566, and went to the university of Poictiers.

Such was the reputation which he had gained, that, though a stranger, and only twenty-one years of age, he was, on his arrival at Poictiers, made a regent in the college of St. Marceon. There was great rivalship between it and the college of St. Pivareau, the students of each endeavouring to excel those of the other in the composition of verses, and in the delivery of orations. In these literary contests the college of St Marceon carried away the palm while Melville was connected with it. In this situation he remained for three years, prosecuting at the same time the study of jurisprudence.‖ Meanwhile, the civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which was renewed in 1567, spread through the kingdom, and extended its baleful influence to the seats of learning. In 1568, Admiral Coligni, at the head of the Protestant army, laid siege to the city of Poictiers, which was vigorously defended by the young Duke of Guise. The classes in the university being broken up, Melville entered into the family of a Counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his only son. When he was making rapid improvement in his education, this promising boy was prematurely cut off. Coming into his room one day, Melville found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon ball from the camp of the besiegers which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, during which he employed the religious instructions which he had received in comforting his afflicted parent; and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing these words in Greek, Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μου τετελεκα—*Master, I have finished my course.* Melville continued to retain a lively recollection of this affecting scene, to which he never could allude without tears.§

During the siege Melville found himself exposed to danger from another cause. He had taken no part in the political dissensions of the country, and prudently avoided giving offence to the Roman Catholics with whom he was obliged to associate. But his inclinations as to religion were not altogether unknown,¶ and any mercenary or officious informer might have deprived him of his liberty, or even his life, in a place which was under martial law. There was a small company of soldiers stationed as a guard to the Counsellor's house, and Melville had raised the suspicions

Salignacus was the favourite scholar of Vatablus, and distinguished for his acquaintance with Jewish and Rabinical learning. He appears to have been one of the royal Professors of Hebrew when Melville was at Paris. (Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, p. 33—35. Calvini Epist. et Resp. p. 163. Oper. tom. ix.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 33.

† Nicholas Charton, Principal of the College of Beauvais, Jean Dahin, Principal of Chenai, and Pierre Ramee, Principal of Presle, with others of inferior note, were, in 1568, ejected from their situations, as Hugonots. (Bulæus, tom. vi. p. 657—660.) The other universities of France were, in proportion to their extent, still more generally infected with heresy. In Bourges eight professors were suspected of Lutheranism. (Bayle, Dict. art. *Dauren.*) The magistrates of Paris, in 1568, enforced their petition for the opening of a class of Civil Law in the capital, by urging the danger to which their sons were exposed of being infected with heresy at other universities. (Bulæus, vi. 668.)

‡ Bulæus, vi. 502. 583.

‖ Records of University of St. Andrew's. Crawfurd says he was the son of Peter Hay of Meggins, ancestor of the Earls of Kinnoul. (Officers of State, p. 157.) But he seems to have confounded the Jesuit with a person of the same name, who was an Advocate. There is no evidence that the former ever followed the profession of Law; as Crawfurd asserts. He had left Scotland in 1560, or at any rate was in France in 1564, and continued, till his death, to hold a distinguished place among the Jesuits in that country. Mr. Edmund Hay, advocate, was one of the Counsel for the Earl of Bothwell, on his trial for the murder of Darnley, and in the process of his divorce. (Buchanan's Detection, sig. k, 2. Goodall's Examination, i. 368.) And he signs a Contract as a procurator, Jaff. 2. 1572. (Register-Book of Contracts of the Commissariot of St. Andrew's.)—Dempster has stated with more probability, that father Edmund Hay was descended from the family of Dalgaty, in Buchan. (Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 3. p. 301.)

§ Ribadeneira, Illustr. Script. Societ. Jas. Catal. p. 49. Lugd. 1609. Dempst. ut supra. A letter from Edmund Hay, ("ex Paris, idib. Feb. 1564,") in which he gives an account of the successful commencement of the college of Clermont, and the opposition it had met with, is inserted by Bulæus. Histor. Univers. Paris. tom. vi. p. 588.

* In 1594, the Jesuit's Seminary had nearly depopulated the colleges in the university of Paris. (Bulæus, ut supra, p. 847.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 33. Bayle states that Baldwin, about the period here referred to, read lectures upon parts of the Pandects, at Paris, to a large audience, and with great applause. (Dict. art. *Baudouin.*) And it would appear that, as early as 1546, he and Hottoman prelected on Civil Law in the *Ecoles du Decret.* Ibid. art. *Hotman*, (Francois) note M.

‡ See Note F. ‖ Melville's Diary, ut supra.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 33, 34.

¶ There had been a reformed church in Poictiers for several years, and its minister sat in the first National Synod of the Protestants of France. In 1560 the second National Synod was held in that city. (Quick, Synodicon, i. 2, 12.)

of the subaltern officer who commanded them, by reading the Bible, and similar acts of devotion, which were usually regarded by the French soldiery as the discriminating marks of the Hugonots or Christaudins.* An alarm being one day given that the enemy intended an assault, the officer, with a stern voice, challenged him as a Hugonot, who would betray the city to the enemy, and whom he durst not trust at liberty. Melville repelled this charge with warmth, armed himself with the utmost expedition, and taking a horse from the stable, prepared to mount it, and repair to the breach. His stout averments, and the alacrity which he displayed, staggered the suspicions of the soldier, who now requested him to desist from his preparations. "No, no; (answered Melville) I will shew myself this day to be as honest and as brave a man as you." Upon this the poor fellow had recourse to entreaties, begging him not to inform the master of the house of what he had done; for if the matter came to the ears of his superior officer he would lose his place for molesting so loyal and good a subject. And he ever after treated Melville with the most profound respect.

The siege being raised, Melville resolved to quit France, and repair to Geneva for the prosecution of theological studies. Great caution was necessary in carrying this purpose into execution; for it was reported that foreign troops were coming to the assistance of the Admiral, and the governors of the provinces bordering on Switzerland and Germany had received strict orders from the court to suffer none to leave the kingdom without passports. Having concerted his journey with a young Frenchman who wished to accompany him, he left his books and other effects behind him, and set out on foot with a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. This was a mode of travelling to which he was partial, and the usual way in which he equipped himself for it. Being light in body, and full of spirits, he performed the journey with great ease; and when his fellow-traveller, exhausted with fatigue, had thrown himself on bed, he sallied forth, and examined whatever was worthy of being seen in the places at which he stopped. By avoiding the public roads and fortified towns, they passed the frontiers of France without meeting with any interruption. Night had set in when they reached Geneva, and the city was strictly guarded on account of the confusions of France, and the multitude of strangers who came from it. When questioned by the guard, the Frenchman replied that they were poor scholars from France. The countenance of the soldier expressed his thoughts as significantly as if he had said aloud, "We have got too many persons of your description here already." Melville, perceiving this, assured him that they had enough of money to pay for all they required, and shewing him the letters which they had for Monsieur Beza, begged to know where they would find that minister: upon which the gates were opened to them.

At their first interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, of whom he talked to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity which happened to be then vacant in their Academy. Accordingly he was put on trials within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges, that he was immediately admitted. A quarter of a year's salary was paid him at his admission, which proved a very seasonable relief; for, notwithstanding his courageous language to the guard, the joint funds of the two travellers did not exceed a crown when they entered Geneva. He was now able to support himself creditably, and also to maintain his desponding companion until such time as he obtained a situation.

During the ten years which had elapsed since its erection, the University, or as it is commonly called, the Academy of Geneva,* had flourished under the fostering care of the magistrates and ministers of that energetic republic. It was at this time furnished with teachers who were inferior to those of no titled university in Europe, and had attracted students from every protestant country. The professorship which Melville had obtained was chiefly valued by him as it put it in his power to avail himself of the talents of these excellent men in the prosecution of his studies. With true literary ardour he waited on their public instructions as a scholar, at the same time that he was honoured with their friendship and admitted to their private society as a colleague.

It was at this period that he made that progress in oriental literature for which he was afterwards distinguished. Rodolph Chevalier,† the first professor of Hebrew in the academy, had lately left Geneva, and was succeeded by Cornelius Bertramus. The talents and erudition of Bertram were superior to those of his predecessor. His work on the Jewish Polity is still a standard work; and his Comparison of the Hebrew and Aramean languages discovers an acquaintance with grammatical analogy very uncommon at that period.‡ Melville acquired from him the knowledge of Syriac, which had but recently become a subject of study among Europeans, and which is so useful to a divine from its near affinity to the original of the Old Testament, and from the ancient and valuable version of the New Testament which exists in it.

The Greek chair in the academy was then filled by Franciscus Portus, a native of the island of Candia.‖ Portus is well known to the learned by his commentaries on ancient authors. He had resided at the court of Renee, the accomplished Dutchess of Ferrara, and retired to Geneva for the sake of enjoying the free exercise of the reformed religion. Enthusiastically attached to Grecian literature from patriotism as well as profession, Portus was charmed with the progress which Melville had made in it, and took great pleasure in pointing out to him the beauties of his native tongue, and in discussing with him those nicer questions in its philology about which critics were then divided. On these occasions Melville sometimes ventured to oppose the favourite opinions of his master, either from conviction, or with the view of eliciting fuller information on the subject. In a dispute as to the proper pronunciation of the language, and the power of the accents, he happened one day to push his objections rather too freely, upon which the jealous

* The Catholics of France were accustomed at this time to apply both these names to the Protestants. (Bulæus, vi. 483.)

* The magistrates of Geneva having applied to the King of France to obtain the privileges of a university to their academy, his majesty, after consultation, refused the request, upon this ground, that "Universities were found to be the nurseries of heresy." (Senebier, Histoire Litteraire de Geneve, i. 35.)

† Antoine-Rodolphe Chevalier (Cevalerius) was Queen Elizabeth's tutor in the French language; and at a late period of his life he appears to have taught Hebrew in England. Among the Baker MSS. vol. xiii. 36. is "Account of Cevalerius, Hebrew reader, and his issue." (Biogr. Britan. vol. i. p. 524. 2d edit. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 438.)

‡ Four recommendatory poems by Melville are prefixed to this work. Its title is: "Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et Aramicæ. Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo, vtriusque linguæ Professore. Apud Evstathivm Vignon. 1574." 4to. Bertram was the editor of the Polyglot Bible, published by Commelin in 3 vols. fol. 1586. (Le Long. Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. part i. p. 384—5. edit. Masch.) For his other works, Bayle. Teissier, and Colomesius (Gallia Orientalis, p. 68.) may be consulted.

‖ Isaac Casaubon, the first Greek scholar of the age in which he lived, was a pupil of Portus, and has pronounced the highest eulogium on his master. "Sincera pietas, virtus excellens, et singularis doctrina, bonis omnibus venerabilem reddebant." (Exercitationes ad Apparat. Annal. Baronii, p. 37. edit. 1663. See also Vita Casauboni, p. 4, 5. edit. Almeloveen.) Several Greek poems by Portus are in the edition *Bezæ Poematum*, printed anno 1569.

Candian grew warm, and testily exclaimed, *Vos Scoti, vos barbari, docebitis nos Græcos pronunciationem nostræ linguæ, scilicet!—You Scots, you barbarians, will teach us Greeks how to pronounce our own language, forsooth!**

But the person to whom Melville felt the strongest attraction at Geneva, was the celebrated Theodore Beza, who performed the duty of professor of divinity in the academy, along with that of a minister of the city. After the death of Calvin, Beza was unquestionably the brightest ornament, and the most powerful champion, of the Reformation. Equally distinguished as a divine, a poet, an orator, and a critic, no individual contributed more to enlighten and adorn the age in which he lived.† His editions of the Greek New Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes, whatever defects may now be discovered in them, were by far the most valuable works which had then appeared in that department of literature; and no person who is well acquainted with the history of sacred criticism and interpretation, will allow himself to speak of them with disparagement.‡ Of his poetical productions it is sufficient to say, that they were admired by the best judges among his contemporaries, and met with the applause of two eminent individuals, who, like himself, had courted the muse by "Siloa's brook, and Jordan's hallow'd tide." On reading his poems, Flaminio exclaimed, "I see that the Muses have at length crossed the Alps,"‖ and Buchanan hesitated not to pronounce him "one of the most singular poets that have been of a long time."§ When we consider these unequivocal testimonies of approbation, we will not feel disposed to pay implicit regard to the caustic remark of the critic, that Beza by printing his version of the Psalms along with Buchanan's, "led to a comparison which he ought not rashly to have hazarded."¶ The magnanimity which prompts a man of genius to enter into competition with his illustrious contemporaries, prevents him from being meanly mortified when he is excelled by them; and he may, at the same time, be conscious, and gratified with the consciousness, that his productions are not unworthy of being associated with those to which he willingly yields the palm of superiority. The history of letters, during the period of which we speak, affords many pleasing examples of this species of noble strife and amicable rivalship, to which honourable fame incites her votaries.

> Her Temple's everlasting doors unbarr'd,
> Desert is various, various the reward.
> No little jealousy; no ill-timed sneer,
> No envy there is found, or rival fear.

To these talents and acquirements, and to the most unquestionable piety, Beza added great politeness and affability of manners. He was well born and well educated; and having enjoyed the society of the great, as well as the learned, his conversation was both pleasing and instructive. By the inhabitants of the city to which he had devoted his services he was held in veneration; and the manner in which he uniformly received the public and flattering expressions of this feeling, contributed to set the purity of his character, and the generosity of his dispositions, in the most striking light.*

Besides attending the sermons and the academical prelections of this eminent individual, Melville had the happiness of being admitted at all times to his private society. The learning, wit, vivacity, and candour, which Melville possessed, would of themselves have recommended him to the notice of one who was so susceptible of impressions from these qualities; but there were other circumstances which contributed to facilitate his access to the good graces of Beza. That reformer was uniformly partial to Scotsmen. He admired the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. He had long maintained an intimate friendship with two of the most illustrious individuals in that nation, Knox and Buchanan. And there was at that time in Geneva another Scotsman, a relation of Melville, with whom he had lived for many years as a colleague, and whom he revered for his talents and virtues.

This was Henry Scrimger, whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his countrymen. He was the son of Walter Scrimger of Glasswell, a branch of the honourable family of Dudup, in which the offices of royal standard-bearer and of constable of Dundee had long been hereditary. Having finished his course of education with applause at St. Andrew's,† he went to the university of Paris, from which he removed to Bourges, to prosecute the study of Civil Law under Baro and Duaren. By the recommendation of the celebrated Amiot, then professor of Greek at Bourges and afterwards raised to the highest offices, he became tutor to the children of Secretary Boucherel. In this situation he gave such satisfaction that he was chosen private secretary to the bishop of Rennes, upon his appointment as ambassador from the court of France to different states of Italy. During a visit to Padua, he saw the noted Francis Spira, who died under great horror of mind in consequence of his recantation of the Protestant religion. This scene produced the same effect upon Scrimger's mind which it did on Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, and Gribaldi, a lawyer of Padua; and he determined to sacrifice the prospects which his present situation held out to him, and to return to Switzerland where he might profess the reformed sentiments with safety. Being invited to Augsbourg by the Fuggers, a family who had raised from the mines of Tyrol a princely fortune, which they expended in the advancement of literature,‡ Scrimger furnished the library of Ulrich Fugger with the rarest books and manuscripts. During his travels in Italy, he had collected ample materials for correcting the works of the ancients, and particularly those of Greece.‖ He published an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* of Justinian in Greek, which was prized by the first lawyers

* Melville's Diary, p. 35.

† Casaubon, in one of his letters, calls Beza, Scaliger, and De Thou, "the three suns of the learned world." (Epist. p. 68. edit. Almeloveen.)

‡ "Quod vero ante eum (Bezam) nemo instituit, ut codices consuleret et crisin Novi Testamenti tractaret, id et ipsum præstitit ille, nactus quosdam codices. Sic parva quidem et tenuia, tamen initia sunt facta Critices N. T. eaque valde laudabilia." (Sam. Frid. N. Mori Hermeneutica Novi Test. cura H. C. A. Eichstadt, tom. ii. p. 392, Lips. 1802.)

‖ Theodori Bezæ Poemata: Item ex Georgio Buchanano aliisque poetis Excerpta. Epist. Dedic. p. 7. Henr. Steph. 1569.

§ See the letter of Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph; printed in the Appendix.

¶ Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii. p. 128. He should have said that Beza *permitted* this; for it was Henry Stephens who first published them in the same volume. "Vides, lector, Henr. Stephanum non sine causa Bezæ Poematibus Buchanani et Flaminii eius familiarium poemata sociavisse." (Maittaire, Stephanorum Historia, p. 345.)

* Anton. Fayus, Vita Theod. Bezæ. Bayle, Dict. art. *Beze*. Teissier, Eloges, iv. 484—506. In 1570 the plague raged at Geneva, and one was chosen by lot from the company of ministers to visit those who were infected with that dreadful malady. The Council issued an order that Beza should be exempted from the lot, upon which he appeared before them, and begged that they would recal their order, as he looked upon the service as a part of his ministerial function. Accordingly his name was included among those of his brethren. In 1572, the Churches of France requested his assistance at the National Synod of Nismes. The magistrates of Geneva did not think it safe for him to undertake the journey, and proposed that he should send them his advice in writing. Beza convinced them that this would not answer the purpose, and after a long debate they consented that he should go. (Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve: 20 Feb. 1570; and 21 Apr. 1572. MS.)

† See Note G.

‡ Shelhorn, Amœnitates Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, i. 719. The same author has collected various facts respecting this family in his *Amœnitates Literariæ*.

‖ See under Note G.

of the time; and the editions of several of the classics published by Henry Stephens were enriched with the various readings and remarks which he liberally communicated to that learned printer. In 1563, Calvin persuaded him to come to Geneva, The magistrates conferred on him the freedom of the city; and, after he had taught for two years as professor of philosophy, they appointed him to the newly erected chair of Civil Law, which he filled to his death.*

As Melville's elder brother had been married to a sister of Scrimger, he had the readiest access to the conversation of his venerable countryman, which was highly valuable from the knowledge which he had acquired during his travels, and to his library, which was stored with the best and rarest books, both printed and in manuscript. He was a frequent visitor at his lodgings in town, and also at the *Violet*, a neat villa which Scrimger had built within a league of Geneva, and where he chiefly resided during the last years of his life, with his wife and an only daughter.†

At Geneva Melville had the happiness to become personally acquainted with several other individuals well known in the learned world, some of whom afterwards corresponded with him. Among these was Lambert Danæus, who was at that time associated with Beza in teaching theology, and afterwards discharged the same office in the university of Leyden.‡ The learned printer, Henry Stephens, took particular notice of our young countryman, and spoke of him in the most flattering terms.‖ He also obtained the friendship of Paulus Melissus, celebrated for his Latin odes, and translation of the Psalms into German verse.§ James Lectius, equally distinguished as a politician and a scholar, whose name is associated with those of Bonnivard, Roset, and other patriots, in the history of his country, and who was permitted, by way of singular honour, to occupy at the same time a chair in the academy and the highest office in the republic, was the pupil of Melville, for whom he continued ever after to cherish the highest esteem.¶

The massacre of the Protestants, which commenced at Paris on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, and which wrought such woe to France, was the occasion of extending Melville's acquaintance with the learned men of the age. Those who escaped the dagger of the murderer, took refuge in Geneva, whose gates were thrown open to receive them. One hundred and twenty French ministers were at one time in the city. The academy overflowed with students, and the magistrates were unable to provide salaries for the learned men whom they were desirous to employ, or to find situations for such as were willing to teach without receiving any remuneration.* Among those who obtained public appointments was Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age, and a man of real genius, although he devoted his talents chiefly to the dry study of criticism and illustration of ancient authors.† Melville's acquaintance with Scaliger had commenced two years before this period, during a visit which that learned man paid to Geneva.‡ All the recommendatory verses prefixed to a collection of his father's poems, which he published during his exile, proceeded from Melville's pen.‖ Among the refugees there were also two civilians, distinguished for their talents and erudition: Francis Hottoman, who had taught with high reputaio n at Bourges and Valence; and Edmond Bonnefoy, the colleague of the great Cujacius. The latter had run the highest risk in the massacres, and was protected from the fanatical fury of the people by Cujacius, who esteemed him so highly as to declare, that if he were dying, and desired, like Aristotle, to choose his successor, he would name Bonnefoy.§ A compliment not less flattering is paid him by the enlightened De Thou, who has recorded, in his history, that he was the scholar of Bonnefoy, and owed more to him than to any other man.¶ So zealous were the magistrates of Geneva to encourage science, that, in the midst of their poverty, they allotted handsome salaries to these two civilians, only requiring that the citizens should be admitted gratis to their lectures. Hottoman lectured twice a-week on Roman Law, and Bonnefoy thrice a-week on Oriental Jurisprudence, a science of which he may be regarded as the founder, and for which he was eminently qualified by his knowledge of the languages of the East.**

We are expressly informed that Melville heard the lectures of Hottoman;†† and there can be little doubt that he also availed himself of the opportunity of attending those of Bonnefoy, which were still more in-

* Maittaire, Hist. Stephan. passim. Senebier, Catalogue Raisonnê des Manuscrits de Geneve, p. 285. From Calvin's letter, dated 27th October, 1562, it appears that Scrimger was not then at Geneva. But in another work Senebier states (apparently from the public records) that he was admitted professor of philosophy at Geneva, in 1561, and that the freedom of the city was conferred on him in the course of the same year. (Histoire Litteraire i. 497.) Among the witnesses to Calvin's Testament, made 26th April, 1564, we find "spectatum virum Henricum Scrimgerum professorem artium," and he is included among those called "cives Genevenses." (Beza, Vita Calvini.) "Henri Scringer, professeur de droit," was elected a member of the Council of LX. "3 Janvier, 1570, à l'age de 64." (Fragmens Biograph. et Hist. extraits de Registres de Geneve, p. 16. Gen. 1815.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 35. James Melville mentions only his daughter; but it appears from a letter of Scrimger to Buchanan, that his wife was alive in April, 1572, (Buchan. Epist. p. 9.) From Buchanan's letter to him, it would seem that he had lately been bereaved of some of his children. (Ibid. p. 8.)

‡ Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve. MS. p. 118. Senebier, Hist. Litt. i. 312.

‖ Casauboni Epist. p. 129. edit. Almeloveen.

§ Adami Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum, p. 448. Among the poems of Melissus is one inscribed "Ad Andr. Melvinum Celurcanum." (Melissi Schediasmatvm Poeticorvm Pars Tertia, p. 226. Lvtetiæ Parisiorum, 1586.)

¶ Epistola J. Lectii, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. Num. 31. Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 129. Senebier, Hist. Litt. ii. 54—61. A great many letters which passed between him and Casaubon are in the collection of Almeloveen.

* See two letters of Beza to Thomas Von Til, in Illustr. et Clar. Viror. Epistolæ Selectiores, p. 615—620. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344. Scaliger has preserved the curious fact, that the Dutchess of Savoy sent 4000 florins annually for the relief of the French refugees at Geneva. Beza was the only minister acquainted with this charitable deed during the life of the Dutchess. In one of Beza's letters above referred to we find another singular fact. The city of Geneva had been grievously afflicted with the plague during the greater part of two years, but this dreadful malady disappeared upon the arrival of the persecuted fugitives.

† He was admitted Professor of Philosophy, in October, 1572, and continued to read lectures in the academy during two years. (Senebier, Hist. Litter. ii. 10. and Scaligerana Secunda, art. *Geneve.*) Chauffepie and Burman, who have referred his residence at Geneva to another period, have suffered themselves to be misled by trusting to inferences from letters without dates.

‡ Scaliger has mentioned his being at Geneva in 1570. (Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom ii. p. 344.

‖ Jvlii Cæsaris Scaligeri Poemata—Genevæ, 1575, 8vo. The epigrams are inscribed "Andr. Melvinvs Celurcanus." In the College Library of Edinburgh there is a copy of that work which had belonged to Melville, and has his autograph on the title page. He has transcribed some poems on the blank leaves at the beginning of the book, and written notes on the margin, consisting partly of emendations of the text, and partly of references to ancient authors whom Scaliger had imitated. To the subscription of the epigrams he has added with his pen "ad Lemannum, to intimate that he was then resident at Geneva. "Celurcanus" means *a native of Montrose.*

Nobilis urbs *roseî* jam gaudet nomine *montis*,
Quæ prius a cœlo dicta *Celurca* fuit.

Ar. Jonstoni Poemata Omnia, p. 439. Middelb. 1642.

Two of these epigrams by Melville are republished in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 344.

§ Cujacii Observationes, cap. vi. Bonnefoy died at Geneva in the year 1574. Hotomanorum Epistolæ, p. 45.

¶ Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1574. Teissier, iii. 33—4.

** Hottoman's salary was 800 florins, and Bonnefoy's 700 a-year. Recueil de diverses particularitez conc. Geneve. p. 118. Hottomanorum Epistolæ, p. 45. Senebier, i. 327. ii. 7, 8.

†† Melville's Diary, p. 35. Colomesii Gallia Orientalis. p. 58.

timately connected with those studies to which he had now devoted his chief attention.

I have gone into these details, not merely as illustrative of the literary history of the period, but also as serving to throw light on the future conduct of Melville. We shall find him taking a deep interest in the political transactions of his native country; and the facts which we have produced tend to show that he was not unqualified by his education for judging on this subject. The studies of the learned in that age were more universal, and the common ground on which men of different professions met, was more extended than at present. Every person versant in its literary history must have been particularly struck with the union of the study of theology and law. Law, when properly viewed, is a noble, and in some sense a divine science. When, instead of being made to rest on the arbitrary dictates of mere will, whether exerted by individuals or communities, on the prescriptions of custom, or on the uncertain deductions of indeterminable expediency, the Law of Nations is founded, as it always ought to be, on the Law of Nature, and the eternal principles of equity and justice sanctioned by the supreme Legislator, the study of it is closely allied to that of theology. And to represent them as discordant, or as incapable of affording aid to each other, is to injure both, and is as absurd as it would be to divorce and dissever the great ends which they respectively aim at,—the promoting of the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind. We meet with few of the writers of this period who excelled in one of these branches without being also well acquainted with the other. As religion is the common concern of all men, and as the public mind was then deeply interested in the controversies relating to it, we are not greatly surprised at the accounts which are given of the extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with Ecclesiastical History, which was possessed by many distinguished civilians and statesmen—by such men as Hottoman, and Godefroy, and Grotius, Languet, and Mornay, and St. Aldegonde. But we are not equally prepared to admit the statement, although well authenticated, that the chief divines of the reformed church were intimately acquainted with the principles of jurisprudence, and qualified, by the course of study which they had pursued, to give their advice on questions relating to government and the administration of laws. Not to mention Calvin, Beza, and other foreign theologians, it would be easy to establish the fact by referring to not a few in our own country, as Row, Craig, Pont, Arbuthnot, and Adamson. This may be ascribed partly to the passion which those who addicted themselves to learning at that period felt to "intermeddle with all knowledge;" and partly to the superior gratification which this manly study yielded, in comparison with the dry and disgusting logic which had so long been exclusively cultivated in the schools. But it is chiefly to be traced to a new feeling, which recent events had produced, and which had for its object the promotion of the public good. This was the effect of the late reformation of religion; and at the same time one of the moral forces by which that mighty revolution exerted its influence upon the sentiments of mankind in favour of civil liberty and the amelioration of government. It is a favourite maxim with many in the present day, that the benefits which we owe to the Reformation, are to be regarded as the ulterior and remote results of that event, rather than effects contemplated and intended by the Reformers. It would be absurd to give an absolute negative to this proposition; but there is much less truth in it than those who announce it with such oracular importance imagine. Many of those actions which we are apt to impute to turbulence, or to clerical ambition and officiousness, and which we are prone to stigmatize as the offspring of bigotry and intolerance, we would, if better acquainted with the principles of the actors, and more attentive to the circumstances in which they were placed, see reason to ascribe to more enlightened and patriotic views.

It was at Geneva that Knox first felt the hallowed flame of liberty kindle in his breast; and while he breathed the free air of that republic, he conceived the enterprise of breaking the fetters of religious and political bondage by which his native country was enthralled. Since his leaving it, the spirit of freedom had expanded itself, and during the two last years that Melville resided there, an event occurred which enables us to ascertain its force. To assert, as some have done, that the violent and sanguinary measures to which tyrants have recourse always defeat themselves, would be only to foster delusion; for history demonstrates that they have, on the contrary, very often proved but too successful. At the same time, it is true, that, under the direction of a merciful Providence, they have sometimes led to happier results. This was particularly the case as to the horrid scenes which disgraced France in the year 1572. The sensation produced by them was simultaneously felt at the most distant extremities of Europe. In Poland it excited alarm and disgust at the idea of receiving a king from a court polluted with blood and perfidy.* In Scotland it crushed the hopes of a party which laboured to restore popery and arbitrary power. In the Low countries it confirmed the inhabitants in their resolution to release themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Spain. And it disposed the court of England to afford the assistance necessary for enabling these patriots to achieve their emancipation.

But it was at Geneva that this feeling operated with full force. In a city composed of freemen and Protestants, the conduct of the French court excited the strongest indignation, and was universally execrated. Smarting under the injuries which they had suffered, the refugees denounced the tyranny of the rulers who had inflicted them, and pointed to the only remedy by which the evil could be effectually corrected. Those who had afforded them an asylum were prepared to sympathize with their feelings and sentiments. The most important and delicate questions respecting government—the origin of power, the best mode of conveying it, its just limits, and the right of subjects to resist its abuse—became the topics of common discourse, and were discussed with a freedom and boldness which could have been tolerated only in a republican state, and exemplified only at a period when the public mind was in a state of high excitement. It was at this time that Hottoman composed his *Franco-Gallia*, a work which resembles the political treatises of Buchanan† and of Languet,‡ in the questions which it agitates, and the principles of freedom which it lays down and defends. At the same time, and in the same strain, did Beza compose a tract, which the magistrates of Geneva suppressed from prudential considerations, while they pronounced an approbation of the principles which it contained.‖ Peter Charpentier, a mercenary renegado, insulted the city which

* I allude particularly to a fact which appears to have been hitherto concealed in the registers of Geneva. The Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. and afterwards Henry III. of France, having offered himself as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland, the Polish Protestants wrote, in April, 1573, to the ministers of Geneva, requesting to be fully informed respecting the massacres in France, and the real authors of them, that they might take their measures accordingly in the approaching election of a new king. The ministers laid the letters before the council, who did not judge it prudent to return an answer in writing, but sent a person qualified for giving them the information which they required. (Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve, p. 119. MS.)

† *De Jure regni apud Scotos.*

‡ *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*; published by Hubert Languet under the name of *Junius Brutus.*

‖ See Note [illegible]

had formerly honoured him with an academical chair,* by addressing to Portus, the professor of Greek at Geneva, an apology for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he insidiously attempted to shew, that there were two classes of Protestants in France, a religious and a political, and that the late ebullition of public vengeance was directed solely against those who had made religion a cloak to their treasonable designs. Though foreign to his profession and studies, Portus took up the pen, and in a reply, breathing keen but virtuous indignation, defended the innocence of the sufferers, and exposed the malignant falsehoods and stale sophistry of their base and unprincipled calumniator.†

How deeply Melville's mind was imbued with these sentiments, appears from the uniform zeal which he afterwards shewed for the liberties of his country, and the firm resistance which he opposed to popery and arbitrary power. It was also displayed in the poems which he composed at this time; in which he embalmed the memory of the late martyrs, and bitterly execrated the cruelty of their persecutors.‡

In the year 1572, Alexander Young came to Geneva with letters, from the Regent Mar and Buchanan, to his uncle, Henry Scrimger,‖ requesting his return to Scotland, and promising him the most honourable and liberal encouragement. Buchanan had before repeatedly written him to the same purpose, and the manner in which he urged his request evinced, at the same time, his own patriotism and his high esteem for Scrimger. But that venerable scholar continued to excuse himself, by pleading the confusions of his native country and his own advanced age.§ For several years Melville had almost forgotten Scotland, in the ardour with which he applied to his studies and the discharge of his academical duty. The memory of it, and of the friends whom he had not seen for many years, was revived by the conversation of Young; and when the latter returned to Scotland, he sent letters by him to his brothers, acquainting them with his situation. As they had not heard of him for a long time, and feared he had lost his life in the troubles of France, they were overjoyed to learn that he was alive, and in great estimation at Geneva. Upon Young's paying a second visit to that city, Melville received a most affectionate letter from them, and pressing invitations to return home. Among the rest was a letter from one of his nephews, then a student at St. Andrew's; and the ingenuous manner in which the young man described the low state of education in Scotland, and spoke of the benefit which it would derive from a person of such learning as he was told his uncle possessed, had no small influence in disposing him to think seriously of returning to Scotland.

About the same time, Alexander Campbell, a cadet of the house of Argyle, who, though a youth, had been presented to the bishopric of Brechen,* visited Geneva in his travels, accompanied by his tutor, Andrew Polwart. The solicitations of Polwart, with whom Melville had been acquainted at the University of St. Andrews, joined to the urgent request of his own friends, determined him to return to Scotland, and to devote the knowledge which he had acquired abroad to the service of his country. This resolution he respectfully intimated to his colleagues, and to the magistrates, as patrons of the academy; requesting their permission to demit the office with which they had honoured him. His request was reluctantly granted, with expressions of their sorrow at losing him, and ample testimonials of their approbation and esteem. In a letter addressed to the General Assembly in their name, Beza, among other expressions of the same tenor, testified, that Andrew Melville was "equally distinguished by his piety and his erudition; and that the church of Geneva could not give a stronger proof of her affection to her sister church of Scotland, than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him, that his native country might be enriched with his gifts."†

It was not without feelings of regret that Melville parted from Geneva, and the friends whom he had gained during his residence in that city. In the subsequent period of his life, he frequently retraced the scene in his imagination, and relieved his mind, amidst his labours and anxieties, by recollecting the happy years which he had spent there, in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the society of some of the greatest and best men of the age. The subject is more than once introduced in his poetical pieces, and always with tenderness and enthusiasm. In a poem to the memory of John Lyndsay, one of his countrymen who died at Geneva, he pays an affectionate tribute to the most distinguished individuals whom he had known in that city. This is introduced by a deploration of the massacres so disgraceful to the neighbouring kingdom of France, which were painfully associated with the delightful recollections which the thoughts of Geneva excited in his breast. In the same poem he commemorates several of his countrymen, who, like Lyndsay, had finished their days at Geneva.†

Melville left Geneva in spring, 1574, along with Polwart, and his pupil the Bishop of Brechin. They took the way of Lyons; and, traversing Franche-compté, descended the Loire to Orleans. During a part of their journey they were accompanied by three Frenchmen—a priest, a physician, and an officer of the army, all zealous Roman Catholics. Before they parted, Melville had made the military gentleman almost a Protestant; and, partly by argument, and partly by good humoured raillery, he prevailed so far over the prejudices of the others, as that they had no objection to eat flesh on Friday, a practice which they at first regarded with much horror.

As the civil war was still raging in many parts of France, a vigilant eye was kept on such strangers as came to Orleans. When our travellers approached that city, the soldier on guard allowed the Bishop and Polwart, who were on foot, to pass without interruption, but stopped Melville, who, having sprained his foot, was on horseback. To the question "Whence are you?" Melville replied, "From Scotland."—"O! you Scots are all Hugonots."—"Hugonots! What's that? We do not know such people in Scotland."—"You have no mass," said the soldier—"*Vous vous n'avez pas la Messe.*"—"No *mess*, man!" replied Melville merrily; "why, our children in Scotland go to

* Charpentier was for some time the colleague of Henry Scrimger, in the profession of Civil Law, at Geneva. (Senebier, Hist. Litter. i. 51, 326.) He was the son of James Charpentier, who is charged with having revenged his literary quarrels with Ramus, by instigating his scholars to murder that philosopher during the cannibal-scenes exhibited in Paris. (Bayle, art. *Ramée* and *Charpentier*.)

† Franc. Porti. Cretensis, Responsio ad Epistolam Petri Carpentarii. Genev. 1572.

‡ The two following epigrams may serve as a specimen of his cordial detestation of tyranny:

Classicum.

Ad libertatem quid obest tibi, Gallia? Vis, fraus,
Et lupus, et lupa, cum sanguineis catulis.
Ad libertatem quid adest tibi, Gallia? Jus, fas,
Mensque manusque virum. Nunc quid abest? Animus.

Tyrannis.

Tarquinii de stirpe truces cum terra tyrannos
Tot ferat; acri unus pectore Brutus ubi est?

‖ Alexander Young, was the brother of Peter Young, Buchanan's colleague in the education of James VI. Their mother was *Margaret Scrimger*, sister to Henry Scrimger. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, pp. 3, 4.)

§ Buchanani Epist. p. 7—10.

* "Alexander Campbell of Carco, sumetime bischop of Brichen—deceisit in his place of carco w^t in the parish of Kinclevin in the moneth of Febr. 1608." (Testament Testamentar, in Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh, 23 Junii. 1608.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 35. ‡ See Note I.

mess every day."—"*Bon compagnon, allez vous;*" said the soldier, smiling and beckoning him to proceed. When he reached the house at which they had previously agreed to lodge, he found his two countrymen in great trepidation lest their papers should have been examined, and disposed to laugh heartily at the equivoque by which they had escaped detection.—They had reason to congratulate themselves, if the report of their landlord was to be credited; for he assured them that several persons had of late lost their lives for as small an offence as that of having come from Geneva. On leaving Orleans next day, they were thrown anew into consternation, by unexpectedly falling in with a procession of the host, when they were again relieved from their embarrassment by the promptitude and address of Melville.*

At Paris they met with a great many of their countrymen, and resolved to spend some time in the French capital. At the desire of Lord Ogilvy, Melville went to the Jesuit's College, and, meeting with Father Tyrie, was involved in a public dispute with that eager polemic. The dispute was continued during several days, but the Archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of it, let fall some threatening expressions, which coming to the ears of Melville's friends, they persuaded him to leave the place as quickly as possible. Accordingly, he left Paris on the 30th of May, and proceeding with his former companions to Dieppe, sailed to Ry, and arrived safely in London. On the day that they quitted Paris, the French king, Charles IX., who had rendered himself so odious by his tyranny and cruelty, died of an issue of blood which burst from all the apertures of his body.

After remaining a short time in London, our travellers purchased horses, and took their journey by Berwick to Edinburgh; where Melville arrived in the beginning of July, 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country.†

CHAP. II. 1574—1580.

Melville declines an offer from the Regent Morton—Retires to Baldovy—Superintends the Studies of his Nephew—James Melville—Applications to the General Assembly for Melville's services—He visits Glasgow—Is introduced to the young King—is admitted Principal of the University of Glasgow—Ruinous State of that University—His Plan for recovering it—New Mode of Instruction introduced by him—Effects of it—Individuals educated under him at Glasgow—Nova Erectio—Literary Conversation—Peter Blackburn—John Colville—College discipline—Mark Alexander Boyd—Instance of Melville's intrepidity in maintaining the authority of the University—Charged with advising the demolition of the Cathedral of Glasgow—Receives his Library from Geneva—His first Poetical Work.

Melville had scarcely arrived at Edinburgh, when he was waited on by George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, and Colonel James Halyburton, a favourite of the Regent Morton. They proposed that he should act as domestic instructor to the Regent, promising that he should be advanced to a situation more suited to his merits, on the first vacancy which occurred. Morton had himself no taste for letters, and was not disposed, as his predecessors were, to be liberal to learned men. But his sagacity convinced him of the influence which they exerted over the minds of others, and of the importance of attaching them to his interests. When individuals distinguished for their literary acquirements came into the kingdom, it was therefore his policy to draw them to court, to ascertain their dispositions, and on finding them pliable to his wishes, to advance them to benefices in the church. Melville was at that time a stranger to the Regent's plans, but he was decidedly averse to a residence at court. He preferred an academical life; one principal object which he had in view in returning to his native country, was to assist in the revival of its literature; and his highest ambition was to obtain, in one of the universities, a situation similar to that of Royal Professor at Paris. He therefore respectfully declined the proposal made to him in the name of the Regent, and requested permission to spend some time with his relations, from whom he had been so long absent, before he accepted of any public employment.

He went accordingly to Angus, and took up his residence with his elder brother at Baldovy, where he had spent his early years. During the following three months he amused himself with superintending the studies of one of his nephews, whom Richard Melville resigned to him as a pledge of fraternal love, and charged to "wait upon him as a son and servant." This was the young man whose letter had such influence in inducing his uncle to quit Geneva, who afterwards became his academical assistant, and his faithful adherent in all the hardships which he suffered, and to whose zealous and grateful affection we are indebted for the knowledge of the most important incidents in his life, and the most interesting traits of his character. As we shall frequently have occasion to speak of this amiable individual, it is proper to introduce him to the acquaintance of the reader.

James Melville was the son of Richard Melville and Isabel Scrimger, and was born at Baldovy on the 25th of July, 1556. His early education* was marred by the change of his teachers, and on entering the College of St. Leonard's in 1571, he was so much mortified at finding that he was incapable of understanding the lectures which were delivered in Latin, that he burst into tears before the whole class. This attracted the notice of his regent, William Collace, who, pleased with this trait of youthful sensibility, kindly condescended to give him instructions, and to provide him with a private assistant, until he had surmounted the difficulties under which he laboured.† His mind was early impressed with a deep sense of religion, and a strong desire to devote himself to the preaching of the gospel. This desire was in a great measure the effect of the sermons which he heard from John Knox at St. Andrew's; and it remained unabated notwithstanding all that he witnessed of the poverty and hardships of the Protestant ministers. His father, however, intended him for the more lucrative profession of law, and had fixed on a man of business in Edinburgh with whom he should serve as an apprentice. Richard Melville was an excellent man, and an affectionate father, but he had higher notions of parental authority, and kept his children in greater subjection, than are altogether consistent with the liberal notions of the age we live in. Being restrained by bashfulness, and the deference he had always been accustomed to pay to his father's will, James had recourse to an innocent stratagem to intimate his predilection for a different line of employment. He composed a sermon on a passage of Scripture, in the best manner of which he was capable, and put it carefully into one of the Commentaries which he knew his father was in the habit of consulting in his weekly preparations for the pulpit. The expedient succeeded according to his wish. For Richard Melville, having once ascertained the decided inclinations of his son, and being pleased with the juvenile specimen of his gifts, was too wise and good to persist in carrying his own plans into execution. The apprenticeship was no more talked of; but still a due regard was paid to parental dignity and the good of the young man, by keeping him for sometime in suspense as to his father's intentions. The arrival of Andrew Melville put an end to this reserve. James was now told, that he was at full liberty to follow his own inclinations; and, to

* Melville's Diary, p. 35, 36. † Ibid. p. 36.

* See above p. 7. † Melville's Diary, p. 22.

his great joy, was delivered over to his uncle, in the manner we have already stated, instead of being bound to the barrister.*

Notwithstanding the striking resemblance between the uncle and nephew in stature and physiognomy, they differed in mental temperament, perhaps as widely as ever two individuals did who were united by the closest and most inviolable friendship. The talents of James Melville were respectable, without being of the same superior order as those of his uncle. Though not endowed with great liveliness or force of imagination, he possessed a sound judgment, and a heart tenderly susceptible of all the benevolent and social affections. Mild in his temper, and courteous in his manners, he was capable of exerting great authority over others, because he had the complete command of himself. To these amiable qualities were united a guileless uprightness, and an unshaken constancy in maintaining the friendships which he contracted, and adhering to the cause which his convictions led him to espouse. He was accordingly fitted for becoming a most useful companion to his uncle, who did not uniformly study the *molliter in verbis*, and was apt to be involved in difficulties by an impetuosity of temper which he was not always able to command, and was sometimes unwilling to restrain.

James Melville had lately finished his course of philosophy at the university of St. Andrew's, and, though a modest youth, flattered himself that he was capable of professing those liberal arts of which he had been declared a master by the first literary authority in the land. But a few hours' conversation with his new instructor dispelled this pleasing dream, and convinced him that he needed yet to begin his studies. There is something interesting in the artless manner in which he relates what he felt on making this discovery, and describes, from his first impressions, the eminent qualifications which his uncle possessed for a task in which he spent the greater part of his life.†

Melville was not permitted long to enjoy his retirement at Baldovy. Beza's letter to the General Assembly, and the report of his countrymen who had come from Geneva, spread the fame of his erudition through Scotland. At the Assembly which met in August he was much talked of, and applications for his services were made from different quarters. The commissioners of the Synod of Fife were instructed to request that he might be granted to them, with the view of his being appointed Provost of St. Mary's College, St. Andrew's, in the room of Archbishop Douglas, who had just died.‡ A similar application was made in behalf of the University of Glasgow; and Archbishop Boyd, and Andrew Hay, commissioner of the west, urged so strongly the ruined state into which that seminary had fallen, that it was preferred to St. Andrew's, and the Assembly recommended it to Melville to yield to its claims. To secure their object, they prevailed upon such of his relations as were present to use their influence, on their return, to induce him to comply with this recommendation.‖ Though he had not yet been introduced to them, the Assembly conferred a mark of their approbation on him, by inserting his name in a committee appointed to examine a poetical work previous to its publication.§ It deserves notice, that this Assembly recognized the doctor, or interpreter of Scripture, as a distinct functionary of the church, and petitioned the Regent to appoint competent salaries for such learned men as were willing to discharge this office in the universities.*

In consequence of a pressing invitation from the patrons of the university, Melville paid a visit to Glasgow; and, after making the necessary inquiries and arranging certain alterations, he agreed to return, and undertake the office of Principal. Accordingly, in the end of October, he took leave of his affectionate brother (who died soon after)† and set out for Glasgow attended by James Melville. By the way he stopped two days at Stirling, where he was introduced to the young king, who had entered the ninth year of his age,—"the switest sight in Europe that day for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and language!" says James Melville, who was admitted to see him along with his uncle: "I hard him discourse, (continues he) walking up and down in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knawledge and ignorance, to my grait marvell and astonishment." No doubt this astonishment was heightened by the reflection that the young philosopher was a king; but the truth is, that James did at this time exhibit symptoms of more than ordinary talents, and his teachers were highly gratified at the proficiency which he made under their tuition. At Stirling, Melville found Buchanan engaged, at leisure hours, in writing his History of Scotland; and, having taken his advice on the plan of education which he intended to follow, proceeded to Glasgow. Thomas Buchanan, the nephew of the poet, went along with him, to be present at his installation.‡

The literary history of the University of Glasgow properly commences with Melville, though the seminary had subsisted for upwards of a century before he was connected with it. From its first erection it was provided with professors in all the liberal arts and sciences then taught: but those of the higher faculties —theology, and law, civil and canon, lectured merely *pro forma*, or occasionally as it suited their own convenience and the caprice of their beneficed auditors.‖ The number of regular students who attended it appears never to have been great, and among these are to be found few names of eminence.§ Its funds, originally small, were wasted and reduced by alienations during the confusions which attended the great change of religion. Through the zealous exertions of individuals friendly to the interests of literature, gifts in its favour were procured from the crown and from the magistrates of the city.¶ But with the help of these only two regents could be maintained. The consequence was, that it languished for a few years, until, on the death of John Davidson, who held the situation of Principal, the students dispersed, and the college was literally shut up.**

The prospect was sufficiently discouraging, and an ordinary person would have despaired of being able to restore the suspended animation of the university. But such was Melville's zeal for the advancement of letters, and the confidence which he felt in his own resources, that he entered on the task he had undertaken without hesitation, and with the confident hope of raising the seminary over which he presided

* Melville's Diary, p. 21—31. † See Note K.

‡ Douglas died on the last day of July, 1574, (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St. Andrew's, 19th Feb. 1574.) When admitted to the bishopbric, Douglas promised to resign the offices of rector of the university, and provost of St. Mary's College; and complaints were at different times made against him at the General Assembly for continuing to retain them. Calderwood, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 344—428.

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 29, 30.

§ "For revewing and sighting of the history of Job, compiled be Mr. Patrick Adamsone in Latine verse, the present Assembly hath willed their loved brethren and the right honourable Mr. George Buchanan, keeper of the privy seal, Mr. Peter Young, Pedagogue to our Soveraign Lord, Mr. Andrew Melvill, Mr. James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, to take travell in perusing of the said book, and if the same be found be thame agreeable to the truth of Gods word to authorize the samine with testimony of their hand writ and subscription." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 465.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 60, b.

† Richard Melville died in June, 1575. Diary, p. 14. 41.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 39. ‖ See Note L.

§ See Note M. ¶ See Note N.

** Records of the University of Glasgow; Memorial for Dr. Trail and Answers for Dr. Leechman, in 1771; and Statist. Acc. of Scotland. vol. xxi.

to a rank which no university in his native country had yet attained. His reputation secured the attendance of as many young men as were necessary for the opening of the classes. It would have been easy for him to have discharged the duties which were considered as belonging to the office of Principal, and to have left the education of the students to be conducted in the ordinary way, by such regents as should be placed under him. The patrons of the university had already procured a person of this description from St. Andrew's. Allowing him to proceed in the manner to which he had been trained, and devolving on him the management of the slender revenues of the college, Melville set himself, with incredible labour, to the execution of a plan, in the formation of which he had availed himself of the most approved practices which he had witnessed in foreign academies. One great object which he had in view, was to train up a number of individuals who should be qualified for acting as assistants to him, and for following out his mode of instruction. For this purpose he commenced with a select class of young men well grounded in the Latin language, and determined to conduct them himself through a regular and complete course of study.

He began by initiating them into the principles of Greek grammar. He then introduced them to the study of Logic and Rhetoric; using, as his text-books, the Dialectics of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the Rhetoric of Talæus.* While they were engaged in these studies, he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins, and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates, among the Greeks; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of logic and rhetoric. Proceeding to Mathematics and Geography, he taught the elements of Euclid, with the Arithmetic and Geometry of Ramus, and the Geography of Dionysius. And agreeably to his plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the Phænomena of Aratus, and the Cosmographia of Honter.† Moral Philosophy formed the next branch of study; and on this he read Cicero's Offices, Paradoxes, and Tusculan Questions, the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, and certain Dialogues of Plato. In Natural Philosophy, he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of Universal History, with Chronology, and the progress of the Art of Writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first more cursorily, by going over the elementary work of Martinius, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac; reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version. He also went through all the common heads of Divinity according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, and gave lectures on the different books of Scripture.*

This course of study was completed in six years. From the variety of subjects which it embraced, and the number of books read and commented on, some idea may be formed of the extent of his erudition, and the greatness of his labours. On the second year, his nephew, James Melville, began a class, which he instructed in Greek, logic, and rhetoric; and on the following year taught them mathematics and moral philosophy. He was the first regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors with his class in the original language. A sufficient number of regents being obtained, Melville introduced a new regulation as to their mode of teaching. It was the established and invariable practice, in all the universities at that time, for the regent who began a class to continue with it, and to conduct his students through the whole course of studies, until he had prepared them for laureation at the end of four years. Melville was under the necessity of adhering to this practice at his first coming to Glasgow, but he was fully convinced of its tendency to obstruct the advancement of learning, and embraced the first opportunity of abolishing it. Accordingly, in the year 1577, Blaise Laurie was established permanent teacher of Greek and of Roman Eloquence: James Melville of Mathematics, Logic, and Moral Philosophy; and Peter Blackburn of Physics and Astronomy; while the Principal confined himself to Divinity and the Oriental Languages. About the time that Melville left Glasgow, the Principal was relieved from a part of his extensive duty by the appointment of a separate teacher of Hebrew.† The advantages arising from the introduction of the division of labour into the teaching of the sciences are so apparent, and are now so generally recognized, that it is quite unnecessary to state them.

Enthusiastically attached to the profession which he had chosen, and eager to raise the literary character of his native country to the same rank with that of other nations, Melville soon infused a portion of his ardour into the breasts of his scholars. By the time that he finished his second session, his fame had spread through the kingdom, students came from all quarters to hear his lectures, and numbers who had taken their degrees at St. Andrews matriculated at Glasgow; so that the class-rooms, which had so lately been empty, could not contain those who sought for admission. "I dare say there was no place in Europe (says James Melville) comparable to Glasgow for good letters, during these years—for a plentiful and good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences."‡

A number of individuals who afterwards distinguished themselves, were educated under Melville during the short period of his residence at Glasgow. Among these were Patrick Melville, one of his nephews, who became professor of Hebrew, first at Glasgow, and afterwards at St. Andrews; Andrew Knox, who was successively Bishop of the Isles, and of Raphoe in Ireland; Duncan Nairn, who was selected as the best qualified for being the first professor in the College of Edinburgh under Principal Rollock; Archbishop Spotswood; Sir Edward Drummond, Sir Gideon Murray, and Sir James Fullerton, who became courtiers to James VI.; and Sir Adam Newton, who, after teaching in his native country and abroad, was

* Melville's Diary, p. 39, 40.
† Annales Fac. Art. Glas. Melville's Diary, p. 44.
‡ Melville's Diary, p. 39.

* Audomarus Talæus, or Talon, was the scholar, and afterwards the colleague and warm defender of Ramus. (Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, vi. 389.) His *Rhetorica* was approved of and used by many who were strongly prejudiced against the Ramean school of philosophy.

† Ἀρατου Σολιως Φαινομενα; first printed in the collection of Ancient Geographers by Aldus, at Venice, in 1499, and frequently republished. This poem was greatly esteemed by the ancients, it is said to have been translated into Latin verse by Cicero, and is quoted by the apostle Paul (who was a countryman of the author) in Acts xvii. 28. Aratus, who was both a poet and an astronomer, flourished about the year 270 A. C.

The *Cosmographia* of John Honter was written in Latin verse, and accompanied with maps. He was a celebrated teacher in Transylvania, his native country. David Chytræus visited his academy during his travels in 1569, and speaks in terms of high commendation of his talents, and the utility of his writings. (Chytræi Orationes, p. 411. Hanov. 1614.)

The attempts to facilitate the study of the sciences by the aid of poetry have been numerous. There is a curious specimen of this kind in a Greek poem on Law, written in the middle ages: Συνοψις των νομων; seu Michaelis Pselli Compendium Legum, versibus Iambis et Politicis; published by Francis Bosquet, in 1632, with a Latin translation.—With the same view, Francesco Berlinghieri composed his *Geografia*, published with maps at Florence, in 1480. (Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 112.)

appointed tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales.*

In the year 1577, Melville obtained from the Regent a valuable benefaction to the university. This was the living of Govan, in the vicinity of Glasgow, valued at twenty-four chalders of victual annually, although only a small portion of this could be realized for a number of years. Along with this donation, a new foundation, commonly called the *Nova Erectio*, was given to the college by royal charter. It is unnecessary to specify its enactments, as it sanctioned all the arrangements which Melville had already introduced, as to the branches of learning to be taught, and the division of them among the several professors. The number of persons now entitled to maintenance from the funds was twelve, including masters and bursars. The other students either paid for their board at the college-table, or lodged at their own expense in the town. In consequence of the new foundation, it became the duty of the Principal to preach on Sabbath at the Church of Govan.†

It was not by his public instructions only that Melville promoted the cause of literature. He was of a communicative disposition, and equally qualified and disposed for imparting knowledge by private conversation. This appeared in his intercourse with his colleagues, and at the college table, to which such individuals of education as resided in Glasgow and its neighbourhood frequently resorted to partake of a frugal meal, that they might share in the literary dessert which was always served up along with it. His conversation was enlivened with amusing anecdotes, smart apophthegms, and classical quotations and allusions. He was fond of discussing literary questions, and had a singular faculty of throwing light on them in the easy and unceremonious form of table talk. This made the master of the grammar school, who was afterwards Principal of the college, to say of these literary conversations, "that he learned more of Mr. Andrew Melville, cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors which he taught in the school, than by all the commentators.‡" In these academical recreations, philosophical were mixed with literary topics. Blackburn, the regent who taught the first class at Melville's coming to Glasgow, was a good man, and far from being unlearned, according to the means of instruction then enjoyed in Scotland, but unacquainted with the world, and consequently dogmatical, and rude in his manners. He was a great stickler for the infallibility of Aristotle as a philosopher, and adhered rigidly to the maxim, *Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse*, which nobody had yet ventured to contradict at St. Andrew's, where he had taken his degrees.‖ When the subject was started at the college table, Melville vigorously opposed this sentiment, and produced from the writings of the Stagyrite examples of error that were quite incontrovertible. Being incapable of maintaining his ground by argument, Blackburn was apt to grow angry, and to have recourse to personal reflections, alleging that the Principal was proud, arrogant, full of his own opinions, and disposed to set himself up against all the world. Whenever Melville perceived this, he dropt the dispute, without making any reply. By this means he gained upon his colleague, who, feeling himself reproved and overcome, gradually corrected his rude behaviour, and at last became as forward as any in acknowledging the obligations he owed to the Principal.*

We are not however to conclude from this, that Melville was disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to courtesy and the mere love of peace, or to yield them up in silence to any who chose to oppose them from humour or prejudice. He had higher notions of the rights of truth; and when called upon to act in defence of these, and especially when convinced that they were inseparably connected with the public good, he was ever ready to exert in their maintenance all the energy of his talents, and all the fervour of his feelings. On controverted subjects he was patient in his inquiries after the truth; and until his judgment was satisfied, he reasoned with great coolness, and listened with the utmost attention to whatever could be urged against the side to which he might incline. But when he had examined his ground, and was fully convinced of any truth and of its importance, he was accustomed to maintain it tenaciously and boldly; would suffer no man, whatever his rank or authority might be, to bear away the point in dispute; but defended his opinions with an overwhelming force and fluency of language, accompanied with uncommon energy of voice and vehemence of gesture. Nor was he a less persevering than ardent advocate of the cause which he espoused. He was not discouraged by ill success, but returned to the charge with unabated ardour; and wherever an opportunity presented itself, in private or in public, he plied his opponents with arguments, until he either made converts of them, or judged them to be obstinately wedded to their own opinions. It was in this way that he gained over so many of his countrymen to his views, on the questions which were agitated respecting the government and liberties of the church. "But for his own particular, (says his nephew,) in person, geir, or fame, I knew him never heard in publick with any man to this hour."† In this light is his character presented to us, by one who had at least every advantage for observing it narrowly. We shall have various opportunities of ascertaining how far it is correct, and in what degree that temper and behaviour, which a warm friend may be supposed to have regarded with a partial eye, calls for our censure or merits our applause.

According to his nephew's statement, Melville was a believer in Oneirology, and expert in the interpretation of dreams. Some of the examples adduced in proof of this, however, would rather incline us to think that he amused himself by a playful exercise of ingenuity instead of pretending to skill in this occult science.‡ James Melville does more honour to him when he praises his sagacity in discerning the characters of men; and he has certainly produced instances in which the opinion which he pronounced on individuals of his acquaintance was strikingly verified by their subsequent behaviour. One of these occurred at this period, and relates to a person of considerable notoriety in the history of these times. John Colville, being called before the synod of Glasgow for deserting his ministry at Kilbride, made such a plausible apology for his conduct as imposed on all the members. Melville alone suspected his sincerity, and interrogating him closely, received such answers as induced him to tell his brethren, that he would not be surprised to see that man renounce the profession of the ministry, and of Christianity itself.‖ Colville soon after exchanged the character of the preacher for that of the courtier. Disappointed of his expectations at court, he joined in the insurrections of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. Being driven out of the kingdom along with that nobleman, he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and became a keen writer against the Pro-

* "Patricius Melvin," and "Edward[s] Dromond" were laureated in 1578; "Andræas Knox" in 1579; "Duncanus Nairn" in 1580; Gedeon Murray, Johannes Spotswood, Jacobus Fullertoun" in 1581; and "Adam[s] Newtoun" in 1582. (Annales Fac. Art. Glasg.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 43, 44. The *Nova Erectio* is printed in Memorial for Dr. Trail, anno 1771.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 40.

‖ Peter Blackburn afterwards became minister of Aberdeen, and was made bishop of that diocese in the beginning of the 17th century.

* Melville's Diary, p. 40, 51. † Ibid. p. 52.
‡ See Note O. ‖ Melville's Diary, p. 50.

testant religion.* And all his tergiversations, political and religious, were marked by uncommon want of principle.† I mention this trait in Melville'e character the rather, because there is nothing which men bred in colleges, and devoted to literary pursuits, are more deficient in than the knowledge of character; in consequence of which they are ordinarily disqualified for the management of public business, and apt to become the dupes of deceitful friends or artful opponents.

As Principal, it was Melville's duty to take an active part in the government of the college. Discipline was then exercised with a great deal more strictness in colleges than it is now. This necessarily arose from the peculiar constitution of such societies, composed of young men, chiefly boys, who did not, as at present, assemble for a few hours every day to receive instruction, but lived constantly together in the same house. While questions of a civil or criminal nature which arose in the college were decided by the rector and his council, it belonged to the principal to preserve common order among the students, and to keep them in due subjection to their respective regents. At his installation he received "power to use scholastical correction and discipline," and as the badge of this, he had delivered to him "the belt of correction, with the keys of the college."‡ Accordingly, it was the custom for the Principal to inflict corporal chastisement, *propria manu*, upon delinquents, in the presence of the masters and students assembled in the common hall. Melville devolved this disagreeable task on the regents ;‖ but it was still an indispensable part of his duty to give judgment in cases which came before him by complaint or reference.

John Maxwell, son to Lord Herreis, was drawn away from his studies, and involved in disorderly practices, in consequence of a connection he had formed with Andrew Heriot, the dissolute heir of an opulent citizen. His regent having reported his misbehaviour and disobedience, the Principal rebuked the young nobleman sharply, before the whole college, for misspending his time, and disgracing his birth, by associating with idle and debauched company. Irritated by this public censure, Maxwell retired into the town, and, along with Heriot, gave himself up to the management of certain individuals who were hostile to the college, and anxious to involve it in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Having collected a number of lewd and disorderly persons, Heriot threw himself in the way of the masters and students, as they were returning one day from church, and followed them until they entered the college, brandishing a drawn sword in the Principal's face, and making use of the most opprobrious and provoking language. Melville bore this insult with the utmost patience, and exerted his authority in restraining the students, who burned with desire to revenge the affront offered to their master.* Lord Herreis, having heard of his son's misconduct, came to Glasgow, and obliged him, on his knees and in the open court of the college, to beg pardon of the Principal, whose forbearance he highly commended. Heriot was soon after seized with a dangerous illness; during which Melville, at his desire, waited on him, assured him that he had forgotten the late injury, and did every thing in his power to sooth the last moments of the unhappy young man.†

But though he was disposed to overlook personal injuries, and shewed a due regard to public peace, he knew how to support the authority of his office; and when he perceived that the credit of the University was at stake, or that it was intended to intimidate him from executing the laws, he discovered the native resolution and intrepidity of his character. I shall give an instance of this, which throws light on the manners of the age, and derives interest from the relation it bears to a young gentleman who afterwards attracted considerable notice both as a military and a literary adventurer. *Mark Alexander Boyd*, was the younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkhill, and a near relation of Lord Boyd, the favourite of the Regent Morton.‡ Having lost his father at an early period of his life, he was placed under the care of his uncle, the archbishop of Glasgow, for the sake of his education. Young Boyd evinced spirit and genius, but accompanied with a headstrong and ungovernable temper. He had created much vexation, to the master of the grammar-school, and to the first regent under whom he studied at college. When he entered the second class, James Melville, who taught it, told him that such practices as he understood him to have indulged in would not be tolerated. The admonition had the desired effect for some time, but at length the impression of it wore off, and Boyd received the castigation of which he had been forwarned, and which his behaviour merited. Upon this the affronted stripling resolved to be revenged. Having pricked his face with his writing instruments, and besmeared it with the blood which he drew, he presented himself before his friends in this guise, with loud complaints of the cruel treatment which he had received from his regent. The Principal and Professors investigated the affair, and easily detected the trick which had been played. But the relations of the young man having foolishly taken his part, he not only absented himself from the college, but determined to have still ampler revenge. In concert with his cousin, Alexander Cunninghame, a near relation of the Earl of Glencairn, he way-laid the regent in the church-yard as he was returning one evening to the college. Boyd came behind him with a baton, but retreated when the regent, who had perceived his tread, turned round. Cunninghame then rushed forward with a drawn sword; but the regent, though unarmed, being an expert fencer, declined the thrust aimed at him, seized

* The Paranese, or Admonition to his Countrymen when he returned to the Catholic Religion, by Mr. John Colville, Paris, 1602. He had published this work in Latin in the preceding year.

† He gave a most singular proof of this, in a work entitled *The Palinode*, (Edinb. 1600.) which he represents as a refutation of a treatise of his own against James's title to the crown of England, which, "in malice, in time of his exile, he had penned." Yet he had penned no such treatise, but merely pretended this to ingratiate himself with James by a feigned recantation. (Spotsw. 457.) Charters mentions another work by Colville: "Oratio Funebris Exsequiis Elizabethæ destinata. Paris, 1604." (Lives of Scotish Writers, MS. in Advocates' Library.)

‡ Presentation of Mr. James Wilkie to be principal of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, in the room of Mr. George Buchanan, April 15, 1570; and Admission of Mr. Andrew Bruce to the same office in 1630: Papers of St. Leonard's College.

‖ Robert Boyd of Trochrig, when admitted Principal of the college of Edinburgh in 1622, protested before the Town Council that he should not be bound to administer corporal correction, which he considered as unbecoming the dignity of the station. He had declined it (he said) when Principal of the College of Montauban in France, and of Glasgow, although he acknowledges it was the accustomed duty of the Principal. His predecessor at Glasgow (Patrick Sharp) had performed it; but he alleges that this was owing to its having been "his wonted custome, whereunto he was inured in the grammar school, wherefra he was taken to be Principal of the College." (Life of Robert Boyd, p. 84—100. Wodrow MSS. vol. v. Bibl. Col. Glas.)

* "The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fain wald haiff put hands on him (Heriot); but he (the Principal) rebuiked tham in sic sort that they durst not steir. As for myself, for als patient as I am called, I doucht not suffer it, bot withdrew myself from him." James Melville relates the story as one proof, among many others, that although his uncle was "verie hot in all (public) questions, yet when it twitched his particular, no man could crab him, contrar to the common custom." (Diary, p. 50.)

† Ibid.

‡ Life of Mark Alexander Boyd, by Lord Hailes. Sibbaldi Prodromus Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, P. ii. lib. 3. p. 2—4. Sibbald had heard in general of the incident related in the text, but was unacquainted with the particulars.

the sword-arm of his assailant, and wresting the weapon from his hand, detained him a prisoner. The rector and the magistrates of the city were of opinion that this outrage could not be passed over without injuring the peace and credit of the College, and decreed that Alexander Cunninghame should come to the place where he had committed the offence, bareheaded and bare-footed, and there crave pardon of the University and of the regent whom he had assaulted. Encouraged by his friends he refused to submit to this sentence; and nothing was to be heard in the town and country but loud threatenings that the Boyds and Cunninghames would burn the college and kill the professors. Disregarding these threats, Melville summoned the offender before the Privy Council, went himself to St. Andrews to prosecute the cause, and, notwithstanding the powerful interest with which he had to contend, obtained a decree, ordaining Alexander Cunninghame to obey the sentence of the University and Town Council against a certain day, or else enter as a prisoner into the castle of Blackness.* Andrew Hay, the rector, a man of great prudence and knowledge of the country, was of opinion that the college should not insist on the execution of this decree; as the pride of the families concerned would not suffer them quietly to see their relation make such a humiliating acknowledgment, and it was to be feared that the affair would not terminate without bloodshed. To this advice the Principal peremptorily refused to yield. "If they would have forgiveness (said he) let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it; but ere this preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all the blood of my body first."

On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow accompanied by his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn by his, to the number of between four and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the University being assembled in the College-hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me (exclaimed Melville) let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents, and students, in their gowns. The church-yard was filled with gentlemen in armour, who, however, gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward supported by two of his friends, and, with an air and tone very different from those of a penitent, said he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any present who were ready to accept it. "Doubt not of that; we are ready," replied Melville. This bold reply completely deranged the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a show of willingness to obey the order of the Privy Council, but at the same time to intimidate the College from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the ceremony was over, the Principal and his company left the church-yard in the same manner as they had entered it, without meeting with the slightest insult or interruption. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, as some of them expressed themselves, "greater fools than they came."†

We must not omit to notice a charge brought against Melville, which relates to the period of which we are now writing. It is said that he was accessory to "a little disturbance" which took place in Glasgow. "By the earnest dealing of Mr. Andrew Melville and other ministers," the magistrates agreed to demolish the Cathedral, as a monument of idolatry, and to build a number of small churches with its materials. But the trades of the city, resenting this, rose in a tumult, and forcibly prevented the workmen from proceeding. The ringleaders of the riot were summoned before the Privy Council, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, took their part, and told the ministers engaged in the prosecution, "that too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind."* This statement rests solely upon the authority of Bishop Spotswood. I never met with any thing in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised their demolition on this ground. The records of the Town Council of Glasgow and of the Privy Council are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot; a silence which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents, that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgow, so far from wishing to pull down the cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it, that they made repeated representations to the King and Privy Council on this head, and that, though the burden of the work did not legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously contributed for carrying it into execution.† I think it highly probable, that any disturbance which may have furnished the ground-work of the statement under examination, was occasioned by an order, not for demolishing, but for repairing the Cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment upon their rights, real or supposed, in the mode of reparation.

During the second year of his residence at Glasgow, Melville received from Geneva his library, consisting of an ample collection of books in various languages and on all sciences, which he had purchased while he remained on the Continent.‡ This was the treasure on which he set the highest value. Though the reverse of parsimonious in every other article, he does not appear to have been fond of making presents of his books;‖ he was even cautious in lending them; and when forced to fly from home, one of the first objects of his solicitude, and of his strict injunctions, was the securing of his library.§ Before its arrival at this time he must have felt severely the want of books. For this commodity was then exceedingly rare in Scotland; nor was there any thing in which our universities were more poorly provided.¶

About this time, Melville's first publication, which was printed abroad, made its appearance in Scotland. It consisted of a poetical paraphrase of the Song of Moses, and of a part of the Book of Job, with several smaller poems; all in Latin.** This publication gained

* See Note P. † Melville's Diary, p. 52—55.

* Spotswood, Hist. p. 304. † See Note Q.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 36. 41.

‖ I have not found his name among those of his learned contemporaries who made donations of this kind to the Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews.

§ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 89, 295, 306. ¶ See Note R.

** James Melville speaks of this work as if it had been first published in 1578. Diary, p. 49. But I have now before me a copy of the very rare original edition, communicated by Mr. David Laing, whose extensive acquaintance with Scottish bibliography has often been of great service to me. The following is the title of the work:

"Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteron. Cap. XXXII. quod ipse moriens Israëli tradidit ediscendum et cantandum perpetuò, latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, et Iobi Cap. III. latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ M. D. LXXIIII." 8vo. p. 16.

The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the Continent by the author, when he returned to Scotland. But

him great reputation among the learned, who eagerly expected that he would undertake a work of greater extent, which might prove a durable monument of his talents. He excused himself for declining this, by pleading that there were already too many writers who courted the public favour, and that it was his duty to devote his attention to the task of education, which he regarded as the great business of his life. Accordingly, he checked instead of encouraging the inclination to write for the press, confining himself to occasional pieces, epigrams, and other light effusions of the muse, in which he indulged for his own amusement and the gratification of his private friends.*

The *Carmen Mosis* is unquestionably the finest poem in the collection, or perhaps of any that Melville wrote. It is worthy of the scholar of Buchanan, and deserves a place among the productions of those moddern writers who have attained great excellence in Latin poetry. The author did not propose to transfuse the peculiar beauties of the original into his paraphrase. The different genius of the two species of poetry rendered this impracticable. Its merits must therefore be estimated according to the principles of Latin and not of Hebrew poetry. The language is classically pure, and at the same time not unsuited to the sacredness of the theme; the versification is correct and smooth; and the imagery is managed with boldness and delicacy. The exordium, though it does not express the inimitable simplicity and majesty of the original, is lofty and beautiful.

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
Palantesque polo flammæ; vos humida regna
Aeriique super tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquor) aures
Arrigite: et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.
Qualis rore fluens gemmanti argenteus imber
Plurimus, arentes maturis solibus agros
Temperat undanti rivo; glebasque subactas
Evocat in florem, et viridantes elicit herbas;
Instauratque novos opulenti ruris honores.
Talis ab ore fluit sacro vis lactea fandi:
Tale polo veniens numeris liquentibus aureum
Divitis eloquii flumen manabit in artus,
Ossaque, perque imos sensus, perque alta pererrans
Pectora, nectareos læto feret ubere fractus,
Et gazam aetherea cumulabit messe perennem.
Quippe Dei pango nomen: cœlique verendum
Concelebro numen: vos ergo Dei venerandum
Et nomen celebrate, et numen pangite nostri.

The description of the eagle's teaching her young to fly, by which the divine care exercised about Israel is illustrated, is also extremely beautiful.

Ac velut alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger, implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
Sollicita refovet cura, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus, mox ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevere, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansa invitat pluma: dorsoque morantes
Excipit, attollitque humeris: plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso.
Remigium lentans alarum: incurvaque pinnis
Vela legens, humilesque tranat sub nubibus oras.
Hinc sensim supera alta petit: jam jamque sub astra
Erigitur: cursusque leves citus urget in auras,
Omnia pervolitans late loca: et agmine fœtus
Fertque refertque suos vario: moremque volandi
Addocet. Illi autem longa assuetudine docti
Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere cœlo
Impavidi. Tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

The smaller poems consist of commendatory verses to the memory of Admiral Coligni and other Protestants who perished in the massacres of France, and of satirical invectives against the tyrannical and cruel policy of the individuals who planned these detestable scenes.* The dedication of the work to the young king is happily conceived and expressed.

Extremæ spes sera plagæ, lux aurea gentis
Arctoæ, et secli solque jubarque tui.
Tot sceptris atavorum ingens, ingentior alta
Indole, quam tollit relligionis honos,
Sancte puer, sacra meæ primordia musæ,
Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi.
Parva quidem tanto, fateor, munuscula Regi:
Parva, sed immensi munere magna Dei.
Ipse tibi majora dabis nostro auspice Phœbo:
Forsan et auspiciis nos meliora tuis.†

The whole of this work was deemed worthy of a place in the selection of Latin poetry by Scotsmen, published at a subsequent period under the direction of Arthur Johnston.‡

CHAPTER III.—1574—1580.

Interest which Melville took in Public Affairs—His connection with the Church—Character of the Regent Morton—State of Ecclesiastical Affairs at his return to Scotland—Convention at Leith—Tulchan Episcopacy—Not Approved by the General Assembly—Consequences of its Obtrusion—Melville sits in the General Assembly—Episcopacy Attacked—Speech of Melville on that Occasion—Discussions on this Subject—Episcopacy Condemned—Proceedings with the Bishops—Preparation of the Second Book of Discipline—Grounds of Opposition to it on the part of the Court and Nobility—Approved by the General Assembly—Outline of it—Melville charged with bringing the Geneva Discipline into Scotland—Degree in which the Overthrow of Episcopacy was owing to him—Remarks on his conduct in that Affair—His Behaviour to Archbishop Boyd—Conduct of Adamson—the Regent endeavours to gain Melville—Proposes sending him to a General Council in Germany—Interview between them—Changes in the Political Administration—Death of the Chancellor Glammis—The Young King shows himself favourable to the Proceedings of the Church—Measures of the General Assembly for Promoting learning—Proposal to bring learned Printers into the Country—Scottish Edition of the Bible—Proposed Reformation of the Universities—Melville's Translation from Glasgow to St. Andrews.

Hitherto we have considered Melville chiefly as a literary character: we must now contemplate him in a different light. His immediate object in returning to Scotland was to assist in the revival of its literature, and not to take part in the management of its public affairs. But he did not think that the attention which he was called on to give to the former necessarily required that he should be altogether indifferent to the latter. He had embraced an academical life from choice; and the situation in which he was placed afforded sufficient gratification to his taste, and ample employment to his time and talents. But partial as he was to literary pursuits, he was not not a mere academic, whose ideas are all confined within the cloistered walls of his college. He was a citizen as well as a man of letters. From constitution and from education he felt a lively interest in the welfare of his native country, and of his native church, to whose bosom he had returned after a long absence, and to

one, at least, of the epigrams (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melville, after his arrival in Britain. (See above, p. 56.)—In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article; "Ite xlviii carmen moyses, ye dosane xviiid. summa vis." There can be no doubt that this is Melville's work. Bassinden died 18th October, 1577. (Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 49.

* Two of these have already been given. See above, p. 51. Some of them are introduced into a valuable work, entitled, "Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX." Tom. i. p. 571, b. 574. A Meidelborg, 1578.

† Below the dedication, in the copy of the book which I have used, a few lines in praise of Buchanan have been written with a pen. They are not in Melville's hand-writing, but, from their having been introduced here, it is probable that he was considered as the author of them. I have not observed that they have been printed.

Geo. Buchan, Scotus,
Vir Excellentiss.
Clarus in Historiæ campo, clarusque Poesi,
Nomen ad æternos fers, Buchanane, dies.
Scotia luce tua perfusa celebrior audet,
Rex disciplinæ gaudet honore tuæ.
Maximus es meritis. Quid Patria Rexve rependet,
Quando tuis meritis hic sit et illa minor?

‡ Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii.

whose benefit he had consecrated his gifts and his labours.

His right to take a share in ecclesiastical managements did not rest merely on his personal gifts, or on the common interest which all the members of a society have in its welfare. He was officially connected with the Church of Scotland. During the three last years of his residence in Glasgow he officiated as minister of the church of Govan.* But although this was the only period of his life in which he acted as the pastor of a particular congregation, yet he all along held a public situation in the church as a professor of divinity. Those who taught theology in colleges, were considered as belonging to the order of doctors, and under this name were recognized as ecclesiastical office-bearers from the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. Besides the general superintendence which the church-courts exercised over all the seminaries of instruction, founded on the connection between religion and education, they took a special cognizance of the divinity classes, as the immediate nurseries of the ministry; and the teachers of these, if not formally installed by their authority, were at least admitted with their approbation and consent. The professors of divinity had not the power of dispensing the sacraments, unless they were also pastors; but they were entitled to perform all the other parts of the pastoral function. Besides preaching in public, they sat in the church courts, and took part in the determination of religious controversies and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. And this they had a right to do in respect of their office as interpreters of Scripture, and their having the oversight of seminaries which formed an integral and important part of the general church. At first, when there was no fixed rule as to the constituent members of the General Assembly, they attended the meetings of that judiciary as they found opportunity; but afterwards, when a regular plan of delegation was organized, they were chosen and sat as commissioners, either from the universities in which they taught, or from the provincial synods or presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, and of which they were ordinary members.†

It was necessary to make this statement of Melville's right to act in the affairs of the church because, at a subsequent period, when the Court wished to get rid of his powerful opposition to its measures, his right was called in question, and it was alleged that he had been admitted to a seat in the church-courts through oversight, or at best, from indulgence or courtesy. Nor is there any ground for the insinuation, that by moving out of his place, and intruding into one foreign to his calling, he excited prejudices against his professorial character and marred his literary usefulness. To such a charge he is not obnoxious, unless it can be shown that he neglected his duties in the college, or conducted himself improperly in the ecclesiastical assemblies;—faults which the lay delegates from universities were equally liable to commit.

To enable the reader to judge of the public transactions in which Melville took such an active part, it will be necessary to give a short view of the state of the country and of the affairs of the church when he returned to Scotland.

The young king was still a minor; and James, Earl of Morton, exercised the supreme authority, to which he had been raised on the death of the former regent, the Earl of Mar. By his vigorous measures, Morton had suppressed the party attached to Queen Mary; and, having put an end to the civil war which continued during the government of his predecessors, he exerted himself in curbing the lawlessness of the nobles, and in settling a regular administration of justice through the kingdom. Unhappily, the success of this wise and salutary policy was counteracted, partly by the vices of the regent's character, and partly by the circumstances in which he found himself placed. His ambition was equalled by his avarice, and to gratify these passions, he did not scruple on some occasions to trample both on law and humanity. The revenues of the church tempted his cupidity, and as the sacredness of that fund had been already violated, he looked to it as the most convenient source of enriching himself and increasing the number of his dependants. The irregularities of his private life made him dread the reproofs and censures of the preachers. And the dependance which he had on Elizabeth conspired with his love of power in inducing him to seek the suppression of the liberties of the church, and to bring it as nearly as possible to a conformity, in point of government, with the church of England.

It has been shown elsewhere, that the church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, did not acknowledge any permanent ecclesiastical office superior to that of the pastor; that the employment of superintendents was a provisional and temporary expedient, adopted to supply the deficiency of ministers; that the superintendents possessed no episcopal authority, in the common acceptation of that term; that they were ordained in the same manner as other pastors, and derived the special powers with which they were invested from the general assemblies of the church, to which they were made accountable at every meeting for all their managements.* At the establishment of the Reformation, the popish prelates, secular and regular, were allowed to retain the greater part of their revenues; and they continued to occupy their seats in parliament, to which they were entitled, in the eye of the law, equally as other lords, as long as their baronial benefices were not taken from them by the state. Some of them embraced the reformed doctrines, but even these did not represent the Protestant church in parliament; and if they exercised any ecclesiastical authority, it was not in the character of bishops, but in consequence of their having been admitted into the ministry, or of their having received a specific commission to that purpose from the General Assembly.† This observation may be applied to Deaneries, Rectories, and inferior livings. With the exception of the third part, the incumbents enjoyed their benefices; and, upon joining the Protestant church, they were admitted ministers, if found qualified, according to the ordinary forms. In this case, the rank which they had held in the popish church, and the benefices which they continued to enjoy, gave them no precedence or superiority to their brethren; although they might still be called by their old titles in the way of courtesy, or from the power of custom.‡

* See above, p. 71.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, f. 60, b. Dunlop's Collect. of Confessions, vol ii. p. 409, 773. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 432, 464

* Life of John Knox, vol. ii. p. 283—285.

† In 1562, Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, wished to be made superintendent of the province in which his diocese lay; but was refused by the General Assembly. (Knox, Historie, p. 327. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 166.) He was afterwards employed as a visitor.

‡ In the General Assembly held December, 1562, the Bishop of Galloway was enrolled after the superintendents, under this designation, "Mr. Alexander Gordon, *entituled* Bishop of Galloway." (Crawford's MS. History of the church, vol. i. p. 88.)—"30 Dec. 1567. Anent the marriage of the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell be Adam *callit* Bishop of Orknay, the haill kirk finds that he transgrest the act of the kirk in mariein the divorcit adulterer. And therfor depryvis him fra all functioun of the ministrie," &c. (Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 36.) In the Assembly, March 1570, the same bishop (after his restoration) was accused that he "left the office of preaching, giving himself daily to the exercise of the office of a temporal judge, as a Lord of Session, which requireth the whole man, and so rightly no wise can exercise both; and stileth himself with Roman titles, as Reverend Father in God, which pertaineth to no ministers of Christ Jesus, nor is given them in Scriptures." To this last charge, the bishop answered, "With pardon and reverence of the Assembly, I may declare, I never delighted in such a stile, nor desired any such arrogant title;

In this state matters continued until the year 1571, when it became necessary to fill several prelacies become vacant by the death or the forfeiture of the incumbents. The church had already expressed her judgment on the subject. both in the Book of Discipline, and in representations repeatedly made to the Parliament and Privy Council, in which she craved that the bishoprics should be dissolved, and their revenues applied to the support of superintendents and ministers. But to this measure the regent and the greater part of the nobility were decidedly averse. Accordingly, the vacant bishoprics, and other great benefices, were bestowed on noblemen, who presented preachers to them, after they had taken care to secure to themselves a certain portion of their revenues.

These proceedings, as soon as they transpired, were protested against by the commissioners of the church, and they every where excited the greatest dissatisfaction.* Had the church steadily resisted this scheme, and refused to admit the presentees, the patrons would have found themselves placed in a very awkward predicament; for the benefices could be held only by ecclesiastics, and the whole power of admission legally belonged to the superintendents and other ministers,

To prevent them from adopting this course, measures of intimidation were first tried. The most resolute of their number were threatened with punishment; and an order was issued discharging the payment of the thirds of benefices to the collectors of the church,† in consequence of which all the ministers were left at the mercy of the court for their stipends. But this harsh proceeding having increased instead of allaying the heats, recourse was next had to the arts of persuasion and address. The regent convened the superintendents and certain ministers at Leith, in January, 1572, to consult on the best method of composing the dissension which had arisen. This convention, after assuming to itself the powers of a general assembly, was prevailed on hastily to devolve the whole business on a few of its members, authorising them to meet with such persons as should be appointed by the Privy Council, and ratifying whatever they might determine agreeably to their instructions.

The joint committee, which met in the course of the same month, came to a speedy agreement on the matters referred to them. They agreed that, "in consideration of the present time," the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of dioceses, should remain as heretofore, at least until the King's majority or until the Parliament should make a different arrangement; that such as were admitted to bishoprics should be of due age and scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a chapter or assembly of learned ministers; and that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was already possessed by superintendents, but should be subject to the General Assemblies of the church in spiritual as they were to the King in temporal matters. They agreed that abbacies and priories should continue in like manner; that provision should be made for the support of ministers in the churches attached to them; and that as abbots, priors, and commendators formed, along with bishops, the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament and in the College of Justice, their learning and ability should, before their election, be tried by the bishops of the respective provinces within which the monasteries were situated. They farther agreed, that inferior benefices should be conferred only on persons duly qualified and regularly admitted to the ministry; that the churches through the kingdom should be planted, residence secured, and pluralities prevented; and that the revenues of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries should be appropriated to the maintenance of bursars at grammar schools and universities. This agreement was immediately confirmed by the Regent and council, who engaged to persuade the lay patrons of churches to conform to such of its regulations as concerned them.*

Such was the new ecclesiastical constitution framed by the famous convention at Leith. It was a constitution of the most motley and heterogeneous kind; being made up of presbytery, episcopacy, and papal monkery. Viewed in one light, indeed, it might be deemed harmless. It made little or no alteration on the established discipline of the church. The bishops were invested with no episcopal authority; and if unfit persons were admitted to the office, the General Assembly to whose jurisdiction they were subjected, might suspend or depose them, and call the chapters to account for their irregular conduct.. Nor were the monastic prelates, as such, entitled to a place in the church-courts. But, in another point of view, the innovations were real; and, had they been acquiesced in and ratified by the proper authority, they would have eventually overthrown the liberties of the church of Scotland. Even names and titles, empty as they are in themselves, have often great influence from the ideas which have been immemorially combined and associated with them. Limited as the power granted to bishops was, there was every reason to fear that, once admitted, they would make continual efforts to extend it, until they regained the original prerogatives of their order; and that the authority of the church-courts would prove too feeble for removing them, however unworthy, from their places, or for checking their encroachments, when abetted by nobles who were so deeply interested in their support. The neglect of discipline, or endless jarring in the exercise of it, was the inevitable consequence of the establishment of bishops and superintendents within the same provinces, who were clothed with co-ordinate and equal authority, but guided in their proceedings by distinct advisers and different precedents.† By the regulations relating to abbots and priors, titles and dignities generated by the grossest superstition. and rendered odious by the support which they had uniformly given to papal corruption and tyranny, were recognized as in some sort pertaining to a church which boasted of having removed the slightest vestiges of popery.‡ The civil places

for I acknowledge myself to be a worm of the earth, not worthy any reverence, giving and attributing to my God only all honour, glory, and reverence with all humble submission." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 163, 166.)

* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 254. 259. 285. Knox's Letter to the Assembly at Stirling, in Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 53. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. p. 217.

† Bannatyne, p. 278. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 284. 295.

* The act of the Privy Council appointing commissioners to meet with those of the Kirk, is dated January 16, 1571. (Records of Privy Council.) The act of the Convention of the Kirk, (Jan. 15, 1571,) appointing their committee, and the whole of the articles agreed on by the joint committee, are inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 310—325.

† "In Marche immediatilie following (the convention at Leith,) the Assemblie continuit still the superintendents, so that there was in on diocese ane Bishop and 3 Superintendents, quhilk he maketh Bishops." (The Replye of ane Dotatist (sic) to Mr. Cowper his Dicaiologie, p. 27. MS. in Advocates Library. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 344.)—Soon after John Douglas was made bishop of St. Andrews. John Winram came to be designed Superintendent of Strathearn, instead of Fife.

‡ The framers of the articles of Leith appear to have been aware of this incongruity, and accordingly take care to express themselves in very general und guarded terms as to the qualifications of the candidate for this religious office.—They merely say that the bishop of the province where the abbey or priory lies, shall "try and examinat his *learning and abilitie*." For the same reason they excluded entirely from their consideration the case of Nunneries, not knowing what place in the church to assign to the right reverend Abbesses and Prioresses, or how to examinat their learning and abilitie. But they were not overlooked by the Regent. There is a curious document with relation to them, after the death of Dame Christiane Ballenden, "Prioress of the Priorissie of the Senis besyde the burrowmure of Edin." "James erll of Mortone &c. understanding that in the convention of the Statis of yis realme consideratioun being had that the nunreis ar nocht meit to be conferrit and geven to wemen according to the first foundatioun in tyme of ignorance," &c. appoints "capitane Ninian cockburne his

of churchmen, which had always been condemned by our reformers, were sanctioned; and the church was to be represented in parliament and in the courts of justice, not only by bishops, but also by monkish prelates, over whom she had no direct control, and whose official names it would have been reckoned profane to introduce into the roll of her General Assembly. The design of securing the richest portion of the benefices to the court and its dependents, which gave rise to the whole scheme, and which is the only thing that can account for its strange incongruities, did not appear in any part of the details. This was tacitly understood, and left to be provided for by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees. The calf's skin alone appeared: the straw with which the *tulchan* was stuffed was carefully concealed, lest the cow should have refused to give her milk.*

This mongrel species of prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true episcopalian. Certain eager advocates of primitive order and the uninterrupted succession of the hierarchy, have indeed persisted in maintaining that episcopacy always existed in Scotland, and in support of their plea have appealed to the settlement made at Leith; but they have generally shewn themselves reluctant and shy in claiming kindred with the tulchan prelates, whenever their true original and real condition have been fairly exposed. And, indeed, how could they acknowledge as legitimate bishops men who possessed as little of the episcopal power as they did of the episcopal revenues who were subject to the authority of an assembly composed of pretended presbyters and mere laics, by whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, and deposed, and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of canonical consecration?†

The articles agreed on at Leith were laid before the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews in March, and at Perth in August, 1572. At the last of these meetings, the Assembly, after hearing the report of a committee appointed to examine the subject, came to the following resolution: That the articles recognized certain names, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which were thought slanderous and offensive to the ears of many of the brethren; therefore, the whole Assembly, as well those that were in commission at Leith as others, protest that they meant not, by using such names, to ratify, consent, and agree to, any kind of papistry or superstition, and wish rather the said names to be changed into others that are not slanderous and offensive; and in like manner protest, that the said heads and articles agreed on be received only as an *Interim*, till farther order may be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty, regent, and nobility, for which they will press as occasion shall serve. This declaration and protest the Assembly extended to the titles and functions of abbots and priors.*

The evils which this new and inauspicious settlement was calculated to produce, were soon apparent to the most simple and unsuspecting. The sees were generally filled, as might have been anticipated, by persons who were unqualified, some by youth and others by extreme age, some by want of talent and others by want of character.† They incurred public odium by consenting to become the tools of the court, and by the simoniacal pactions which they were known or suspected to have made with those to whom they were indebted for their presentations. At every meeting of the General Assembly, complaints were made against them, or censures inflicted on them, for neglect of duty, transgression of the laws in the admission of ministers, interference with superintendents in the exercise of discipline, simony, or the alienation of the property of the church. Those who had agreed to the proposal of the court at Leith, in the hopes that churches would be planted and stipends appointed, were mortifyingly disappointed. The patrons of benefices not being bound by any law, refused to comply with the regulations. And the Regent, instead of using his influence, as he had promised, to procure their compliance, encouraged them by his conduct to persevere in their refusal. Having, under a deceitful pretext, got the management of the thirds of the benefices out of the hands of the collectors appointed by the church, he united a number of parishes under the care of one minister, assisted by readers to whom a trifling salary was allotted. The ministers complained loudly of these abuses, and consulted on the most proper means of checking them. Upon which Morton accused them of seditious and treasonable speeches, withdrew his countenance from their assemblies, began to call in question their right to meet and transact business without his express allowance, and advanced a claim to the same supremacy over the church in Scotland, which had been declared to belong to the inherent prerogative of the sovereign in England.‡

In this confused and unsettled state were the affairs of the church when Melville revisited his native country. Two years before that period, the individual whom Providence raised up to enlighten and reform Scotland had rested from his labours. The "dead hand" and dying voice of Knox were employed in protesting against a system which, as he foresaw, would debase the purity and endanger the existence of that ecclesiastical establishment which he had reared with unwearied exertion, and whose safety he

heines chalmerlan and factor to the said priorissie of the Senis," &c. May 31, 1575. (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xliii, fol. 10.)

* In allusion to the custom in the Highlands of Scotland of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *Tulchan*, before cows, to induce them to give their milk, those who occupied the episcopal office at this time were called *Tulchan Bishops*. (Cald. MS. ii. 340.)

† It is proper, however, that facts should be stated; and there are two which may be weighed by those who are disposed to lay stress on such things. 1. John Winram took part in the inauguration of John Douglas, as bishop of St. Andrews, Now Winram was *popishly*, and in consequence *episcopally* and canonically ordained. He was also Sub-prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and, as such, Vicar-General during the vacancy of the see. Will not these two circumstances, joined to the *tertium quid* of his being a superintendent, make him, if not *formaliter*, at least *virtualiter*, a Bishop? 2. Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, was present, and actually laid his hands on Douglas's head. (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 324.) Now, the most rigid canonists allow that the legal quorum of three may be dispensed with in a case of necessity. But there is one flaw remaining which cannot be so easily removed—The Bishop of Caithness himself, it seems, was *never consecrated*, nay, "he never was *in priest's orders!*" (Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 128.) The truth appears to be, that the Scots have always shown a peculiar and constitutional incapacity for the difficult task of making bishops, and the work has never succeeded in their hands without assistance from York, Lambeth, or Rome. It is long since venerable Bede apologized for this by observing, that we did such things "*more insulato*." A presbyterian may be allowed to smile on this subject, when even Keith, a bishop of the true stamp, and not over-given to be witty, could not help remarking, that "it is a little diverting" to observe a commission given to one who was not "vested with any sacred character at all, to assist in the consecration of other men to the sacred office of Bishops." (Catalogue, *ut supra.*)

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 55. Cald. MS. vol. ii.

‡ Douglas, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was superannuated. Campbell, Bishop of Brechin, was a youth, and needed to be put under the tuition of the superintendent of Angus. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 471.) George Douglas, Bishop of Murray, was under process for immorality, and continued under trials for years without giving satisfaction as to his gifts. (Ib. ib. p. 473, 478.) "The yeir efter, was maid bischope Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haill wintar mumling on his pretching of his peapers everie day at our morning prayers, and haid it not weill parceur when all was done." (Melville's Diary, p. 27.) Alexander Hepburn, bishop-elect of Ross, delivered his trials before the General Assembly, and gave good satisfaction. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 458.)

† Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 58. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 393—403, 413—423, 454.

had watched over with the most uncorrupted fidelity. The loss sustained by his removal was soon severely felt. There still remained a number of excellent men, sincerely attached to the principles upon which the Reformation had been established in Scotland, and not incapable of defending them. But there was wanting an individual inheriting the ardent and intrepid spirit of the Reformer, capable of giving an impulse and a voice to public sentiment, and possessing decision of mind to execute, as well as sagacity to discern, those measures which were requisite to restore the church to her liberties, and to fix her authority on a proper and solid basis.

All were convinced that things ought not to remain on their present footing, but it was not so easy to come to an agreement respecting the change which was needed, and the best way of effecting it. Three questions rose out of the present conjuncture of affairs. The first related to the superiority of bishops above other ministers; the second, to invasions on the property of the church; and the third, to the encroachments made on her authority. But although these questions are distinct, yet the two last were in reality involved in the first, or, at least, were inseparably connected with it on the present occasion. It was by setting up bishops, and by the share which they consequently had in the admission of ministers, that the court expected chiefly to succeed in their designs on the patrimony of the church. And whatever they may have found it prudent to give out, or whatever a few individuals may have really felt, the great reason which has induced rulers to prefer episcopacy, is the superior facility with which it enables them to exert an unlimited sway over the clergy, and, through them, over the sentiments and feelings of the people. It was in this light that Melville appears to have viewed the subject. By conversation he ascertained that a number of the ministers coincided with him in these views; and he considered that he was at liberty, and that it was his duty, to embrace every proper opportunity of inculcating and enforcing them upon such as doubted of their truth, or scrupled the propriety of reducing them to practice.

Melville sat as a member of the General Assembly which was held at Edinburgh in March, 1575, being the first meeting of that judicatory after his admission to the College of Glasgow. This Assembly resumed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, which had formerly been under its consideration.* The conviction that something behoved to be done in this matter was now become so general and strong, that a Convention of Estates, held a few days before, had voted 'that great inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a decent and comely government in the church;' and had appointed a committee, consisting of laymen and ministers, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical polity agreeable to the word of God and adapted to the state of the country.† The General Assembly appointed a committee of their number to meet with the parliamentary commissioners, enjoining them to wait on the business, and to transmit to the ministers of the different provinces any overtures that might be made. But though they had no objection to concur with the government, they considered the subject as one that properly belonged to themselves, and therefore appointed such brethren as had studied the question most accurately to meet and prepare a draught to be laid before the Assembly. Melville was a member of this committee, which was renewed from time to time, and whose labours at last produced the second Book of Discipline.*

At the next Assembly, in August, 1575, when it was proposed to proceed, as usual, to the trial of the bishops, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested, that the examination of the conduct of the bishops should not prejudge what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their office.† On this occasion, Melville rose and addressed the Assembly in a speech of considerable length, in which he supported Dury's proposition, and stated his own sentiments respecting episcopacy. 'He was satisfied,' he said, 'that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to the interests of religion. The words *bishop* and *presbyter* are interchangeably used in the New Testament; and the most popular arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original language of Scripture.‡ It was the opinion of Jerom and other Christian Fathers, that all ministers of the Gospel were at first equal;‖ and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, and not in divine appointment. A certain degree of pre-eminence was, at an early period, given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view, or under the pretext of preserving unity; but this device had oftener bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. From ecclesiastical history it is evident, that, for a considerable time after this change took place, bishops were parochial and not diocesan. The same principles which justify, and the same measures which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, will justify and lead to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch over a province or kingdom, and of a universal bishop, or pope, over the whole Christian world. He had witnessed the good effects of Presbyterian parity at Geneva and in France. The maintenance of the hierarchy in England, he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses, which had produced dissensions and heartburnings in that flourishing kingdom. And he was convinced that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances which at present afflicted the church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil, by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the church.'

This speech was listened to with the utmost attention, and made a deep impression.§ The question was immediately proposed, 'Have bishops, as they are now in Scotland, their function from the word of God, or not? and ought the chapters appointed for electing them to be tolerated in a reformed church?' For the better resolution of this question, the Assembly agreed that it should be debated by a select number

* Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 436, 437.

† Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 89. In the writ of Privy Seal respecting the Chalmerlanrie of the Senis, formerly referred to, after quoting from the act of the convention, it is added: "In consideratioun of the guid intentioun to constitute and establish a godlie and decent ecclesiasticall polecy for ordering and governing of the kirk within this realm, and that na thing quhilk might hinder the samin wald be done in the meyn tyme It was concludit that the saidis nunries and vtheris abbayis or prioreis now vacand or that heircfter happenis to vaik sall nocht be disponit nor geven in titell to ony maner of persoun or personis but remane vacand quhill the constitutioun and establising of the said ecclesiasticall polecy. As the Act maid heirvpoun purportis," &c. (Register of Privy Seal. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 90.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 42. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 457.

† Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 62.

‡ Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. In the venerable Syriac version called the Peshito, [illegible] is translated "the elders," and [illegible], "the office of an elder." Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1. "This proves," says Dr. Marsh, "that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that *he made a proper distinction between the language of the primitive and that of the hierarchical church.*" Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 32, 553. Lond. 1802.

‖ See Note S. § Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

on each side. John Craig, who had been Knox's colleague, but was at this time minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, were nominated to argue on the negative; and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, of Leith, on the affirmative side of the question. After two days' reasoning and conference on the subject, the committee presented their report. They did not think it expedient, for the present, to give a direct answer to the first part of the question, but were unanimously of opinion, that if unfit persons were chosen as bishops by the chapters, they ought to be tried anew and deposed by the General Assembly.* They reported farther, that they had agreed on the following points respecting the office of a bishop, or superintendent: First, that the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is the chief function of bishops according to the word of God. And, secondly, that out of this number some may be chosen to visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly shall allot to them; to admit ministers, with the consent of the ministers in their respective bounds and of the particular congregations concerned; to admit elders and deacons where there were none, with the consent of the people; and to suspend ministers, for just causes, with the consent of their brethren in the district. The consideration of this report was deferred until the next meeting of Assembly. There were six bishops present, none of whom offered any defence of the episcopal office.† In April 1576, the Assembly, after deliberation, approved of and adopted the report of the committee in all its parts; and for carrying it into effect, ordained that such of the bishops as had not taken the charge of a single congregation, should now make choice of one. From this time the Assembly followed up their decision, until they formally abolished the episcopal office. In April 1578, they agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the same style as other ministers, and, in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishopric, they discharged the chapters from proceeding to a new election before next meeting of Assembly. At last the General Assembly which met at Dundee in July 1580, found and declared the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church; ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition; and appointed the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. The minutes bear, that this famous act was agreed to by "the whole assembly in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office." The King's Commissioner was present in the Assembly, and made not the smallest opposition to the procedure.‡

It was of great importance to the success of this measure, that the Assembly should procure the submission of the individuals who filled the different sees. This was no easy task, as, in addition to the reluctance which all men feel to relinquish power, the bishops were, on the present occasion, encouraged to resistance by the court and nobility. Notwithstanding this, such was the authority of the Assembly, and the activity of their agents, that the submission of the whole order, with the exception of five, was obtained in the course of the year in which the act abolishing episcopacy passed.*

While they were taking these decisive steps in abolishing episcopacy, the Assembly were actively employed in maturing their plan of church government. In April 1576, the committee entrusted with this business was enlarged. It was divided into four subcommittees, to meet in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and Montrose; which, after preparing materials, were to send delegates to a general meeting at Stirling, where the whole was to be examined, revised, and put into proper form. The result of their labours was laid before the General Assembly, who spent the greater part of several meetings in examining and correcting the draught, discussing those points which were doubtful or disputed,† listening to objections, receiving hints from whatever quarter they came, and, in short, adopting every means for rendering the platform as perfect and unexceptionable as possible. During these deliberations, Morton, with the view of embarrassing their proceedings, gave in a paper containing forty-two questions relating to the government of the church, to which he required answers. Although the greater part of these questions were evidently captious and frivolous,‡ the Assembly, to shew their respect for the Regent, appointed a committee to answer them; but they did not suffer themselves to be diverted by them from their main business. Perceiving their determination, Morton altered his conduct, or at least his language, signified that he "liked well of their travels and labour in that matter," and required them to use all expedition to complete the work which they had begun. The work was completed accordingly, and received the sanction of the General Assembly, at their meeting held in the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh in April 1578, and of which Melville was Moderator.‖ From this time, the Book of Policy, as it was then styled, or Second Book of Discipline, although not ratified by the Privy Council or Parliament, was regarded by the Church

* In Spotswood's printed History, p. 176, it runs, "if any bishop was chosen that had not qualities required by the word of God, *he should be tried by the General Assembly.*" But in the archbishop's MS. it stands thus; "*he should be tried* de novo *by the Assembly, and deposed from his place.*" (Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 9, MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.)

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 64. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 470. 472. Spotswood, p. 276.

‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 95. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 620, 621. Melville's Diary, p. 62. Spotswood, Hist. p. 311. In consequence of a difficulty expressed by some individuals as to the exact import of the act condemning episcopacy, the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April, 1581, (consisting, "for the most part," of the same individuals who had been present in the Assembly at Dundee,) declared, "that they meant *haillelie* to condemne the estate of bischops as they are now in Scotland, and that the same was the determination of the kirk at that time." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, a. Spotswood has given a partial account of this explanation. Hist. p. 316.)

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 100. b. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 636.

† The heads of *patronage*, *divorce*, and *the office of deacons*, were the most offensive to the court, and consequently were made the subject of longest discussion. The ground of objection to the last of these heads was, that it gave the management of the patrimony of the church to the deacons.

‡ The following is a specimen of the Regent's questions, which were understood to have been drawn up by Archbishop Adamson: "Ought there to be any degrees of dignity and order among ministers, in respect of learning, age, or places where they make residence? How far may the ministers, elders, and deacons, of every particular kirk or paroch proceed, and in what causes? How many G. Assemblies ought there to be within a kingdom? by whom should they be convocate? for what cause? What form of summoning and proceeding? &c. What is the proper patrimony of the kirk? Shall ministers' stipends be alike in quantity, because they are thought to be alike in dignity? What is symony? Whether may a man be both a minister and a reader, or anc officer at arms, or a Lord or Laird's steward, Griefe, pantryman, or porter? Whether has the city of Geneva committed sacrilege or not, in appointing the rents or teinds of their Bishoprick to their common theasury, paying but a certain portion thereof to the stipend of their ministers? (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 503—507.)

‖ Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 73, 74. Cald. MS. ii. 529

as exhibiting her authorized form of government; and steps were immediately taken for carrying its arrangements into effect, by erecting Presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors.*

The First Book of Discipline, though an admirable production for the time, was hastily compiled, to meet the emergency caused by the sudden triumph of the Protestant interest over the Popish hierarchy.† Several arrangements of a provisional description were necessarily introduced into it, while others, which subsequent experience shewed to be of great importance, were unavoidably omitted.‡ The Second Book of Discipline was drawn up with greater care and deliberation, by persons who had studied the subject with much attention, and had leisure to compare and digest their views. It is methodically arranged, and the propositions under each head are expressed with perspicuity, conciseness, and precision.

It begins by laying down the essential line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. Jesus Christ, it declares, has appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorized, and not by civil magistrates or under their direction. Civil authority has for its direct and proper object the promoting of external peace and quietness among the subjects, ecclesiastical authority, the directing of men in matters of religion and which pertain to conscience; the former enforces obedience by external means, the latter by spiritual means; yet as they "be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, to wit, to advance the glory of God, and to have good and godly subjects," they ought to cooperate within their respective spheres and fortify each other. "As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend, so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion." —The government of the church consists in three things; doctrine, (to which is annexed the administration of the sacraments,) discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of church officers; ministers, who are preachers as well as rulers, elders, who are merely rulers, and deacons, who act as distributers of alms and managers of the funds of the church. The name *bishop* is of the same import as that of *pastor* or *minister*; it is not expressive of superiority or lordship; and the Scriptures do not allow of a pastor of pastors or a pastor of many flocks. Connected with the pastor, who dispenses the word and sacraments, is the doctor or teacher, whose function lies in expounding the Scriptures, defending the truth against erroneous teachers, and instructing the youth, in schools, colleges, and universities. There should be elders who do not labour in word and doctrine: they ought to assist the pastor in examining those who come to the Lord's table, and in visiting the sick; but "their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors, and doctors, who are also of their number, for establishing good order and execution of discipline."—The office-bearers of the church are to be admitted by election and ordination. None are to be intruded into any ecclesiastical office, "contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." "The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership," or presbytery.—Ecclesiastical assemblies are either particular, (consisting of the office-bearers of one congregation or of a number of neighbouring congregations,) provincial, national, or ecumenical and general. It is not thought absolutely necessary, that there should be a stated assembly or session in country congregations; but each ought to have its own elders.* The Presbytery, or Eldership, as it is called, has the inspection of a number of adjoining congregations in every thing relating to religion and manners, and has the power of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of exercising discipline within its bounds. The Provincial Synod possesses the collective power of all the presbyteries within a province, and consequently may handle and redress whatever has been done amiss by any of them. The General Assembly, or "general eldership of the whole churches in the realm," takes cognizance of what has been done amiss by the provincial assemblies, and in general of every thing connected with the welfare of the national church. "None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote but ecclesiastical persons only,† to such a number as shall be thought good by the same assembly;" but none are excluded from being present in it "to propone, hear, and reason." All the ecclesiastical assemblies have lawful power to convene for transacting business, and to appoint the times and places of their meeting. In each of them a Moderator is to be chosen by common consent of the brethren, to propose the causes, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept.—The patrimony of the church includes whatever has been appropriated to her use, whether by donations from individuals, or by laws and usage. To take any part of this by unlawful means, and apply it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is simony. It belongs to the deacons to receive the ecclesiastical goods, and to distribute them according to the appointment of presbyteries. The purposes to which they are to be applied are the four following: the support of ministers; the support of elders and other church-officers, as far as this may be found necessary, and of teachers of theology and schoolmasters, provided the ancient foundations for education are insufficient; the main-

* Among the overtures made by the Synod of Lothian to the General Assembly in July 1579, was the following: "A general order to be taken for erecting of Presbyteries in places where Publick Exercise is used, until the tyme the Policie of the Kirk be established be law." To this the Assembly answered: "The Exercise may be judged a Presbyterie." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 501. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 74.) In October 1579, the Assembly requested the Clerk Register to assist their Commissioners "to lay down and devise a plan of the Presbyteries and constitution thereof." (Cald. ii. 641.) In April 1581, the laird of Caprington, the King's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly, "certane rolls concerning the planting of the Kirks, and the number of the Presbiteries;" and the same Assembly ordained, that "the booke of policie aggreit to befor in divers assemblies sould be registrat in acts of the kirk, and to remane therein ad perpetuam rei memoriam, and the copies thereof to be takin be every Presbyterie, of the qlk booke the tenour followes," &c. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, b. 104, b. Melville's Diary, p. 67.)

† The order of the Privy Council, directing the ministers to draw it up, was issued April 26, 1560, and the work was finished on the 20th of May following. (The First and Second Book of Discipline, p. 23, 70. Printed anno 1621.)

‡ Its compilers were fully sensible of this defect, and accordingly at almost every Assembly, from 1563 to 1575, when the Second Book of Discipline began to be prepared, resolutions were made as to the necessity of defining the jurisdiction and settling the polity of the church after a more perfect form. See the acts of Assembly prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed anno 1621. The reader will also find in that work ample information as to the proceedings of the Assembly, and of its committees, in compiling the Second Book of Discipline.

* "When we speak of the Elders of the particular congregations, we mean not that every particular parish kirk can or may have their own particular Elderships, especially in Landward; but wee think three, foure, moe or fewer, particular kirks, may have one Eldership common to them all, to judge their Ecclesiasticall causes. Yet this is meet, that some of the Elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concurre with the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their owne kirks, and bring them to the assembly. This we gather of the practice of the primitive kirk, where Elders or colledges of Seniors were constitute in cities and famous places." Chap. 7.

† The eldership is a spirituall function as is the ministrie."

tenance of the poor and of hospitals; and lastly, the reparation of places of worship, and other extraordinary charges of the church or commonwealth.—Among the abuses which ought to be removed the following are specified, the titles of abbots and others connected with monastic institutions, with the places which they held, as churchmen, in the courts of legislature and judicature; deans and others attached to cathedral and collegiate churches; the usurped superiority of bishops, and their acting in parliament and council in the name of the church, without her commission;* the exercise of criminal justice and the pastoral office by the same individuals; the mixed jurisdiction of commissaries; pluralities; and patronages and presentations to benefices whether by the prince or any inferior person, which lead to intrusion, and are inconsistent with "lawful election and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk and good order crave."

Such is the outline of the Presbyterian plan of church-government, as delineated in the Second Book of Discipline. Its leading principles rest upon the express authority of the word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture—they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule. It secures the liberty of the people in one of their most important privileges, the choosing of those who shall watch for their souls, without making them the final judges of the qualifications of those who shall be invested with this office. While it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation, it also preserves that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ; secures attention to those numerous cases which are of common concern and general utility; and provides a remedy against particular acts of injustice and maladministration arising from local partialities and limited information, by the institution of larger assemblies acting as courts of appeal and review, in which the interests of all are equally represented and each enjoys the benefit resulting from the collective wisdom of the whole body. It encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; but it, at the same time, avoids the confounding of their limits—prohibits church-courts from "meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction,"—establishes their independence in all matters which belong to their cognizance—and guards against, what is the greatest bane of religion and curse of the church, a priesthood which is merely the organized puppet of the state, and moves and acts only as it is directed by a political administration. It is a form of ecclesiastical polity whose practical utility has been proportionate to the purity in which its principles have been maintained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland; whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the national church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles.

Hierarchical writers do more honour to Melville than he is fairly entitled to, when they ascribe the overthrow of episcopacy, and the erection of presbytery, solely to his authority and exertions. Yet the leading part which he took in the work, and the high degree in which its success was owing to his zeal and ability, will justify the details into which we have thought it proper to enter. He was on all the committees employed in collecting materials for the Book of Polity, and in reducing them into form. He was present at most of the conferences held on the subject with committees of the Privy Council and Parliament. He had a principal share in all the discussions and debates that occurred, both in private and in public, on the articles which were most keenly disputed and opposed. And he subjected himself to great personal fatigue and expense and odium, during a series of years which were spent in completing the work and in procuring its reception.* Indeed, he regarded his exertions in this cause as the greatest service which he could perform for his country; and for the sake of advancing it, he cheerfully sacrificed the gratification which he felt in prosecuting his studies, and the prospects of personal fame which he might have acquired by engaging in literary undertakings.

The eagerness and success with which Melville laboured in the erection of the presbyterian system naturally rendered him obnoxious in the eyes of the adherents of episcopacy. Accordingly, writers of that persuasion have endeavoured, by the representations which they have given of his conduct on this occasion, to excite prejudices against his character and the cause which he promoted. Archbishop Spotswood, whose ambitious views he long crossed, and who has never mentioned his name with temper in the course of his history, set an example of this treatment; and we shall quote his words, which subsequent writers of the same description have done little more than repeated. "In the church this year began the innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietness. Mr. Andrew Melville, who was lately come from Geneva, a man learned (chiefly in the tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, labouring with a burning desire to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva; and having insinuated himself into the favour of divers preachers, he stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church-government—in end he said, that the corruptions crept into the estate of bishops were so great, as, unless the same were removed, it could not go well with the church."†

A few remarks on the several articles of this libel will be sufficient. It is insinuated that the church was in a tranquil state when Melville arrived in the country; and, indeed, if we had no other source of information as to these times than the archbishop's history, we might be ready to conclude that this was really the case. But we have already seen, from the most undoubted of all authorities, from acts of assembly and acts of parliament as well as from private

* "We denie not in the meane time, but Ministers may and should assist their Princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word, whether it be in Councell or Parliament, or otherwayes, providing alwayes they neither neglect their owne charges, nor through flattery of Princes, hurt the publick estate of the Kirk." Chap. ii.

* "And in deid that mater cost him exceeding great peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear, during the space of five or sax yair, with the gean of the Regent Erl of Morton and his bischopes vtter indignation. Yit with the wonderful assistance of God he bure it out till the abolishing of bischopes and establissing of the Presbyteries according to the word of God. Wharby he gatt the name of επισκοποματις, episcoporum exactor, the slinger out of bishops." (Melville's Diary, p. 42.)

† Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

writings, that the state of matters was quite the reverse, and that great dissatisfactions prevailed in the church previous to and at his arrival in Scotland. Was it Melville who instigated those who protested against the consecration of Douglas at St. Andrews?* or the whole Assembly, which at Perth protested against the titles of archbishops, deans, and chapters? Was it Melville who struck the blow at the civil power and places of bishops, which they have always regarded as among their dearest privileges? Was it not the archbishop's own father who moved and carried in the General Assembly, August 1573, (when there was no emissary from Geneva to incite him,) "that it was neither agreeable to the word of God, nor to the practice of the primitive church, for one man to occupy the charges of a minister of the Gospel and of a civil or criminal judge†"—a sentiment of which it was the great ambition of his son to afford a practical and glaring contradiction.

But Melville laboured "to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva." Or, as the archbishop expresses it in another publication, "His mind being imbued with the institutions of that city to which he had been long accustomed, he strained every nerve to bring our church to the nearest possible conformity with Geneva in point of discipline, not adverting to the difference between a kingdom and a republic."‡ This is the same allegation which has been made with respect to the first settlement of our Reformation by Knox. It was first brought forward by Hooker, in his controversy with the English Presbyterians, but with great modesty, and many expressions of high respect for the Genevan Reformer.‖ It was afterwards urged, but in a very different spirit, by Bancroft; and it has been retailed with unvarying and monotonous uniformity by Episcopalian writers down to the present day. They would have gained more credit to their cause among the judicious, if they had rested its defence upon the authority of Scripture and reason, and left the use of such *prejugez legitimes* wholly to Roman Catholics, from whom they borrowed them, and whose cause would have been early ruined but for the magic influence of the question, "Where was your church before Luther?" But if it is necessary to bring the controversy to this test, Presbyterians have surely no reason to blush, or to be ashamed of their descent. Where was the bishop in Scotland or in England, during the sixteenth century, that could be compared with Calvin or with Beza, either in point of talents or of learning, of skill in the Scriptures or of acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers? If the Reformers of Scotland were so unfortunate as to imbibe erroneous sentiments at Geneva, what was the enlightened school, and where the pure fountain, to which the English Reformers had access, and at which they were so happy as to drink the unpolluted doctrines of revelation? That Knox and Melville were greatly indebted to Calvin and Beza, and that they admired the religious order and discipline established in Geneva, I do not wish to deny; but that they implicitly adopted and slavishly imitated the institutions which they had seen in that city, is an assertion which argues great ignorance both of the men and the subject. If Melville had laboured merely to introduce a foreign institute, why did he bestow so much pains in studying the subject, or how came it about that he was always so ready and so able to maintain what he recommended upon higher and more sacred grounds? The ecclesiastical polity of Geneva and of Scotland agreed in their radical principles. But those who are accurately acquainted with both, know that they differed in some points in which they might have been made accordant; and that, owing to the great diversity of their circumstances, the one could not be an exact and fit model for the other. Within the small territory of Geneva there was no room and no occasion for the parochial sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly, which were erected in Scotland. Presbytery can accommodate itself to any extent of country; and its genius, and the exercise of its powers, are not incompatible with any reasonable form of civil government, monarchical or republican.

Melville, it is allowed, was "learned," but then it was "chiefly in the tongues." Of the truth of this qualifying clause, the reader shall be left to judge, from the evidence which has been already laid before him. With respect to the disparaging style in which skill in languages is here mentioned, it might be sufficient to remark, that the archbishop, though a man of talents, was no great scholar, and it is very natural for us to depreciate what we do not possess or understand.* But the truth is, that, in speaking after this manner, he only imitated the language of his predecessors, Montgomery and Adamson.† I mention this chiefly because it affords a curious illustration of the fact, that adventitious recommendations of this kind may be possessed by different parties at different periods. Superior skill in ancient languages, upon which the members of the Church of England in the present day plume themselves, and which I have no desire to deny them, was in the sixteenth century so unquestionably due to presbyterians in Scotland, that their opponents thought it necessary to depreciate it as a minor acquisition, and as calculated to do more hurt than good.

The charge that Melville "insinuated himself into the favour of diverse preachers," is absurd. His talents and character were such as to secure him easy access to the company and favour of any preacher in Scotland; and the most learned men in the country were proud of his friendship. He communicated his sentiments respecting episcopacy and church-government in the most unreserved manner to Adamson and Cunninghame, who afterwards became bishops. It is true, that he lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with Lawson, Dury, and Balcanquhall, the ministers of Edinburgh; and there is no reason to doubt that he had confidential conversations with them on those measures which at that time engaged universal atten-

* Bannatyne, p. 323, 331. † Petrie, part iii. p. 380.

‡ Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 31. Calderwood, in his reply to this tract, remarks dryly, "If Melville, by the force of custom during five years residence at Geneva, became so enamoured with its discipline, is it not strange that John Spotswood should have been so easily induced to desert the Scots discipline, to which he had been habituated for more than ten years? The reason is to be sought for in the different dispositions of the men, not in their education—*Discrimen in ingeniis, non in disciplina, fuit.*" (Epistolæ Philadelphi Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 731, edit. 2.)

‖ Preface to Ecclesiastical Polity, sect. 2; a section which those who are accustomed to disparage Calvin, and eulogize Hooker, with equal ignorance of both would do well to read.

* Calderwood mentions that Spotswood was ignorant of Greek, and says, it was suspected (probably without good reason) that he had got a certain physician to translate his book into Latin. "Dedicavit Principi Carolo Libellum istum de rebus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Latinum, et Græcis quasi stellis distinctum, quem omnes scimus Græce nescire, Latine vix scire, nedum posse tam Latine scribere. Sed non est mirum, mentitis (Medici cujusdam ut audio) pennis niti mendaciorum consarcinatorem." (Prefat. Epist. Philadelph. Vind.)

† One of the articles of the libel raised in 1581 against Montgomery, archbishop of Glasgow, was, "that, so farre as he could, he travellit to bring the original languages, Greik and Hebrew, into contempt; abusing thereunto the words of the apostle 1 Cor. xiv. and tauntingly asking, '*In what Schoole were Peter and Paul graduat?*'" (Buik of the Universal Kirk, f. 114. b.) The following is one of the assertions collected from the lectures which archbishop Adamson delivered at St. Andrews: "Græcæ, Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ et ceterarum ejusmodi doctarum et sanctarum linguarum cognitio, non solum otiosa et invtilis, sed etiam perniciosa et exitialis est Reip. et ecclesiæ Dei." (Floretum Archiepiscopale, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9. Num. 47.)

tion. It may even be true, that he was previously acquainted with Dury's intention to object against the episcopal office; for what is more customary than for a person to consult with his friends before he submits a motion on any important subject to a court? But that Melville conducted the business in an insidious or dishonourable way, by pushing forward another to do what he was afraid to do himself, and then affecting ignorance of the design; or that John Dury would have consented to become a tool in any such disgraceful management,—no one who is acquainted with the characters and tempers of the two men will ever for a moment believe.* Such arts were reserved to be employed in the advancement of a different cause, and by a very different set of men.

There is no evidence that Melville conducted himself in a violent and overbearing manner in the prosecution of this business. He had no means of effecting an alteration on the government of the church but argument and persuasion; and had he pushed matters with the intemperance which some have ascribed to him, he must have defeated his own designs, and raised insurmountable difficulties in the way of their accomplishment. No dissension was produced in the church. There was a general and harmonious concurrence of sentiment in favour of the measures which were adopted; and aware of this the bishops themselves, who were present in the Assembly, made no formal or public opposition.† During the earlier and most important part of the proceedings, the reins of civil government were in the hands of one who could hold them with sufficient firmness, and who possessed the address to avail himself of any act of imprudence or violence on the part of the ecclesiastical courts, as a pretext for putting a stop to those measures to which he was known to be decidedly averse. But no occasion of this kind was given. Every thing was conducted with firmness, indeed, and perseverance, but at the same time, with a temper, deliberation, and unanimity rarely exhibited by a popular assembly, and which reflect the highest honour on its members.

Nor was this harmony purchased at the expense of that freedom which belongs to a popular and deliberative assembly. There was at that period no party-management—nothing similar to the practice afterwards introduced, when a cabal or set of leaders settled every thing in private, and having previously decided on their measures, and calculated their strength, granted to the court the semblance of liberty by a mock debate and the formality of a vote.‡ One who was present at most if not all of the Assemblies occupied in framing the Book of Discipline, gives the following account of their manner of proceeding. "It was a most pleasand and comfortable thing to be present at these assemblies, there was sic frequencie and reverence, with holiness and zeall. Maters were gravlie and cleirlie proponit; overtures maid by the wysest, douttes reassonit and discussit by the learnedest and maist quik; and, finallie, all with ane voice concluding upon matters resolvit and cleirit, and referring thingis intritit and uncleirid to farder advysment. Namely, this is to be noted, that, in all these assemblies anent the policie, ther was not sic a thing as a carieing away of anie poinct with a number of vottes, ane or ma, as by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters were indifferentlie proponit, and, efter beging light of God and sersing the scriptures, by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme taken and diligentlie employit for that effect, all with ane voice in ane consent and unitie of mynd determined and concluded."*

Some authors are of opinion, that there was no difference of sentiment among the ministers on the head of episcopacy, and that the reasoning between certain members of Assembly, when the question was first agitated, was merely a disputation, according to the manner of the schools, with the view of throwing greater light on the subject. This opinion is, I think, erroneous. There were none in Scotland at that time, so far as I have been able to learn, who regarded the episcopal office as of divine institution; but I have no doubt that there were ministers, besides the bishops, who did not esteem it to be positively unlawful or necessarily injurious to the interests of the church, and who thought that it ought to be retained, or at least tolerated, in the state in which affairs were in Scotland at that period. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the sentiments of Row, Lindsay, and George Hay, who were nominated by the assembly to reason in defence of episcopacy. That they were Row's sentiments we know from the testimony of his son, who informs us that his father at first thought episcopacy lawful, but was constrained, along with those who reasoned on the same side with him, to yield to the force of the arguments brought forward by their opponents, and from that time took a decided part in removing bishops and establishing the presbyterian polity.† Among those who held the lawfulness of episcopacy, archbishop Spotswood also includes the names of his own father, of Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Alexander Arbuthnot, Robert Pont, Thomas Smeton, and Andrew Polwart.‡ Smeton, Polwart, and Pont, afterwards distinguished themselves by their opposition to bishops.‖ Arbuthnot and Melville

* Dury was at first an exhorter in Leith. Though not learned, he possessed great spirit, and had distinguished himself by his zeal and courage during the civil war. "About the same tyme (1571) cam to St. Andrews, to visite Mr. Knox, Mr. Jhone Durie, fellow minister at Leith with Mr. David Lindsay, who was then for stoutnes and zeal in the guid cause mickle renowned & talked off. For the gown was na sooner of, and the Byble out of hands fra the kirk, when on ged the corslet, and fangit was the hacbet, and to the fields." (Melville's Diary, p. 28. Comp. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 359, 360.)

As Dury commenced the attack on episcopacy, Spotswood was eager to represent him as having retracted his sentiments on this subject in his latter days. (History, p. 458.) But the archbishop's story is contradicted by Dury's son-in-law, who declares that he retained his sentiments concerning episcopacy unaltered to the last. (Melville's Diary, p. 345.)

† Spotswood acknowledges this fact, and mentions it with much surprise and disapprobation. "What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given way to such novelties, & have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be thus drawn in question." (Hist. p. 276.)

‡ The appointment of assessors or assistants to the moderator, has been urged in opposition to the statement given in the text. That practice was introduced in the following way. In April, 1577, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, was chosen moderator. It was the moderator's business to fix the order in which the causes should come before the court. But as Arbuthnot had not been present at the preceding Assembly, and consequently was unacquainted with the business which remained undecided, he requested that certain members should be appointed to assist him. This was complied with, and the advantages of the appointment in expediting business led to its repetition at subsequent meetings. Some members were jealous of its tendency, and objected against the precedent, and there is no doubt that it was afterwards abused in prejudice of the liberties of the Assembly. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 508, 616. Petrie, P. iii. p. 391.) The writer of Arbuthnot's Life in the Biographia Britannica, absurdly says: "This committee had the name of the *Congregation*, and in a short time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Assembly had little to do but to approve their resolutions." (Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 236, edit. 2.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 59, 60. Comp. Row, Hist. p. 22.

† Row of Carnock, MS. Historie of the Kirk, p. 289. Comp. Melville's Diary, p. 64.

‡ De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scotianæ, p. 42.

‖ Melville, in a letter "Johanni Rowio Ecclesiastæ Perthensi," dated "15. Cal. Feb. 1578," says "Smetonius acerrimus bonæ causæ propugnator." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9.) Smeton and Polwart protested against the election of Montgomery as bishop of Glasgow. (Records of Privy Council, April 12, 1582.) Erskine, Lindsay, and Pont, presented to the Privy Council the remonstrance of the General Assembly

were closely united in their views and public conduct.* And if the others were at first of episcopal sentiments, they must have changed their views, as they co-operated in the establishment of presbytery, and as there was not a single contradictory or dissenting voice at the abolition of episcopacy.†

It is agreed, on all hands, that this change of sentiment was brought about chiefly by the influence of Melville. That in exerting this influence he never overstepped the bounds of moderation, and that, in the fervour of his zeal for what he considered as the cause of God and truth, he never infringed the rights, nor unnecessarily wounded the feelings of good men who might conscientiously differ from him, I am far from wishing to assert. But there is one instance, in which I am satisfied that this charge has been brought against him groundlessly, if not wantonly. I refer to the case of James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow. Spotswood says that Boyd was so much vexed with the proceedings of the Assembly in urging him to remove the corruptions of the episcopal office, and with certain injuries which he received from one of his own relations, that he "contracted a melancholy whereof he died not long after at Glasgow." He adds, "Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr. Andrew Melvil and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the Colledge, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private, and at the Bishop's table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and use him most uncivilly. The commission of the Assembly he exercised with all rigour, and by threatening the Bishop with the censures of the Church, induced him to set his hand to certain articles, which, as he professed in his sickness, did sore vex his mind; yet, being comforted by Mr. Andrew Polwart, Subdean of Glasgow, he departed this life in great quietness."‡ Some of these charges are ridiculous and childish, and the rest are unfounded and calumnious. The whole procedure of the Assembly in this case, as detailed in the public records, is marked with tenderness to Boyd, and regard to the delicate circumstances in which he was placed with his relations. It is false that the commission to procure his subscription was entrusted to Melville, or to a committee of which he was one. David Weemes, minister of Glasgow, was the only individual employed in this business.‖ And two years elapsed between that transaction and the death of the bishop.§ The story of his being grieved on his death-bed at his renunciation of episcopacy is contradicted by what is immediately added; for Polwart, who is represented as his comforter, was a decided anti-episcopalian.¶ The allusion to Melville's partaking of the arch-bishop's hospitality is utterly unworthy of a reply. What is said as to the episcopal titles is worse than puerile. There was an act of Assembly directing that the bishops should be addressed by the same titles as other ministers. In obedience to this act, and in common with all his brethren, Melville observed this rule in the public meetings of the church; but he did not think that the Assembly intended to interdict or interfere with the ordinary civilities of life, and accordingly made no scruple of giving the bishop his usual titles in private intercourse. And this compliance with the rules of *courtesy* must be produced and published as a proof of his "*uncourteous* forms," and bring the blood of a bishop on his head, too! He came to Glasgow at the urgent solicitation of the archbishop, when he had the offer of a preferable and more lucrative situation. The active part which Boyd took in bringing him there was with the view, not of conferring a favour on an individual, but of benefiting a literary institution; and if he was actuated by regard to the public good, as I have no doubt he was, he must have considered his exertions and benefactions as amply rewarded by the flourishing condition into which Melville brought that decayed university, and must have derived far higher gratification from this than from having his ears tickled with vain-glorious and high-sounding titles, for which he never shewed that doting fondness which his successor must have felt when he advanced so heavy a charge on such weak and miserable grounds. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the whole accusation of disrespect and ingratitude is refuted by the bishop's own son, the learned and excellent Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who, in his family-memoirs, mentions the inviolable friendship that subsisted between his father and Melville, and records with filial satisfaction and pride the high commendations which he heard the latter bestow on the former.*

There are too good grounds for retorting on Spotswood the charges which he has so groundlessly aimed at another. He received his education at the University of Glasgow, while Melville was Principal there, and James Melville was his teacher.† Yet, in his history, he has embraced every opportunity of tarnishing the reputation of the former, and has injured the character of the latter by retailing, as true, a slander of the most improbable kind, and which, if he did not know, he might easily have ascertained, to be false.‡

From the frequent occasion that we shall have in the sequel to speak of Patrick Adamson, it is necessary to give a short account of his conduct at this period. He was minister of Paisley when the questions respecting the government of the church began to be publicly agitated, and professed a hearty concurrence with the views of Melville, whose society he courted. The latter, however, always suspected his sincerity, or at least his steadiness, and remarked to his confidential friends, that Adamson, as well as Cuninghame,‖ was too courtly to remain attached to the cause.§ In the course of the year 1575, he left his

against the suspension of Montgomery's excommunication. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 126, b.)

* Letter of Melville to Arbuthnot, Sept. 4. 1579. MS. in Bib. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.

† The reason which Spotswood gives for their consent is not much to their honour: "Tandem, ne frustra contraniti viderentur, in imperitæ multitudinis sententiam concesserint." (De Regimine Eccles. Scot. p. 45.)

‡ Spotswood's Hist. p. 303. ‖ Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 586.

§ His subscription, "where he willingly agreed to the act of the Assembly made at Stirling, 1578," was dated "the 8th day of June, 1579." (Cald. ut supra.) And he died in June, 1581. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 155.) During the interval he was employed by the Assembly as Commissioner of Carrict, and appointed on a committee to present articles to the King. (Cald. ii. 587, 642.) ¶ See preceding page.

* After mentioning the friendship between his father and John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, he proceeds to speak of Melville: "Die quadam hunc ipsum in finem convenissem, ut ejus de Patre meo sententiam percontarer, quem is inter omnes tum viventes optime perspectum habebat, quippe a quo olim ipse, Geneva rediens, obviis ulnis exceptus fuerat, et Academiæ Glasguensis prefectura meritissime donatus in quo per annos aliquot substitit, *cum Patre meo sanctissimam colens amicitiam*, post cujus demum e vivis excessum in Academiam Andreanam translatus est: Respondit, ex voto meo, et rei ipsius veritate, pectus illud candidissimum, illius integritate virtutique luculentum perhibens testimonium lubentissime." (Roberti Bodii a Trochorgia Philotheca: Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Boyd, p. 3, 4. MSS. vol. iv. Bibl. Coll. Glas.) The account which James Melville has given of the Archbishop, and of his uncle's uninterrupted intimacy with him, exactly accords with the above. Diary, p. 39.

† It appears from his graduation that Spotswood attended the University of Glasgow at the period referred to; and Melville, in speaking of him in his letters to his nephew, mentions him by the designation "*your* scholar." (Melvini Epistolæ. p. 29.) ‡ Hist. p. 403.

‖ See above, p. 246. § Melville's Diary, p. 43, 45.

charge at Paisley, and became chaplain to the Regent; in the expectation, and indeed with the assurance, that he would obtain preferment in the church, as soon as a fit opportunity presented itself.* The see of of St. Andrews was at that time vacant, but it was necessary to proceed with caution in filling it, as the church had declared against the corruptions of the episcopal function. In October, 1576, the General Assembly was informed that Adamson was presented to that bishopric, upon which occasion he came forward and declared that he did not intend to make use of his presentation.† But before the next meeting of Assembly he had procured his election, and was admitted Archbishop of St. Andrews and Primate of all Scotland. The craft with which he accomplished his ambitious views excited the indignation of his brethren and the raillery of the courtiers. He had a favourite phrase, which he often used in his sermons, *The prophet would mean here.* When the fact of his being made Primate first transpired, Montgomery the court-poet, exclaimed: "For as often as I have been told what *the prophet would mean*, I never knew what he really meant till now."‡ After much shifting and tergiversation, which we cannot here stop to relate, Adamson submitted to the determinations of the General Assembly, and subscribed to all the leading articles in the Book of Discipline concerning episcopacy and ecclesiastical government; but it was too apparent from the whole of his conduct that his professions were illusory and hypocritical.‖ Cunninghame, who succeeded him as chaplain to the Regent, was soon after advanced to the bishopric of Aberdeen.§

The same arts of corruption, by which the court detached Adamson and Cunninghame from the cause of Presbytery, were tried on Melville. We have already seen the advances made and the prospects held out to him on the part of the Regent, at his arrival in Scotland.¶ Upon the death of Douglas, the archbishopric of St. Andrews was intended for him, and it was not until all hopes of his complying with the court-measures had failed, that it was bestowed on Adamson.** He was next offered the rich benefice of Govan, on the condition of his desisting from opposition to the bishops. This offer he at once rejected; but as the parish lay in the vicinity of Glasgow, and could be served by the professors, he used all his influence to have the living annexed to the University. The Regent kept it in his own hands for two years, giving out that the Principal, "by his new opinions and over-sea dreams," defrauded the College of this valuable addition to its slender revenues. Nor were there wanting some individuals connected with the University who murmured against him on this account, and wounded his feelings by reflections equally illiberal and unjust. But as his independence of mind had prompted him to reject personal favours, so his firmness and conscious integrity enabled him to disregard such unmerited imputations, and he continued steadily to pursue what he conceived to be the line of his duty.*

In October, 1577, the Regent sent a message to the General Assembly, informing them that the Protestants of Germany intended to hold a General Council at Magdeburgh for establishing the Augsburg Confession, at which they wished deputies from the different Protestant countries to be present; desiring the Assembly to name such individuals as they judged most proper for that employment; and promising that he would defray the expenses of their journey. The Assembly nominated eight of their number, and left it to the Regent to select from them such as he thought most fit for the embassy. He accordingly fixed on Melville, Arbuthnot, and George Hay.† But whether he grudged the expenses which would have been incurred, or had, from the first, intended merely to pay a compliment to the church and the individuals selected, it is certain that Morton, although urged by the Assembly, took no farther step in that affair.‡

When he saw that Melville could not be bribed or flattered, the Regent next attempted to overawe him by authority, and to work on his fears by threatening to proceed against him for treason. While the Assembly were taking some measures that were disagreeable to him, he one day sent for Melville to his chamber. After discoursing for some time on the importance of preserving the peace of the church and kingdom, he began to complain that the public tranquillity was in danger from certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville explained, by telling his Grace, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the King's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his allowance. To this Melville answered, that, if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convocated hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and yet they were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cæsar. Having appealed in proof of this assertion to the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Regent replied scornfully, "Read ye ever such an *Act* as we did at St. Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the Queen Regent at Perth in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you." He added, 'that in a great crisis the conduct of men was not to be rigidly scanned by common rules, and actions which in other

* "Ane letter maid to maister Patrick Adamsone, minister of Goddis word in ye lord Regentis house, of ane gift of an zeirlie pensioun of ye sowme of thre hundreth pundis money of yis realme a furtt of ye superplus of benefices and ye thriddis thairof not assignit to the sustentatioun of vtheris ministers during all the dayis of his lyfe, at leist ay and quhil he be provydit sufficientlie of benefice, pensioun fruth of benefice, or vtherways to the yeirlie rait and availl of ye said pensioun and sowme thairoff, &c. At Dalkeith, Jun. 15, 1575." (Register of Privie Seal, vol. xlii. fol. 7.)

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 66. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 494. "Nevertheless," says James Melville, "er the nixt assemblie he was seisit hard and fast on the bischoprik, wharby all gossoprie ged upe betwin him and my uncle Mr. Andro." (Diary, p. 46.) Spotswood says, that Adamson answered, "that he was discharged by the Regent to accept the office otherwise than was appointed by mutual consent of the Church and Estate." (Hist. p. 277.) But he appears to have confounded the answers returned at two different times by Adamson. (Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 66. comp. p. 68.) In the MS. copy of Spotswood's History, immediately after the above quotation, it is added,—"in the bishoprick, wherein if it should please the King and Estates to make any reformation, he should consent with the first thereunto." (Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Adamson, p. 15. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. iv.) This refers to the subsequent dealings of the Church with Adamson; as to which James Melville says: "As he was wonderful craftie he offerit to lay down all at the feit of the brethering, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the assemblie, whowsone the sam was throuche and at a point with the mater of the policie, and sa with fear promises drifted and pat off till he gat his tyme." (Diary, p. 47.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 46.

‖ Buik of the Univ. Kirk. p. 69. 90. 100. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 510. 565. 585. 636. Melville's Diary, p. 49. A great part of the procedure of the Assembly respecting the bishops is wanting in the records, in consequence of the leaves having been torn out by Arran and Adamson during their administration. (Cald. ii. 540. 566. 630. 636.)

§ Melville's Diary, p. 46.

¶ See above, p. 232.

** Melville's Diary, p. 38.

* Melville's Diary, p. 43, 44.

† The other individuals named by the Assembly, and who on this account may be considered as the ablest among the ministers, were Adamson, Cunninghame, Pont, Christison, and David Lindsay.

‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 72. Melville's Diary, p. 46.

circumstances would be highly censurable, may be excused and even approved; as our Saviour virtually justified those who introduced to him a palsied invalid by the roof of a house, without waiting the permission of the proprietor. At that time the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and all men pressed into it, without asking the leave of prince or emperor.' The Regent, biting the head of his staff, exclaimed in a tone of half-suppressed indignation, which few who were acquainted with his manner and temper could hear without alarm: "There will never be quietness in this country till half a dozen of you be hanged or banished the country."—"Tush, Sir," replied Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or on the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared,* at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth."†

The wisest of men are apt to become intoxicated with power. Morton possessed great political sagacity; yet he overlooked the critical situation in which he stood as entrusted with delegated and temporary authority. The nobles envied his greatness, and were irritated by the severe impartiality with which he repressed their turbulence; the commons felt oppressed by the monopolies in trade which he had granted in order to avoid the necessity of having recourse to direct taxation; his austere and supercilious treatment of the ministers of the church cooled their attachment to his administration; and he had neglected to secure the fidelity of those who were placed about the person of the young king. In these circumstances a party of discontented nobles having gained access to the prince, persuaded him, although only in the twelfth year of his age, to assume the government; and so strongly did public opinion incline to the change, that Morton judged it prudent to give way to it, and formally resigned the regency.‡ It was not long till the new counsellors became unpopular; and Morton taking advantage of this sudden turn of public feeling, reappeared at court, and, without the invidious title of regent, regained his former influence. But, after what had happened, it could not be stable or permanent, and his adversaries, by insinuating themselves into the royal favour, undermined his authority and precipitated his fall.

These revolutions in the political administration of the kingdom were so far favourable to the church. Had Morton's authority remained undisturbed, or had the adverse faction not felt the necessity of strengthening themselves against him, it is not improbable that force would have been employed to stop those ecclesiastical proceedings to which both parties were equally averse. The King, by the advice of his counsellors, returned a very gracious answer to the General Assembly, when they presented the Book of Discipline to him upon his assumption of the government; and at a conference held at Edinburgh between commissioners from the privy council and the church, all the heads of that book were agreed to, with the exception of four which were subsequently explained by the Assembly.* But when laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, its ratification was evaded, and a committee appointed to re-examine it, by whose proceedings the whole subject was thrown loose, and points formerly conceded were again brought into debate.† The reconciliation of the two political parties was chiefly effected by the influence of the church, which was treated as mediators have often been;‡ and the General Assembly soon after received a letter from the king couched in language very different from the reply which he had at first returned to their deputies.‖

In the midst of these changes of men and measures, the country suffered a severe loss by the death of the chancellor Glammis, who was casually slain in one of those affrays which were then so frequent among the retainers of the nobility. He was a nobleman of great wisdom and integrity, a patron of learning, and a sincere friend to the reformed religion.§ With the view of bringing the disputes on church-government to an amicable adjustment, he had carried on an epistolary correspondence with Beza, who composed a short treatise in answer to the queries which the Chancellor proposed to him on that subject. These queries form a very important document. They shew that the opposers of the Presbyterian polity did not merely object to some of the distinguishing features and subordinate parts of the system, but that they were in reality averse to the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the church, and aimed at subjecting the freedom of her assemblies, and the validity of her sentences, to the arbitrary will and determination of the court. Beza proved himself a true friend to the church of Scotland on this occasion. His judgment on all the questions submitted to him was decidedly in favour of the principles laid down in the Book of Discipline; and as his treatise was printed and soon after translated into English, the authority of his name and the force of his arguments had great influence on the public mind.¶

"During these contentions in the state, (says Spotswood) Mr. Andrew Melville held the church busied with the matter of policy." The letters which he wrote about this time certainly shew that he was neither idle nor indifferent in this business. In a letter addressed to John Row he expressed great anxiety to learn the particulars of the conference, or "archiepiscopal skirmishing," as he calls it, at Stirling.** In another letter, addressed to Alexander Arbuthnot, he adverts, in his lively manner, to the continual bustle in which he and his brethren had been kept by attending to this affair. "What shall I say on the subject of the ecclesiastical discipline, in which we have laboured so sedulously but with so little success? Shall I tell you what we have done during this and the preceding year, when called sometimes to Sterling and sometimes to Edinburgh, now by letters from the King and then by letters from the Council, at one time by an order from the Estates and at another by appointment of the Assemblies of the church? shall I write

* Expended.

† Melville's Diary, p. 52. Referring to Morton's threats against him, his nephew says—"Manie sicklyk hes he hard, and far ma reported in mair ferfull form, bot for all never jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceiding tharin." Ib.

‡ He resigned the regency on the 6th of March 157‡; "*he being wearie of ye burding thairof*, and be his earnest cair and travell takin thairin. As also be ressoun of his great age, being now past threscoir ane zeiris. And ywith being in his persoun seiklie and vnhabill," &c. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. 45. fol. 56.) In Sept. 11, 1578, he obtained a licence to seek "in foreign countries" a remedy for his "infirmities and diseases." (Ibid. fol. 79.)

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 76. 77. Melville's Diary, p. 49. The minutes of the conference was held at Edinburgh, June 23, 1578, were torn out of the register of the General Assembly. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 539—541.)

† Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 545–6. The whole proceedings of this committee, which met at Sterling, Dec. 22—29, 1578, are inserted Cald. ut sup. p. 569—577. In Spotswood's History, (p. 289—301.) their opinion of the several propositions in the Book of Discipline is printed on the margin, but inaccurately in several instances. ‡ Cald. ii. 549.

‖ Ibid. p. 579. Spotsw. 308.

§ The following epitaph was composed by Melville on the Chancellor, whose name was *Lyon*:

Tu, Leo magne, jaces inglorius: ergo manebunt
Qualia fata canes? qualia fata sues?
(Melville's Diary, p. 47.)

¶ See Note T.

** 15 Cal. Feb. 1578. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.

of our doings in August last, during the whole of October, and in the course of the present month ?"* To his friend Beza† he gives a more precise account of the sentiments of their opponents, and the true causes which hindered the establishment of the discipline. "Those who have grown rich by sacrilege, and loaded themselves with the spoils of Christ, deny that ecclesiastical discipline is to be derived from the word of God and to be executed by the interpreters of Scripture. They wish to have it moulded entirely according to the dictates of human reason, and transferred to the cognizance of the civil magistrate. They insist that the work of framing an ecclesiastical polity shall be committed to wrangling lawyers, and to persons that are illiterate, or at least unskilled in divine things. And merely because they belong to the church, they maintain that such persons have authority and power, not only to give their approbation to what has been rightly done by presbyteries constituted according to the word of God, but also to sit themselves as judges in sacred causes, and to rescind at their pleasure the sentences and constitutions of the doctors and pastors." In another letter to the same individual, he says: "We have now for five years maintained a warfare against pseudo-episcopacy, and have not ceased to urge the adoption of a strict discipline. We have presented to his Majesty, and the three Estates of the kingdom, at different times, and recently to the Parliament which is now sitting, a form of discipline to be enacted and confirmed by public authority. The king is favourably inclined to us; almost all the nobility are averse. They complain that if pseudo-episcopacy be abolished, the state of the kingdom will be overturned; if presbyteries be established, the royal authority will be diminished; if the ecclesiastical goods are restored to their legitimate use, the royal treasury will be exhausted. They plead that bishops, with abbots and priors, form the third estate in parliament, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, pertains solely to the king and his council, and that the whole of the ecclesiastical property should go into the exchequer. In many this way of speaking and thinking may be traced to ignorance; in more to a flagitious life and bad morals; in almost all to a desire of seizing such of the church property as yet remains, and the dread of losing what they have already got into their possession. They also insist that the sentence of excommunication shall not be held valid until it has been approved by the king's council after taking cognizance of the cause. For, being conscious of their own vices, they are afraid of the sentence of the presbytery, not so much from the awe in which they stand of the divine judgment, as from terror of the civil penalties, which, according to the laws and custom of our country, accompany the sentence of excommunication. In fine, while they judge according to the dictates of the carnal mind instead of the revealed will of God, they desire to have every thing done by the authority of a single bishop and perpetual overseer of the churches, rather than by the common sentence of presbyters possessing equal authority. May God shew mercy to his church, and remove these evils."‡

From the manner in which Melville mentions the civil penalties that accompanied excommunication, it is evident that he did not look upon them as forming any part of the ecclesiastical discipline, or even as a necessary appendage to it. The laws enacting them were allowed to remain in force at the time of the Reformation, and they afforded the most plausible pretext for the control which the court claimed over the sentences of the church. It was, however, only a pretext; for the government suspended the execution of these laws whenever they pleased, and the legislature had it in their power at any time to abrogate them entirely. Some of the ministers would have been pleased with their abrogation.* Such of them as wished for their continuance were chiefly influenced by two reasons; first, the government was extremely remiss and partial in proceeding against certain vices and crimes which merited civil punishment, and of which the church-courts took regular cognizance as scandals; and, secondly, they reckoned the penal laws necessary as a protection against the attempts of the papists, whom the court was too frequently disposed to favour. There can be no doubt that they were one means of saving the country from the popish conspiracies about the time of the Spanish Armada; but still they were radically wrong, capable of being made an engine of the grossest persecution, and consequently were wisely and happily abolished at a subsequent period.

Amidst these important occupations, the General Assembly found leisure to attend to the interests of learning. In March, 1575, they enacted that no person unacquainted with the Latin language, should afterwards be admitted to the ministry, unless he was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of natural gifts and of piety. At their subsequent meeting they petitioned the Regent in behalf of schools and colleges, and requested him to make provision for such young men of talents as the church should think proper to send to foreign universities to complete their education. Being informed by Melville, that a learned printer, who had been obliged to leave France for the sake of religion, was willing to settle in Scotland, and promised to procure a regular supply of all books printed in France and Germany, they warmly recommended it to the Regent to grant him the pension which he demanded. It is probable that the individual referred to was Andrew Wechel, whose establishment in this country would have been highly favourable to its literature. There is reason to think that the parsimony of Morton defeated the enlightened plan of the Assembly. Some years after we find them applying to the King to procure Vaultrollier, another printer, who accordingly came and remained for a short time in the country. It was also under their patronage and and special direction, that the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland was undertaken, and make its appearance in the year 1579.†

Another important object which engaged the Assembly's attention at this time was the reformation and new-modelling of the universities. Melville had contemplated this measure ever since his settlement at Glasgow. In the year 1575, he had a meeting with Alexander Arbuthnot, the learned and amiable Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, at which they agreed on a new constitution for the seminaries over which they respectively presided.‡ But he was still more impressed with the importance of improving the university of St. Andrews, which surpassed the other two in revenue and in the number of students. The most eligible plan for attaining this object formed the topic of serious inquiry in consultations held between him and Thomas Smeton, minister of Paisley.‖ Melville used all his influence with the leading persons in church and state to accomplish this favourite design; and he had at length the satisfaction to see the new

* 4 Sept. 1579. MS. ut supra.

† Melville received letters from Beza about this time, though I have not met with any of them. (Diary, p. 42.)

‡ A. M. Th. Bezæ, Cal. Octob. 1578; and Id. Novemb. 1579. MS. ut supra.

* Calderwood, Altare Damasc. p. 312—13. Edit. 2.

† See Note U.

‡ "Efter the Assemblie we past to Anguss in companie wt Mr. Alexr. Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdome, godliness and sweitnes of nature, then principall of the college of Aberdin, whom with Mr. Andro communicat anent ye ordor of his college in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit as yrefter was sett down in the new reformation of the said College of Glasgow and Aberdein." Melville's Diary, p. 43.

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 58.

constitution of the University of St. Andrews approved of by the General Assembly and ratified by Parliament. A more particular account of it will be afterwards given: at present I shall merely advert to one part of the plan. St. Mary's or the New College was converted entirely into a school of divinity, in which provision was made for a complete course of theological instruction. Five professorships were instituted in it; one for oriental languages, three for the critical interpretation of the Old and New Testaments, and one for systematic theology.*

There was but one opinion as to the person who was best qualified for being placed at the head of the new theological college. In October, 1580, the King directed a letter to the General Assembly, requesting them to concur with him in translating Melville to St. Andrews, and appointing Smeton to fill his place at Glasgow. Considerable opposition was at first made to this proposal. The translation of Melville was warmly opposed by the University of Glasgow. He was himself averse to leave a seminary which had flourished so greatly under his care, and to disoblige its patrons, who had treated him with the utmost kindness and were willing to do every thing in their power to make his situation more easy and comfortable. Nor could he be altogether indifferent to the difficulties which he might expect to meet with at St. Andrews.† Smeton's appointment to be his successor was also opposed by several members, who scrupled at the idea of taking a minister from a congregation and appointing him to exercise the doctoral instead of the pastoral office. The Assembly first resolved, that they might concur with his Majesty in translating teachers of divinity from one university to another. At a subsequent session they agreed, that it was lawful in certain circumstances to require a pastor, to desist from his office, at least for a time, and to devote himself to the teaching of divinity. Upon this the Assembly, "for the weal and universal profit of the church of God within this realm," ordained, that, agreeably to the King's letter, Melville should be translated to the new College of St. Andrews, and that Smeton should succeed to his present situation. From this deed, Andrew Hay, as rector of the University of Glasgow, dissented, as he had done at the previous stages of procedure in this affair. His dissent was dictated by zeal for the prosperity of the institution which he governed, and by attachment to Melville, and did not argue the slightest disrespect to the individual appointed to succeed him.‡

Legal measures were immediately taken to secure a compliance with this decision, and Melville prepared to remove from Glasgow. This he did with less reluctance, as he devolved his charge upon his most intimate friend, of whose learning and sound principles he entertained the highest opinion. Having formally resigned his office,‖ he left Glasgow, in the end of November, 1580, "with infinite tears on both sides," those individuals who had at first disliked and opposed him being among the most forward to testify their regret at his departure.*

Melville was at his time deprived of a highly respected friend, and the church of a valuable pastor, by the death of John Row, who had officiated as minister of Perth since the establishment of the Reformation. Row is entitled to notice as one of the revivers of the literature, as well as a reformer of the religion, of his native country. His literary attainments were very considerable for the time at which he received his education; and they were combined with much piety, candour, disinterestedness, and courage, in the cause of truth.† He departed this life a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly which decided on Melville's translation to St. Andrews;‡ and the town of Perth instantly petitioned to have his room filled by Smeton, a circumstance which increased the opposition made in the Assembly to the settlement of the latter in the University of Glasgow.

CHAPTER IV.

MELVILLE installed Principal of the New College. St. Andrews—His Colleagues—Character of his Theological Lectures—Meets with Opposition from the Ejected Teachers—Offence taken at his Censures of Aristotle—Favourable Change on the University—State of politics—Dangerous Schemes of Lennox and Arran—National Covenant—Episcopacy revived—Montgomery made Archbishop of Glasgow—Prosecuted by Melville—Excommunicated—Resentment of the Court—Melville's Sermon before the General Assembly—His Intrepid Conduct at Perth—The Raid of Ruthven—Melville employed in Preaching at St. Andrews—Arran recovers his Interest at Court—Death of Winram—Of Buchanan—Of Arbuthnot—Of Smeton—Melville Summoned before the Privy Council—His Trial—His flight into England—Remarks upon his Declinature—Conduct of Archbishop Adamson in England—Overthrow of Presbytery—Persecution of Ministers—State of the University after the flight of Melville—He visits the English Universities—Death of Lawson—Tyranny of the Scottish Court—Melville returns to Scotland with the Banished Lords.

IN the month of December 1580, Melville went to St. Andrews, accompanied by Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, the Lairds of Braid and Lundie, and James Lawson and John Dury, ministers of Edinburgh, as commissioners from the Parliament and General Assembly.‖ Being formally installed as Principal of the New College, he pronounced his inaugural oration, and proceeded to give lectures on the system of theology.

He had obtained liberty to select from the university of Glasgow such as he thought best qualified for teaching the sacred languages under him; but he was averse to hurt that rising institution and to weaken the hands of his successor, he contented himself with taking along with him his nephew, James Melville, who, being admitted professor of the oriental tongues, began to give lessons on Hebrew. At the same time, John Robertson commenced teaching in the Greek New Testament. The talents and literature of Robertson were not of a superior order;§ but as he was unexceptionable in other respects, and had long been a regent

* Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 178—182.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70.

‡ Buik of Univ. Kirk. p. 99—101. Cald. MS. vol. ii, p. 637. 640. 643.

‖ Smeton's appointment to be Principal passed the privy seal on the 3d of January 1580–1. "Ane letter maid Makand mentioun that our Soverane Lord vnderstanding that the place of the principal maister within the College of Glasgow now vaikis be the transporting of maister andro Mailuile principall thairof for the tyme to the new college of Sanctandrois and that necessar it is to haif ane Idoneus and qualifiit persoun electit in that place and office that wilbe able to discharge his cure & dewtie thairin in tyme cuming. And his heines being informit of the literature and qualificatioun within the College of his louit clerk Mr. Thomas Smetoun for using of the office of principall maister within the college foirsaid. Thairfor hes nominat and presentit him to the place and office foirsaid with all privileges and dewties pertening thairto. At Halyrudhous Jan. 3, 1580." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xlvii. fol. 61.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 64.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257. Melville's Diary, p. 64. Spotswood, Hist. 311. Life of John Knox, vol. ii. p. 18.

It appears from the following article in the Inventory of goods belonging to Thomas Bassenden, printer in Edinburgh, that Row was an author: "Item, ane Mr. Johne rowes signes of ye sacrametes, price, xiid." (Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

‡ Row died on the 16th of October 1580. (Scott's Hist. of the Scottish Reformers, p. 194. And Extracts from Registers among Mr. Scotts' MSS. now in the Advocates' Library.)

‖ According to Calderwood, the persons nominated by the General Assembly to attend him, were "the Lairds of Lundie, of Segy, and Colluthie, with Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. James Lawson, and William Christieson." (MS. Hist. vol. iii. p. 642.)

§ Dr. Lee is of opinion that, if a judgment may be formed from the books on which his name still appears, Robertson was not devoid of taste for polite letters.

in that college, it was not judged proper to displace him, and the Principal exerted himself in supplying his deficiencies.* These were all the professors appointed at this time; the commissioners having resolved that the two other places should not be filled until those who held bursaries of philosophy in the college had finished their period of study.†

The ability with which Melville went through his first course of lectures at St. Andrews is acknowledged by his greatest enemies. Of this the testimony of the biographer and son-in-law of Adamson may be regarded as a satisfactory proof. "To confess the truth (says he) candidly and ingenuously, Melville was a learned man; though more qualified for ruling in the schools than in the church or commonwealth. Of his first course, extending to four or five years, I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one of his eager and constant hearers. He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages. At the same time, he elucidated with much erudition and accuracy the heads of theology, as laid down in the institutions of John Calvin and other writings of approved divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion.‡

His lectures excited a new interest in the university, and were attended by several of the masters in the other colleges, who were conscious of their deficiency in those branches of learning in which he excelled, and not ashamed to be taught after they had become the teachers of others. Among these was the amiable Robert Rollock, at that time a regent in St. Salvator's College, and soon after chosen to be the first Professor and principal in the newly erected university of Edinburgh.‖

Notwithstanding these gratifying testimonies of approbation, Melville was not disappointed in his anticipation of the difficulties which he would meet with in his new situation. It was not to be expected that the extensive changes prescribed by the late act of Parliament could be carried into effect without causing umbrage and dissatisfactions in the university. To introduce a reform into old corporations has always been found a difficult task; and self-interest has a powerful influence on learned bodies, as well as on those which are constituted for purposes of a more worldly nature. Some of the teachers were offended at losing their places, and others at finding their salaries reduced; the new regulations respecting the mode of teaching were alarming to the indolence of some, and revolting to the prejudices of others. All of them were disposed, however unreasonably, to impute their sufferings to Melville. Skene and Welwood, the professors of law and mathematics, had been removed from the New College to that of St. Salvator. Their admission was opposed by the masters of the latter, who alleged that its funds were inadequate for such an additional burden, and that the new professorships were quite superfluous.§

Robert Hamilton, who had been deprived of the provostship of the New College, vented his chagrin by commencing a process against his successor for arrears which he alleged to be due him. Melville, when he accepted the office, had insisted that all accounts should be settled before he entered on its duties; and he not unreasonably looked to the parliamentary commissioners for relief from the trouble and expense of litigation. He found himself, however, involved in both. The death of Hamilton* suspended the process; but it was revived by the person who married his widow. This was Thomas Buchanan, master of the grammar-school of Stirling, who had lately been appointed provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews.† He was an intimate friend of Melville, who felt hurt at being harassed by an individual to whose sympathy and help he trusted when he undertook his present difficult charge.‡

John Caldcleugh, one of the outed regents, was extremely noisy with his complaints, and boasted in all companies that he would "*hough* the new-made Principal," whenever he met him. He one day burst into Melville's chamber, and demanded rudely, if he knew him. Melville said, he did not. "I should be known as a master of this college: my name is Mr. John Caldcleugh."—"Ho! is this you that will hough me?" replied Melville; and, barring the door, told him that they were now alone, and he had a fair opportunity of carrying his threats into execution. Caldcleugh's choler and courage immediately fell; upon which Melville gave him such a severe and at the same time friendly lecture on the impropriety of his conduct, that he went away quite mortified and humbled, accepted of a bursary in the college, and lived in it quietly as a student until he was called to act as a professor.‖

The discontents of the excluded masters were scarcely allayed, when a greater storm arose from the other colleges. In the course of his lectures on the system of theology, Melville took occasion, when

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* Melville's Diary, p. 65. † Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 181.

‡ Vita Patricii Adamsoni: Opera Tho. Volusenі J.C. p. 4. Lond. 1619. 12mo. Thomas Wilson, "in coll. novo," was made A. M. in 1577; but he probably remained in it after that period as a bursar or student of theology. For, Mr. Thomas Vilsonus is among those who subscribed the articles of religion "in Collegio Mariano," from 1580 to 1587. His name occurs in a list of advocates for the year 1585. (Records of the Hospital of Perth.)

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 66.

§ In a supplication to the Privy Council, by the Chancellor, &c. of the University, against Mr. William Welwood, professor of mathematics, dated 25th July, 1583, the petitioners say, that Welwood "hes employed no diligence in that profession of mathematik this yeir,"—that the "college is superexpendit, and that the smalness of the rent is not able to susteane sik extraordinar professors,"—and they offer to prove "the said extraordinar professors to be superfluous and unprofitable in the universitie—becaus no ordinar auditour can be found to resort fruitfullie to the said extraordinar professouris." The presentation of Mr. Robert Wilkie, to be chaplain of the altar of St. John the Evangelist and Mary Magdalene, "ult. Mart. 1578," was subscribed before "Mag. W^mo Walwod tertio Mag^ro Novi Collegii." (Papers of the University.)

* He died April 16, 1581. (Register of Commissary Decreets, Nov. 13, 1596.)

† The Church of Kirkheuch, Kirkhill, or our Lady of the Rock, was situated beside the harbour of St. Andrews. The parish of Ceres was attached to it, as a prebend or provision for the provost. "Jacobus Allerdeis" was "Præpositus Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in rupe prope civitatem S. Andreæ," before the Reformation. "Mr. James Lermonth, provost of Kirkhill, besyde the citie of St. Andˢ." lets lands in parochin of Seres, Dec. 7, 1565; and Sept. 16, 1570. (Commissary Records of St. Andrews.) "Mr. Thomas buchannaine" presented to "the prouestrie of Kirkhill," April 1, 1578, in the room of umqll Mr. James Lermonth. (Reg. of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 1.)

‡ The dispute was finally settled, by allotting a glebe belonging to the college to Hamilton's relict during life. (Melville's Diary, p. 91.) "Elspet Traill ane of the dochteris and airis of umqll Jhone Traill younger of Magask my fader, and ane of the oyis and appearand airis of umqll Jhone Traill of Blebow my gudsʳ with spetiall advys consent and assent of Mr. Robert Hamiltown now my spous," &c. (Commissary Record of St. And. A° 1567.) In a process before the Magistrates of St. Andrews, in which Thomas Buchanan and Elizabeth Traill his spouse were defenders, it was pleaded, that "Mr. Thomas Buchquhanan is suppost of the universitie of St. Andˢ and ane actuall student of theologie, and yᵗbye the said cause should be remittit to the rector of his offˢ (assessors) as only juges competent yᵗto, and the provest and baillies aucht to declair themselffis incompetent in the said caus." The pursuer pleaded that "the former allegiance aucht and sowld be repellit, in respect of his bill conceavit upon ane deid don betwix Helene Hunter, spouse to the said persewar, and the said Elizabeth Traill quha is na suppost of the universitie, and the said Mr. Thomas onlie convenit for his enteris, qlk can na wayis stay this actioun, bot the bailleis in respect yrof aucht to proceed heiruntill." (Burrow Court of St. Andrews, Dec. 14, 1591.)

‖ "I was in the chalmer abon (says James Melville) and hard all, and cam down at last to the ending of it." (Diary, p. 91, 92.)

treating of the Being and Attributes of God, Creation, and Providence, to expose the errors contained in the writings of Aristotle, and to shew that they were inconsistent with the principles of both natural and revealed religion. No sooner was this known, than the professors of philosophy raised an outcry against him, almost as violent as that of the craftsmen of Ephesus, when the Apostle preached against idolatry, and from motives not essentially different from theirs.* They complained that their character was attacked, and their credit undermined; and that a philosopher who had been held immemorially in veneration in all the schools of the world, was falsely accused and indecently traduced. So zealous were the members of St. Leonard's College, that they delivered solemn orations in defence of Aristotle, containing invectives against the individual who had been so presumptuous as to condemn their oracle; by which means the minds of the students were inflamed, and Melville was exposed to personal danger.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, was Melville's motto, and the principle by which he was guided on all such occasions.† Disregarding the ignorant clamour and interested alarm which had been excited, he persisted in the course which he had taken; and, when the subject was introduced in the public meetings of the university at vacations and promotions, he refuted the arguments of his opponents with such readiness, force of reasoning, and overpowering eloquence, as reduced them to silence. Before he had been two years at St. Andrews, a favourable change was visible on the university. Many of those who had been most strongly prejudiced against *the new learning*, as they called it, were induced to apply to the acquisition of ancient languages. Instead of boasting perpetually of the authority of Aristotle, and quoting him ignorantly at second-hand, they perused his writings in the original; studied the arts for purposes of utility, and not for shew and verbal contention; and, becoming real philosophers and theologians, acknowledged that they had undergone "a wonderful transportation out of darkness into light." Among these were John Malcolm and Andrew Duncan, then regents of St. Leonard's, and afterwards ministers of Perth and Crail, who from being among the keenest opponents, were converted into warm admirers and steady friends of Melville.‡

From his academical labours, Melville was summoned to the defence of the liberties of the church, and the ecclesiastical polity which he had been so active in establishing. Soon after James had taken the reins of government into his own hands, Esme Stewart, Lord d'Aubigné, a cousin of his father's, arrived from France. He gave out that he came to pay a short visit to his royal relative, and to claim certain lands which had descended to him from his ancestors; but excuses were found for prolonging his stay, and it soon appeared, that his journey had been undertaken with the view of advancing more serious and extensive designs. Since the coronation of James, all intercourse between the courts of Scotland and France had been broken off, and those who were successively entrusted with the regency had cultivated an exclusive connection with England. The present was deemed, by the king of France and house of Guise, a favourable opportunity for recovering their influence over the counsels of this country, and d'Aubigné was judged a fit instrument for accomplishing this object by insinuating himself into the favour of the young monarch. His prepossessing person and engaging manners made an easy conquest of the royal affections; and he quickly rose, through a gradation of honours, to be Duke of Lennox, and Lord High Chamberlain. Under his influence the court underwent a complete change, and was filled with persons who were addicted to popery, or who had uniformly opposed the king's authority, or whose private characters rendered them totally unworthy of access to the royal ear. Among these was Captain James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, and a man of the most profligate manners and unprincipled ambition. By these upstarts the design was undertaken of exchanging the friendship of England for that of France, and of associating the name of Queen Mary with that of her son in the government of the kingdom; a design which could not be carried into execution without overturning all that had been done during fourteen years, and exposing the national liberties and the Protestant establishment to the utmost peril.*

This change on the court could not fail to alarm the ministers of the church, who had received satisfactory information of the project that was on foot. Their fears were confirmed by the arrival of jesuits and seminary priests from abroad, and by the open revolt of several persons of great influence at home who had hitherto professed the Protestant faith. They accordingly warned their hearers of the danger which they apprehended, and pointed at the favourite as an emissary of the house of Guise and of Rome. Lennox, after holding a conference with some of the ministers, declared himself a convert to the Protestant doctrine, and publicly renounced the popish religion.† This recantation allayed the jealousy of the nation. But it was soon after revived and kindled into a flame by the interception of letters from Rome, granting a dispensation to the Roman Catholics to profess the Protestant tenets for a time, provided they preserved an inward attachment to the ancient faith, and embraced every opportunity of advancing it in secret.‡ This discovery was the immediate occasion of that memorable transaction, the swearing of the *National Covenant*. It was drawn up by John Craig, and consisted of an abjuration, in the most solemn and explicit terms, of the various articles of the popish system, and an engagement to adhere to and defend the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church in Scotland. As the stability of the Protestant religion depended "upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's Majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country," the covenanters pledged themselves farther, "under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without." This bond was sworn and subscribed by the King and his household, and afterwards, in consequence of an order of the Privy Council and an act of the General Assembly, by all ranks of persons through the kingdom; the ministers zealously promoting the subscription of it in their respective parishes.‖

This solemn transaction had a powerful influence in riveting the attachment of the nation to the Protestant religion, but it did not prevent those who had engrossed the royal favour from prosecuting the designs which

* "Thair breadwinner, thair honor, thair estimation, all was goain, giff Aristotle should be so owirharled in the heiring of thair schollars." (Diary, p. 92.) † Melvini Epist. p. 70.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 92. John Malcolm was the son of Andrew Malcolm, who (in instrument of sasine to Monedy Roger, Oct. 29, 1577,) is called "Providus vir Andreas Malcolme, pistor burgen. burgi de Perth."—I have a copy of the history of Polybius (Basileæ 1549. Folio. Gr. & Lat.) which has the following inscription on the title-page in Melville's handwriting: "Andreas Melvinus me jure possidet, ex dono Joannis Malcolmi. Τῆς ... βιβλιοτηρον."

* See Note V.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 96—99.

‡ Spotswood, p. 308. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 630, 631.

‖ The subscriptions to the National Covenant in the united parishes of Anstruther, Pittenween, and Abercromby, amounted to 743; and are still preserved with the attestation of Mr. William Clark, the minister, and two witnesses. (Register of the Kirk Session of Anstruther.)

they had formed. The uncomplying spirit of presbytery has always rendered it odious to despotical rulers. But in addition to this feeling, Lennox and his associates were actuated by the desire of revenging the affronts which they thought had been put on them by the preachers, and of gratifying their rapacity by seizing on the ecclesiastical livings. They accordingly resolved on restoring episcopacy, and filling the bishoprics with creatures of their own.

The death of Archbishop Boyd afforded them an opportunity of commencing their scheme. Though the regulations recognizing episcopacy, which were made at Leith in 1572, had been formally abrogated by the General Assembly, and abandoned and virtually annulled by the court,* yet were they now revived by an act of Privy Council.† The disposal of the see of Glasgow was given to Lennox, who offered it to different ministers, upon the condition of their making over to him its revenues and contenting themselves with an annual pension. The offer was at last accepted by Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, "a man vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred."‡ This "vile bargain,"‖ made at a time when the episcopal office stood condemned by the General Assembly, and tending directly to place the church at issue with the government, excited universal indignation. At the Assembly which met in October 1581, the affair was warmly taken up, and Montgomery put to the bar. The royal authority was interposed in his defence, and a message from his majesty signified, that he could not permit Montgomery to be prosecuted for accepting the bishopric, but that the Assembly might proceed against him for any thing that was faulty in his life or doctrine. Upon this Melville stood forward as his accuser, and presented a libel against him, consisting of fifteen articles. Montgomery having withdrawn while the proof was taking, the Assembly remitted the process to the Presbytery of Stirling, appointing them to report their decision on it to the Provincial Synod of Lothian, who were empowered to pronounce sentence against him, if found guilty, according to the laws of the church. And in the mean time, they prohibited him from leaving his ministry at Stirling and intruding into the bishopric of Glasgow. This injunction he disobeyed. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow were charged to elect him as their bishop; and upon their refusal, the Privy Council decided, that the bishopric had devolved into the hands of the king, and might be disposed of by his sole authority.§ For entering on Montgomery's cause according to the appointment of the Assembly, the members of the synod of Lothian were summoned before the Privy Council. They appeared; and Pont, in their name, after protestation of their readiness to yield all lawful obedience, declined the judgment of the council, as incompetent, according to the laws of the country, to take cognizance of a cause which was purely ecclesiastical.* This was done amidst the menaces and taunts of Captain Stewart, now created Earl of Arran, who was exceedingly exasperated at seeing the King shed tears, while one of the ministers affectionately warned him to be on his guard against wicked counsellors.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews in April 1582. Upon their taking up Montgomery's cause, as referred to them by the presbytery of Stirling, the Master of Requests presented a letter from his Majesty, desiring the Assembly not to proceed against him for any thing connected with the bishopric of Glasgow. Soon after a messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of Assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist entirely from the prosecution. After serious deliberation, they agreed to address a respectful letter to his Majesty; resolved that it was their duty to proceed with the trial; summoned Montgomery, who appealed to the Privy Council; ratified the sentence of the Presbytery of Stirling, suspending him from the exercise of the ministry; and, having found eight articles of the charge against him proved, declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication. The pronouncing of the sentence was prevented by the submission of the culprit, who appeared before the Assembly, withdrew his appeal, and solemnly promised to interfere no farther with the bishopric. Though gratified with this act of submission, the Assembly dreaded his tergiversation, and therefore gave instructions to the Presbytery of Glasgow to watch his conduct and, provided he violated his engagement, to convey information instantly to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorized to appoint one of their number to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. The event shewed that these precautions were not unnecessary. Urged on by his own avarice, and by the importunities of Lennox, who was incensed at his designs being thwarted, the Assembly was scarcely broken up when Montgomery began to preach at court and revived his claims to the bishopric. The Presbytery of Glasgow having met in consequence of this, he entered the house in which they were assembled, accompanied by the magistrates of the city and an armed force, and presented an order from the king to stop their procedure. Upon their refusal, the moderator, John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, was pulled out of the chair by the provost, and after being struck several times with great brutality, was conveyed to prison. For testifying their indignation at such conduct, the students of the university were dispersed by the guard and several of them wounded. But, in spite of the confusion produced by this disgraceful intrusion, the presbytery continued sitting until they finished their deed, finding, that Montgomery had violated his promise and contravened the act of the General Assembly. This was transmitted to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed John Davidson, minister of Libberton, to excommunicate Montgomery. Davidson pronounced the sentence accordingly; and,

* In consequence of a supplication from the church—"The Lords of Secret Counsell thinkis meit and advyses the Kings Matie to suspend his hienis handis on making any gift grant or promeis of the prelacies abonewritten (Aberbrothock and Paisley) or any part yrof, qlk may hinder and prejudge the dissolution of the same according to the forme els intendit and thocht meit to be done. And ordainis this pnt act to be maide beirupone ad futuram rei memoriam," (Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1579.) On the 9th of May, 1581, "the King's Matie with advys of the Lords of Secret Counsall," finding that the constitution of the ecclesiastical policy would not be permanent, "quhill the auncient boundis of the diocies be dissolved, quhair the parochines ar thick togidder and small to be vneitted, and quhair they ar of over great and lairge boundis to be devydit, that thairefter presbyteries or elderships may be constitut," &c. appoints commissioners to attend to this business, (Collection of Acts of Secret Council by Sir John Hay, Clerk Register.)

† Record of Privy Council, Octob. 28, 1581.

‡ Dr. Robertson.

‖ So Spotswood, in respect of the simoniacal nature of the paction, designs it.

§ Bishoprick of Glasgow devolvit in the King's hands: Record of Privy Council, April 12, 1582.—When the royal gift, bestowing the bishopric *pleno jure*, was presented to the Lords of Session for confirmation, the King discharged them, by letter, from admitting the commissioners of the church as a party. But the Lords passed an interlocutor (May 25,) sustaining their right to be heard. On this occasion the ministers had the support of all the advocates, except David Macgill, who was King's advocate and Montgomery's procurator. When the cause came to be called, the President was sent for to Dalkeith by the King, and a stop put to the process. (Cald. iii. 109.)

* Dischairge proceiding contra Mr. Rot Montgomerie: Rec. of Privy Council, *die ut supra*.

although the court threatened and stormed, it was intimated on the succeeding Sabbath from the pulpits of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and all the surrounding churches.*

Lennox and Arran were enraged beyond measure at this resolute behaviour of the church courts. A proclamation was issued by the Privy Council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery to be null and void. Such as refused him payment of the episcopal rents were ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Inverness.† The College of Glasgow was laid under a temporary interdict on account of the opposition made by its members to their new bishop. The ministers of Edinburgh, on account of their freedom in condemning the late measures of the court and pointing out the favourites as the guilty advisers of them, were repeatedly called before the council and insulted; and John Dury was banished from the capital and discharged from preaching.‡

Melville preached the sermon‖ at the opening of a meeting of the General Assembly, extraordinarily convened at this critical juncture of affairs. He inveighed against those who had introduced the *bludie gullie*§ (as he termed it) of absolute power into the country, and who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. The Pope, he said, was the first who united the ecclesiastical supremacy to the civil, which he had wrested from the emperor. Since the Reformation, he had, with the view of suppressing the Gospel, delegated his absolute power to the emperor and the kings of Spain and France; and from France, where it had produced the horrors of St. Bartholomew, it was brought into this country. He mentioned the design, then on foot, of resigning the King's authority into the hands of the Queen, which had been devised eight years ago, when he was in France, and was expressed in prints containing the figure of a queen with a child kneeling at her feet and craving her blessing. And he named Bishops Beaton and Leslie as the chief managers of that affair. "This will be called meddling with civil affairs," exclaimed he; "but these things tend to the wreck of religion, and therefore I rehearse them."¶

This meeting being considered as a continuation of the preceding Assembly, Melville was appointed to retain the chair. The Assembly drew up a spirited remonstrance to the King and council, complaining of the late proceedings and craving a redress of grievances. They complained that the authority of the church had been abrogated, her censures condemned and disannulled, and her ministers obstructed and shamefully abused in the discharge of their official duties; that his Majesty had been persuaded by some of his counsellors to lay claim to a spiritual power, as if he could not be a complete king and head of the commonwealth unless he was also head of the church; and that the two jurisdictions, which God had divided, were thus confounded, benefices conferred by absolute authority, and unworthy persons intruded into the ministerial office to gratify the will of men and advance their worldly interest to the great hurt of religion and in direct opposition to the standing laws of the land. These complaints were arranged under fourteen heads, and the assembly concluded by "beseeching his Majesty most humbly, for the love of God who had placed his Grace on the royal throne, and had hitherto wondrously maintained and defended his authority," to redress their grievances, with "the advice of men that fear God and do tender his Grace's estate and quietness of this commonwealth." Melville was appointed, along with a number of other members, to go to Perth, where the king was then residing, and to present this remonstrance.

The favourites expressed high displeasure on hearing of this deputation, and the rumour ran that the commissioners would be massacred if they ventured to approach the court. When they reached Perth, Sir James Melville of Halhill waited on James Melville, and besought him to persuade his uncle not to appear, as Lennox and Arran were particularly incensed against him for the active part which he had taken in defeating their measures. When this advice was communicated to him, and his nephew began to urge him not to despise the friendly warning of their kinsman, Melville replied, "I am not afraid, thank God! nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ: come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed." Having next day obtained access to the king in council, he presented the remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "We dare," replied Melville; and advancing to the table, he took the pen from the clerk and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Presumptuous and daring as Arran was, he felt awed and abashed for the moment; Lennox addressed the commissioners in a conciliatory tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. Well might they be surprised; for more than forty years elapsed after that period, before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity.*

In all these contendings, the ministers of the church had no countenance or support from the nobility. They acted solely upon their own convictions of duty, and were not animated by any assurances of protection from the rage of those whom they offended. There is no evidence of their having been concerned in the confederacy which subsequently produced a change in the administration of the country. But, on the other hand, it is evident that their resistance contributed greatly to check the career of the favourites, and roused the nation to assert their liberties, so ignominiously trampled on by unworthy minions and insolent strangers. Had they acted in as passive a manner as the nobility had hitherto done, a despotism might have been established in the country, which nothing short of a national convulsion could have overturned. The resistance which they made to the arbitrary measures of the court was perfectly defensible and legal. While they kept within the strict line of ecclesiastical business, their procedure was authorized by law. They were entitled to disregard the prohibitory mandates which were issued, and to hold them as forged, as surreptitiously obtained, or as illegally granted by corrupt courtiers, who attempted to supersede the statutes of the realm and to stop the established course of justice. And they had a right to employ, in defence of their liberties, those censures which were competent to them, and which in this light had been solemnly sanctioned and repeatedly recognized by acts of the legislature. At the same time their resistance was tempered by a becoming respect for authority and a due regard to public peace. They supplicated, represented, remonstrated. No tumult was excited by them. And although pulpits were forced, and church-courts violated, and ministers assaulted, they never at-

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 114. 117—123. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 68. 74—77. 83. 91—112. Melville's Diary, p. 95. Spotswood, p. 316—320.

When informed that Davidson had ventured to preach in his own church on the Sabbath subsequent to the excommunication, Lennox exclaimed, *C'est un petit Diable!*

† Record of Privy Council, July 20, 1582.

‡ Cald. iii. 108. 114. ‖ His text was 1 Tim. iv. 10.

§ Bloody knife or sword. ¶ Cald. iii. 113, 114.

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 125—127. Melville's Diary p. 96. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 123—129. Petrie, part iii. p. 431.

tempted to raise the populace, nor, according to a practice common at that time, to arm their friends in their defence.

The haughtiness, rapacity, and arbitrary procedure of the favourites at length exhausted the patience of the nobles, who resolved to free themselves and their country from a disgraceful servitude. The course which they took to accomplish this was very different from the open and regular resistance maintained by the assemblies of the church. A combination having been secretly formed among the principal barons, they got possession of the king's person by surprise, and having compelled Lennox to leave the kingdom, and Arran to confine himself to one of his own houses, took upon themselves the direction of public affairs. By this enterprise, known by the name of the *Raid of Ruthven*, the church was restored to her liberty, and enjoyed a temporary calm. Nothing can be a clearer proof of the haughtiness with which Lennox had used his power, and the dangerous influence which he was understood to possess over the royal mind, than the inexorable manner in which the confederated lords insisted on his quitting the country, contrasted with their conduct to Arran, whose personal character and private manners were incomparably more hateful and detested. If they were really actuated by any favour for the latter, or, which is the more probable supposition, if they imagined that the detestation felt at his vices would prevent him from ever regaining his former influence, they were soon undeceived and smarted severely for their criminal partiality or impolitic forbearance.

While Melville was engaged in this contest in behalf of the liberties of the church, he found himself involved in the performance of extraordinary duty at St. Andrews. On the abolition of episcopacy, when the General Assembly required the bishops to undertake individually the charge of a particular congregation, Archbishop Adamson commenced preaching as colleague to Robert Hamilton, the minister of St. Andrews. But, as the archbishop had frequently occasion to be absent, and did not always feel himself disposed, when he was at home, to appear in the pulpit, Melville was often prevailed on, at his request, to occupy his place. On the death of Hamilton the kirk-session petitioned for his services regularly, and during the vacancy of the parish, the public duties of the Sabbath were divided between him and his nephew, James Melville.* He was extremely anxious that they should fix on a person properly qualified for discharging the pastoral duties among them, and one who might be useful in that station to the university. His exertions in forwarding this object were not spontaneous on his part, but made at the express appointment of the General Assembly and at the particular request of the kirk-session of St. Andrews.† The individual first chosen was the celebrated Robert Pont. He had held the office of a ruling elder in that city for some time after the Reformation, but was at present minister of St. Cuthbert's church, and provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh.‡ In compliance with the invitation now given him, Pont came to St. Andrews, and officiated as minister to the congregation for nearly twelve months, but being unable to procure a stipend, left it with the consent of the General Assembly.* This occurrence, with the causes in which it originated, was the occasion of much uneasiness to Melville. The late minister of the town had, during the latter part of his life, grown remiss in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and allowed the ecclesiastical discipline to fall in a great measure into disuse. The consequence was, that many of the principal inhabitants had no desire to obtain an active and conscientious minister, and would have been much better pleased with a person of mean gifts, provided only he would allow them to live at peace, as they termed it, and not disturb them with reproofs from the pulpit, or with sessional prosecutions. The prior and pensioners of the abbey, availing themselves of this feeling, threw obstacles in the way of the settlement of a regular pastor, and, with the connivance of the magistrates of the city, retained the funds destined for his support in their own hands. Finding that their services were made an excuse for delaying the settlement, Melville and his nephew resolved to discontinue them. On being informed of this, the presbytery issued orders for the speedy filling up of the vacant charge. This injunction, with the reprimand with which it was accompanied, gave great offence; and two of the bailies caused the precentor to read to the congregation a paper, drawn up in the name of the prior, and containing the most disrespectful reflections on the presbytery; for which they were brought before the General Assembly and enjoined to make public satisfaction.† Smeton and Arbuthnot, the Principals of the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, were afterwards successively chosen ministers of St. Andrews; and so sensible were the General Assembly of the importance of having that town provided with an able and zealous pastor, that they agreed to their translation. But the King, influenced, as was supposed, by the prior, prohibited it in both instances, on the ground of its being injurious to the universities.‡ By these means, that extensive parish was kept vacant during upwards of three years.‖

The services which Melville had performed gratuitously, though acceptable to the body of the people, exposed him to ill-will and abuse on the part of not a few. As long as he continued to preach, it was impossible for him to refrain from condemning the conduct of those who obstructed the settlement of the parish. The umbrage taken at this was increased by the plainness with which he rebuked the more flagrant vices which prevailed among the inhabitants and were overlooked by those in authority. Galled by his reproofs, the provost one day rose from his seat in the middle of the sermon, and left the church, muttering his dissatisfaction with the preacher. Placards were affixed to the gate of the new college, threatening to set fire to the Principal's lodging, to bastinade him, and to chase him out of the town. His friends became alarmed for his safety, but he remained unintimidated, and refused to give place to the violence of his adversaries. He summoned the provost before the presbytery for contempt of divine ordinances. He persevered in his public censures of vice. One of the placards was known, by the French and Italian phrases in it, to be the production of James Learmont younger of Balcomy. This Melville produced to the congregation, at the end of a sermon in which he had been uncommonly free and vehement,

* Melville's Diary, p. 66.

† Register of Kirk-session of St. Andrews, Dec. 6. and 20, 1581, and May 9, 1582. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

‡ Pont was a native of Culross, (Dav. Buchanan, MS. De Script. Scot.) and was incorporated into St. Leonard's College in the year 1554, (Reg. Univ.) "Mr. Robert Pont" signs, among the elders, a deed of the session, March 20, 1560, and another May 14, 1561. (Record of Kirk-session of St. Andrews.) I understand him to be the person called "Mr. Robert Kynpont," who was one of the commissioners from St. Andrews to the General Assembly 1560, and whom the Assembly declared qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith, Hist. 498.) "Maister Robert Pontt commissioner of the superintendentrie of Murray," was presented "to the personage and vicarage of the parish kirk of Birnie, in the diocie of Murray," Jan. 13, 1567, (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. f 2.) He was presented to "the vicarage of St. Cuthbert's kirk, vaicand be the deceise of W^m Hairlaw," Dec. 29, 1578, (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xlv. f. 97.) He was made provost of Trinity College, Jan 27, 1571, and resigned that place, June 23, 1585, (Reg. of Present. vols. i. and ii.)

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 134. a. † Ib. ff. 132, b. 134, a.

‡ See Note W. ‖ Records of Kirk-session of St. Andrews

and described the author of it, who was sitting before him, as "a Frenchified, Italianized, joly gentleman, who had polluted many marriage-beds, and now boasted that he would pollute the church of God by bastinading his servants." He silenced his adversaries at this time, but they soon found an opportunity of revenging themselves for the freedoms which he had taken with them.*

During these transactions several distinguished men were removed by death. In the year 1582, John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St. Andrews, and superintendent of Fife, died at an advanced age.† Though inclined to the reformed sentiments at an early period, he retained his situation in the popish church until its overthrow. His timidity and temporizing conduct were often blamed by the Protestants, and afforded a topic of invective against him to the Roman Catholics, when he at last deserted their communion. He appears to have been a man of mild dispositions, considerable learning, and great influence.‡

In the same year, the country was deprived of its greatest literary ornament by the death of Buchanan. The splendour of his talents is universally acknowledged, and his political sentiments and moral character have found able advocates. But he deserves also to live in the memory of his countrymen as a sincere and zealous friend to the principles of the Reformation. He had not concealed his partiality to this cause when he was abroad,‖ and after his return to his native country, he gave it his uniform and most decided support.§ The sincerity of his religious profession was proved by the consistency with which it was maintained, and by the correctness of his moral conduct. In courts and in the palaces of the great, he preserved that independence of mind and simplicity of manners which shewed him to be a philosopher as well as a scholar. Tyranny, in all the forms which it assumed and with all the vices of which it was the offspring or the parent, uniformly found in him a determined and powerful foe. Like most men of genius, he possessed a lively vein of wit, exerting itself sometimes in the keenest satire, but more frequently in the sallies of sportive humour and good-natured raillery, which he delighted to indulge in with his friends even to the latest period of his life.* Melville appears to have enjoyed a large share of his confidence; and the last interview between them presents us with some of the most interesting traits in the character of one of the most original writers that Scotland has produced.†

In October 1583, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, departed this life.‡ He was followed, in the course of two months, by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow.‖ I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of both in reviewing the literature of the period. Melville deplored their premature death in strains honourable to him as a friend and a patriot.§ The removal of two men so much revered, and occupying such important stations, was universally bewailed as an irreparable loss, and, occurring at a critical period, was looked on as a prognostication of approaching calamities.

Notwithstanding what his Majesty thought proper to profess to the commissioners of the church and to foreign ambassadors, it soon appeared that he cherished a rooted aversion to the Ruthven Lords. In the end of June 1583, he suddenly withdrew from them, and having shut himself up in the castle of St. Andrews, issued a proclamation condemning the enterprise of Ruthven, and declaring that, since that period, he had been kept in a state of restraint and captivity. At first he promised to pardon the offence which he

* Melville's Diary, p. 93.

† John Johnston, in his verses to the memory of Winram, says, that he died on the 23th September, 1581, (Life of John Knox, ii. 443.) But the true date appears from a decreet of the Lords of Session against the tenants of Portmoak, Nov. 24, 1582,—"The Priory of St. Servan be within the Loch of Levin, otherwise called Portmoak—vacand be demission of the same be umqll Mr. John Wynram, last Prior—and albeit it be of veritie that the said Mr. John departit this mortal life upon the xviii of Sept[r] last," &c. The Priory of Portmoak having been resigned by him, was given to the College of St. Leonard's in 1580, (Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 37.)

‡ Life of John Knox, i. 31; ii. 443. Nicol Burne's Disputation: *Admonition to the Ministers.*—In the Records of the University of St. Andrews, Winram is designed "Sacrarum literarum professor eximius." I was formerly disposed to suspect, that the Catechism which Bale ascribes to Winram, under the name of *Wouram* or *Wyrem*, was the same with Archbishop Hamilton's, (Life of Knox, i. 411.) But in a list of books belonging to the University of St. Andrews, taken in the year 1599, I have since found the two following separate entries:

"Catechismus D. J. Winram Supprior.
Catechismus Jo. Hamilton Epi."

The superintendent was of the family of Rathow, and married Margaret Stewart, Lady Kinawdy, (relict of —— Ayton of Kinawdy) who died March, 1573, (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St. Andrews; May 1, and Oct. 18, 1574.)

‖ Languetі Epistolæ, lib. ii. ep. 37.

§ Dr. Irving says "The extravagances of John Knox have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves tasted the bitterness of persecution," (Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 316, second edit.) The Doctor appears to have overlooked the fact, that some of the strongest measures to which he affixes the character of "intoleration," were approved by an Assembly of which Buchanan was not only a member, but also the *moderator*. Buchanan's usual way is to pronounce his encomiums on individuals when he records their death, and his history does not reach the death of Knox.

* Perhaps the most genuine specimen which has been preserved of Buchanan's humour, is to be found in an original letter from him to Sir Thomas Randolph, published in the Appendix.

† "That September, in tyme of vacans, my vncle Mr. Andro, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, and I, beiring y[t] Mr. George Buchana was weak and his historie under the press, past ower to Edin[r]. annes earend to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chaire teatching his young man y[t] servit him in his cnalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. Efter salutation Mr. Andro sayes, I sie, sir, yie ar not ydle. better this quoth he nor steiling sheipe, or sitting ydle quhilk is als ill. yrefter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king; the quhilk when Mr. Andro had read, he tauld him y[t] it was obscure in sum places and wanted certean words to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, I may do na mair for thinking on another mater. What is that, sayes Mr. Andro. To die quoth he; bot I leave y[t] and manie ma things to you to helpe. He was telling him also of Blakwoods answer to his buike de iure regni. We went from him to the printers wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his Chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought very hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the haill work, anent the burial of Davie. Therfor steying the printer from proceiding we cam to Mr. George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did. Even going the way of weilfare sayes he. Mr. Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his storie, yt the king wald be offendit w[t] it and it might stey all the wark. tell me man sayes he giff I have tauld the treuthe. yis sayes Mr. Thomas sir I think sa. I will byd his fead and all his kin's then q[uh]e; pray, pray to God for me and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his Cronicle was endit y[t] maist lerned wyse and godlie man endit this mortal lyff." (Melville's Diary, p. 90.)

‡ He died, unmarried, on the 16th of October, 1583, in the 45th year of his age. (Cald. iii, 282. Spotswood, 335. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen. ii. 372, 373.) On the 15th of July, 1568, he received a presentation to "the personage and vicarage of logy callit logy-buchane—ane of the comone kirks of the cathedral kirk of Aberdeen." His presentation to the office of Principal of the King's College, is dated July 3, 1569. (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. ff. 14. 28.) On the 25th July, 1569, he was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Arbuthnot callit ane prebendarie of the kirk of heuch of sanctandrois &c Provyding he—administrat the sacramentis of Jesus Chryst. Or ellis travell in sum vther als necessar vocatoun to the utilitie of the kirk and approvit be the samyn," &c. (Ib. f. 27.) Dec. 3, 1583, Mr. Rob[t] Arbuthnett was presented to "the personage, &c. of Arbuthnet—vaikand be deceis of vmqll Mr. Alex[r] Arbuthnett." (Ib. vol. ii. f. 93.)

‖ He died on the 13th of December, 1583, in the 47th year of his age. (Cald. iii. 299. Spotswood, 336.) Smeton was married, (Melville's Diary, 53,) and Thomas Smeton, made A. M. at Glasgow in 1604, was probably his son.

§ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 120, 121.

had received, and to govern by the common advice of his nobility. But the mask of moderation was soon thrown off. Arran was again received at court, recovered his former influence, and renewed his tyrannical career with a fury increased by the recollection of his recent disgrace. This change portended a storm to the church, and it was not long before it burst on the heads of her principal ministers.

In the mean time, all those who were concerned in seizing the King's person at Ruthven were declared traitors, and having refused to deliver themselves up, were ordered to be pursued as fugitives from justice. After making some shew of an intention to assemble in their own defence, the greater part escaped into England; but the Earl of Gowrie lingering imprudently in Dundee, fell into the toils of Arran, and was tried and beheaded. The cautious manner in which the ministers of the church had approved of the former conduct of these noblemen, and their peaceable conduct on the present occasion, prevented the court from taking any hasty measures against them as a body.* But Arran placed spies about the principal persons among them, with instructions to inform him if they uttered any thing from the pulpit derogatory to his proceedings.†

Soon after the King had come to St. Andrews, and before Arran was re-admitted to his presence, Melville received a visit from Sir Robert Melville, one of the new courtiers. Sir Robert informed him that some of his ill-wishers had been busy in possessing the royal mind against him, and advised him as a kinsman, to embrace the first opportunity of waiting on his Majesty and clearing himself from calumny. Melville thanked his friend for this mark of kindness, but excused himself from complying with his advice. If his Majesty wished his opinion on any thing relating to the church or commonwealth, or if he required his attendance to explain or answer for any part of his conduct, he was ready, he said, to obey the royal commands with all humility and reverence. But he was certain that no man could justly charge him with having failed in the duty of a subject; and he would not take a step which implied a consciousness of guilt, and would make him an indirect accuser of himself to his sovereign.‡

On Saturday the 15th of February, 1584, Melville received a charge to appear before the Privy Council at Edinburgh on the Monday following, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which he had kept during the preceding month. Conscious of his innocence, he felt no hesitation on his own account in resolving at once to appear. His only concern was to know how he should conduct himself, so as not to prejudice the rights of the church and the liberty of the pulpit, which the court sought to infringe by its present mode of procedure. On this important point he had little time to deliberate, or to take the advice of his brethren. The University gave him an ample attestation, in which they declared their conviction that the accusation was false and calumnious; that they had been constant attendants on his public teaching, and had never heard any thing proceed from his mouth that was derogatory to his majesty's government; and that, whenever he had occasion to touch on that subject, in doctrine, in application, or in prayers, he had always spoken reverently of his majesty, and exhorted his hearers to yield obedience to him and to the meanest magistrate who possessed authority under him.* Similar testimonials were given him by the town-council, the kirk-session, and the presbytery of St. Andrews.

When he appeared before the Privy Council, he, with the utmost readiness, gave an account of the sermon on which he was accused, for the satisfaction of his Majesty and his counsellors. He had preached, he said, on the words with which Daniel reminded Belshazzar of the history of his father Nebuchadnezzar; and he deduced from them this general doctrine, "That it is the duty of ministers to apply examples of divine mercy and judgment in all ages, to kings, princes, and people; and that the nearer the persons are to us the more applicable is the example." On that part of his subject he had said, "But if, now a dayes, a minister should rehearse the example that fell out in king James the third's dayes, who was abused by the flattery of his courtiers, he would be said to vaige† from his text, and perchance be accused of treason." He denied that he had said, as he was accused, "that our Nebuchadnezzar, (meaning the king's mother,) was twice seven years banished, and would be restored again;" and affirmed that such a thought never came into his mind. He solemnly protested that neither in that sermon, nor in any other, had he used the words falsely imputed to him, "The king is unlawfully promoted to the crown," nor any expression capable of being interpreted as conveying such a sentiment. Indeed, it was notorious, that the lawfulness of his Majesty's authority had all along been strenuously maintained by the church; and he could appeal to all who had heard him or with whom he had ever conversed, if he had not exerted himself to establish it in all his discourses and reasonings, both publicly and privately. What he had laid down, as founded upon his text, was, that whether kings are raised to their thrones by election, by succession, or by any other ordinary means, they owe their exaltation to God; and that, from the infirmity of human nature, they are extremely apt to forget this truth. Having confirmed the last part of this remark by a reference to the history of the good kings mentioned in Scripture, instead of making any application of it to the present time, he offered up a prayer, (as he was accustomed to do whenever he spoke of his Majesty,) beseeching God of his grace not to suffer our king to forget the divine goodness displayed in raising him extraordinarily to the throne of his country, when he was a child in the cradle, his mother yet alive, and a great part of the nobility his enemies, and in preserving him since the burden of government was laid on his own shoulders. Melville concluded his statement by assuring the council that he had given, as nearly as he could recollect, the very words which he had spoken from the pulpit, and by entreating his Majesty and their lordships not to listen to the misinformations of those who wrested his words from malice, or who were so grossly ignorant as not be able to distinguish between an *extraordinary* and an *unlawful* calling. He at the same time produced the public attestations of his innocence which he had brought along with him.

* The approbation which the General Assembly gave to the Raid of Ruthven, or rather to what was done in consequence of it, was very guarded. They consulted with his majesty before they took that step, and it required all James's king-craft to gloss over this fact, when it was afterwards appealed to by the English ambassador. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 128, b. 129. Cald. iii. 261.)

In a petition presented by that Assembly are the following articles: "That his Maitie and Lords will wey qubat great inconvenients and absurdities falls furth vpon the act of counsell made concerning absolute power, and for removing y'of to delate ye same nevir to be rememberit heirafter."—"That it will please your Ma. and Lo. to have pitie and compassion on y' noble and godly man, James Hamilton, Erle of Arran, sometyme a noble and comfortable instrument in reforming ye kirk of God, and now visit be ye hand of God, and under pretense of law bereft." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 131, b.) The Earl had laboured under mental derangement for many years. Captain Stewart was appointed tutor to him, and afterwards obtained his title and estates. It is much to the honour of the Assembly that they had presented a similar petition in behalf of that unfortunate nobleman during the administration of Lennox. (Ibid. f. 98.)

† Wodrow's Life of Galloway, p. 6. MSS. vol. ii.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 10.

* See Note X.

† wander.

Instead of resting satisfied with the explanation and testimonials, the council resolved to proceed with the trial, upon which he stated the following objections, in the form of requests. He requested, first, that as he was accused upon certain expressions alleged to have been used by him in preaching and prayer, his trial should be remitted, in the first instance, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement lately made between certain commissioners of the Privy Council and of the Church. Secondly, that he should be tried at St. Andrews, where the alleged offence was committed. Thirdly, that if his first request was not granted, he should at least enjoy the privilege of the university of which he was a member, by having his cause submitted, in the first instance, to the judgment of the Rector and his assessors. Fourthly, that he should enjoy the benefit of the apostolical canon, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses." Fifthly, that he should have the benefit of a free subject by being made acquainted with his accuser, and that the individual who appeared in that character should, if the charge turned out to be false and calumnious, be liable to the punishment prescribed by the statutes against those who seek to alienate the king from his faithful subjects. In fine, he protested that if *William Stewart** was the informer, he had just ground to except against him, both as an accuser and as a witness, inasmuch as he entertained a deadly malice against him, and had frequently threatened to do him bodily harm if it was in his power. When he had stated these objections, the council adjourned the farther consideration of the cause to the following day.

In the interval, Melville, after consulting with his brethren, drew up in the form of a protest the objections which he had stated verbally to the council. Next day commissioners from the presbytery and from the university of St. Andrews attended; the former to protest for the liberty of the church, and the latter to re-pledge Melville to the court of the rector. But they were refused admission; and Melville, finding that the Council were determined to proceed with the trial, gave in his protest.† The reading of this paper, though couched in the most temperate and respectful language, threw the King and Arran into so violent a rage, that their threatenings disturbed the Privy Council, and spread an alarm among those who were without, and anxiously waited the issue of the trial. Their violence roused Melville's spirit. He resolutely defended the step which he had taken, and told the counsellors, that as there was a constituted church in the country, they shewed themselves too bold in passing by its teachers, and assuming a right to pronounce sentence on the doctrine and control the administrations of the servants of a king and council greater than themselves: "And that ye may see your rashness in taking upon you what ye neither can nor ought to do (unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said,) *These* are my instructions: see if any of you can judge of them, or show that I have passed my injunctions." Arran took up the book, and perceiving it to be written in a strange language, handed it to the king, saying, "Sir, he scorns your Majesty and the Council."—"No, my lords; (replied Melville,) I scorn not; but with all earnestness and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his church." He was several times removed, but not allowed to have any intercourse with his brethren. Entreaties and menaces were alternately used to induce him to withdraw his protest, but this he refused unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. At last Stewart was brought forward as accuser, and the deposition of a number of witnesses taken. But although most of them were his known enemies, nothing could be extracted from their evidence that tended in the slightest degree to criminate him. Notwithstanding this, he was found guilty of declining the judgment of the Council and behaving irreverently before them; and was condemned to be imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at his Majesty's pleasure.*

His friends were greatly perplexed as to the course which they should now advise him to take. On the one hand, they were averse to deprive the church and university of his services by advising him to leave the kingdom, and they were not without hopes that they would be able to procure his liberation after a short imprisonment. On the other hand, a temporary intermission of his labours was not to be put in balance with the risk of his life; and the fury with which Arran conducted himself justified the strongest apprehensions. It was judged proper that he should keep himself concealed in the capital, while his nephew sounded the courtiers and tried to ascertain the treatment which he was likely to receive. From some of them, James Melville received favourable assurances, but those on whom he could place more dependence repeated the proverb of the house of Angus, "*loose and living*," and signified, that if his uncle surrendered his liberty he would come out of prison to the scaffold. This was corroborated by information that the place of his confinement was changed from the Castle of Edinburgh to that of Blackness, a solitary and unwholesome dungeon kept by a creature of Arran's.† As soon as he heard this circumstance, Melville decided upon the course which he would take, but without imparting his resolution to his brethren. He came from his concealment, and made as if he intended to obey the sentence of the Privy Council. He dined in Lawson's house with the ministers who were in town, and was the most cheerful person in the company; mingling more than his usual portion of hilarity with the graver conversation of the table, drinking the health of his captain, as he called the keeper of Blackness, and desiring his brethren to prepare to follow him. The macer being announced, he requested that he should be brought in; and received with all respect the charge to enter himself a prisoner within ten hours. A little after this he left the company, and being joined by his brother Roger, retired from Edinburgh, passed the night in the neighbourhood, and next day reached Berwick in safety; to the mortification of Arran, who had a company of horsemen prepared to conduct him to Blackness.‡

The court incurred great odium by its severe treatment of Melville. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed for him in public, and the universal lament was, that the king, under the influence of evil counsel, had driven into exile the most learned man in the kingdom, and the ablest champion of religion and the liberties of the church. To counteract this impression the Privy Council issued a proclamation, declaring that his exile was voluntary, and disclaiming any in-

* Stewart was one of the pensioners of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and had conceived hatred against Melville on account of his activity in procuring a minister for that town, (p. 188.) His conduct on the present occasion procured him the common name of *the Accuser*.

† This protest, or declinature, as it is usually called, may be seen at large in the printed Calderwood, p. 144—146. Comp. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 309—313.

* See Note Y.

† John Davidson, in his answer to Allain, says that several of the lords, when requested to subscribe the sentence as altered by Arran, refused, and said, that, to please his majesty, they had already yielded too far in agreeing to it in its original form. (Cald. ii. 348.)

‡ Cald. iii. 304—314. Melville's Diary, p. 102—104. Spotswood, 330. Hume, Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 308.—Hume says that Melville published his Apology, or the Declinature which he had given in to the Privy Council.

tention of using him rigorously.* Little credit was given to this representation, which was contradicted by an act of council made upon Melville's flight, and ordaining that such preachers as were accused should henceforth be apprehended without the formality of a legal charge.†

Had the affair which we have now related been a detached and isolated occurrence, it might have been passed over without inquiring narrowly, whether the issue to which it was brought was more owing to the imprudence of the person accused, or to the violent and arbitrary procedure of his judges. But, it is only one of many cases which occurred, and involves the great question which was so keenly agitated between the court and the church during the whole of this reign. On this account, and to prevent future repetition, I shall here make a few observations on a subject which has been much misunderstood and misrepresented.

It is needless to contend about words. I shall therefore allow that the instrument which Melville gave in to the Privy Council on his trial was a material *declinature;* although he did not make use of that term, and, it is probable, avoided it intentionally, that he might not give unnecessary umbrage, or afford a handle to those who sought advantage against him and the cause which he maintained. But it would argue a very slender degree of acquaintance with the subject to infer from this circumstance, that he disowned the authority or called in question the jurisdiction of the king and his council. The most that it could imply was, that the Privy Council was not the proper court for trying the accusation brought against him; and we shall afterwards shew that it did not imply so much. Every lawful judicature is not entitled to judge in every cause, and a party has a right to take legal steps for having his cause brought before the competent judges. Even in that age, when the boundaries of the different jurisdictions were far from being accurately traced, it was not uncommon for persons to decline the judgment of the Privy Council, and to bring their cause before the Lords of Session.‡ They were not on that account thought to be guilty of treason, nor charged with impeaching the royal authority; and the assemblies of the church were judicatories acknowledged by law as much as any civil or criminal court in the country.

It is equally unreasonable to identify the plea advanced by Melville with the claim which the popish clergy made to immunity from the civil jurisdiction.‖ Not to mention that, in the latter case, the ultimate decision might be given by a foreign power in consequence of a reference or appeal to the court of Rome, the popish clergy claimed, and actually obtained, an exemption from civil jurisdiction as to all crimes, of whatever kind they might be, and on whatever occasion they might be committed—murders, adulteries, thefts, secret conspiracies, and open appearances in arms against the state. The plea of the Presbyterian ministers was limited entirely to the exercise of their pastoral functions. To represent these claims as the same, is as absurd as it would be to confound the protection granted to worshipping assemblies by every civilized nation, with that privilege which formerly rendered religious houses and their consecrated appendages so many sanctuaries for all kinds of malefactors. Nor did Presbyterians plead that the ecclesiastical courts were the *sole* judges of doctrine delivered from the pulpit, or that it belonged to them to judge of treason.* If they had done so, and if they had at the same time contended that the mere acquittal of a preacher by the church-courts barred the civil magistrate from proceeding against him for the crime of sedition or treason, then I acknowledge that the charge brought against them would to a certain extent be well founded, and that their claims deserved to have been resisted and reprobated. But such was not the nature of their plea. All that they insisted for was, that when a minister was accused of having exceeded the proper bounds of his office, and of having taught from the pulpit what tended to the hurt of the state or the dishonour of magistrates, instead of being immediately dragged before a civil tribunal, the accusation against him should be brought, *in the first instance*, before those courts which had the direct oversight of his pastoral conduct. If they should find the accusation well founded, it was incumbent on them to censure him for a violation of his ministerial duty, and to leave him to the judgment of the proper court for the civil offence of which he had been guilty. Or if they, through the influence of undue partiality, should justify him erroneously, it was still competent for the civil magistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the church could neither supersede nor invalidate.†

Such was the full amount of the claim made by the church at this time, and if candidly examined it will be found neither so extravagant nor so unreasonable as has been alleged. When accused of uttering seditious or treasonable language from the pulpit, a preacher was charged with a double offence, which rendered him amenable to a double jurisdiction. He was amenable to the church for the transgression of his official duty, and to the state for violating his duty as a subject. The only question was as to the order in which the cause should come to be tried, and the tribunal before which he should be primarily called to appear. *Some* arrangement behoved to be made as to this; and where there was a constituted church, whose judicatories were recognized by the state, it seems, on several grounds, the most proper and expedient course that the individual accused should in the first instance be made accountable to them. Though a subject, it was when acting in the character of a public minister of the church that he incurred the charge brought against him. And he could not offend against the state, or against any individual, without first transgressing his duty as a preacher of the Gospel. By this arrangement the state might have been saved from much disagreeable and unnecessary business, either in the way of its appearing, from the investigation before the ecclesiastical courts, that the charge was

* A Declaration to sum reportis maid anent Mr. Andro Meluile. Record of Privy Council, ult. Febr. 1583.

† Galloway's Apology for his Flight, in Wodrow's Life of Mr. Patrick Galloway, p. 6. MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. ii.

‡ "T. Esteem ye that light for a subject to decline his prince's judgment? Z. Is that any new thing? Falls not that forth almost every day before the Secret Counsel? Declined not Mr. John Cramound, within 20 days after Mr. Andrew's dyet, the King and Counsel as judges competent for the exhibition of the heretrix of Badraville, and he was never quarreled as a declyner of the King's M. authority. This is a form common enough before any judges." Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon. (Cald. iii. 678.)

‖ This has been done, in very unqualified terms, by Dr. Robertson. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 425. Lond. 1809.)

* Dr. Robertson represents Melville as contending that "the Presbytery of which he was a member had *the sole right* to call him to account for words spoken in the pulpit;" and yet he allows, in the same sentence, that his plea amounted only to this, that "neither the King nor council could judge, *in the first instance*, of the doctrine delivered by preachers." If this plea had been admitted, he says, "the Protestant clergy would have become independent on the civil magistrate," and might have taught, "*without fear or control*, the most dangerous principles," &c. (History, ut supra.)

† "The question was not," says Principal Baillie, "Whether ministers be exempt from the magistrates' jurisdiction, nor, Whether the pulpit puts men in a liberty to teach treason without any civill cognizance and punishment. Since the Reformation of Religion no man in Scotland did ever assert such things. But the question was, as Spotswood himselfe states it, Whether the Counsell was a competent judge to Master Melville's doctrine *in prima instantia:* these were the expresse termes." (Answer to the Declaration, p. 12, subjoined to Historical Vindication, Lond. 1646.)

completely groundless; or, if it turned out otherwise, in the way of their sentence leading to what might be justly regarded as a sufficient reparation of the offence and a prevention of its recurrence; in both which cases, the necessity of a legal prosecution would have been happily superseded. This arrangement would also have had the effect of preventing ministers from being harassed by espionage on the part of the government, or by the malicious informations of individuals offended at their faithfulness in the reproof of sin or in the exercise of discipline. All these objects would have been gained, while at the same time the civil courts retained their authority entire and unimpaired. I need scarcely add, that the regulation in question was never intended to apply to extraordinary cases; and that no such immunity was pleaded as would have prevented the executive government from immediate procedure against any one who should be notoriously guilty of exciting sedition or treason by his preaching, or who should even be suspected of this in a time of public commotion or national alarm.

It may be alleged, that this arrangement would have produced collision between the two authorities. But how could this have been prevented altogether, in the supposed case, without abolishing the jurisdiction and discipline of the church? If it should be said, that the previous judgment of the ecclesiastical court would have imposed a certain kind of restraint on the proceedings of the civil, I grant that it would indirectly. But then I maintain that this would have proved upon the whole a salutary check, and that its tendency would have been to discourage the court from indulging in arbitrary and vindictive prosecutions. What is it but the restraint of opinion on coercive authority—the great safeguard of the weak against the oppressions of the powerful? It is proper to guard against the license of the pulpit; but it is equally proper to provide against encroachments on its due liberty. This is an object of great importance, whether it be viewed in relation to the nature and immediate ends of the pastoral office, or to the indirect influence which it is calculated to have upon public opinion and the national weal. Those who speak in Heaven's name to men, and whose duty it is to declare the whole counsel of God—to inculcate the observance of the divine law in all its extent—to reprove irreligion and vice, injustice and oppression, wherever they appear and by whomsoever committed—to warn of approaching judgments and impending dangers—to call all to repentance and reformation of life—and to watch for souls as those who must give an account—are entitled to use, and ought to be protected in using, a more than ordinary liberty of speech. If they are fettered by injunctions, and awed by prosecutions and penalties—if they dare select no subject, advance no sentiment, employ no expression, but what is agreeable to men in power, and smoothed down so as not to grate the delicate ears of courtiers—if they are prohibited from applying the examples of Scripture, and improving the events of Providence, to the instruction and admonition of their hearers—and, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke, with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to the people of their charge. Is not this to chain them up like the animal employed to keep sentry when the family are asleep, which alarms passengers by its noise, licks the hand that feeds it, and is let loose at its master's pleasure? Who would undertake such a degrading office, but hirelings, parasites, or dastardly, grovelling, and slavish souls? Nor is the conservation of this privilege (and why should not the pulpit have its privileges as well as the senate, the bench, the bar, or the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. The beneficial influence which religion exerts over the minds of an intelligent people, politically considered, depends in a high degree on the proof which its teachers give of their honesty and independence. This is the savour of their salt, without which they are good for nothing, and soon become worse than nothing, corrupting and being corrupted. Despotism has rarely been established in any nation without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors and the faithful and fearless monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical administration.

At the period of which we speak, the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was or could be expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any thing that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated and their decisions dictated by letters and messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on public affairs and the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the court. This is a fact which has been strangely overlooked by most modern writers, who, instead of presenting accurate and liberal views of the state of society at that period, have too often amused their readers by pointing sarcasms, or turning elegant periods, on the arrogant pretensions and dangerous encroachments of a presbyterian hierarchy.

The truth is, that the nation at large was interested in the question respecting the independence of the ecclesiastical courts; and every enlightened friend of justice and freedom at that time must have wished success to the struggle which the preachers were making in defence of their privileges. The powers of the Privy Council of Scotland appear to have been vague and undefined, their mode of procedure summary, and their decisions frequently of the most arbitrary, oppressive, and despotical kind. It would not be a difficult task, in my opinion, to extract from their records a series of proceedings, in which they not only interfered with causes which properly belonged to the civil and criminal courts, but also decided them in a way contrary to the most essential principles of justice and the most explicit statutes of the realm. It will scarcely admit of a doubt, that, in the prosecution of Melville, the court had more in view than checking the liberties used by preachers, or resisting the alleged claim of church-courts to judge in cases of treason. Their grand object was to render the authority of the sovereign absolute by bringing every cause before the council-table for decision. A right had already been claimed on behalf of the Privy Council to judge in all causes of a civil nature, and the claim was afterwards confirmed by a slavish parliament.* But the royal power was regarded as limited

* In the cause, James Menzies *against* Earl of Athole, before the Privy Council, April 3, 1576, it was pleaded by the defender that, by the institution of the College of Justice, all causes should be tried by them. It was answered by the pursuer, and "by Mr. David Borthwick, advocate to his Matie in his hienes name, that be act maid be King James the Third, it is declared that it shall be lesum to his Matie or his successoures to decyde in whatsumever causes at yr pleasour notwithstanding ony priviledge granted to ony vther Juges." The lords of secret council found that they were "Juges competent." (Lord Haddington's MS. Collections from Minutes of Secret Council, &c.) The parliament 1584 ordained that the king's majesty, his heirs, &c. shall be "Juges competent to all persons

and incomplete so long as ecclesiastical causes were exempted from its jurisdiction. The right which the church-courts exercised of appointing their own diets, the freedom of discussion allowed in their meetings, and the jealousy with which they resisted every attempt to encroach on their rights, were disliked by the courtiers as tending to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and dreaded by them as holding out a temptation to the civil courts to lay claim to similar privileges. It was the suppression of these that was aimed at in the present prosecution and in the late affair of Montgomery.

On his trial, Melville pleaded not only the acts of Parliament and Privy Council ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, but also an agreement which had been entered into with the view of avoiding dissension on this very subject. In consequence of the offence which was taken at the court's having imprisoned Dury for expressions used in the pulpit, a conference was held between commissioners of the Privy Council and certain ministers, who agreed that, in future, if the King was offended at the doctrine of any preacher, he should cause a complaint to be given in against him to the ecclesiastical court, instead of summoning him to appear before the Privy Council.* Accordingly this was done in the instance of Balcanquhall. Melville had, therefore, reason to complain that this agreement was violated in his case. It is a very insufficient and weak apology for such bad faith, that, in Balcanquhall's process, the General Assembly did not give the King satisfaction, and did "force him to take other courses than he desired to follow;"† as if the agreement had been, that the Assembly should have the power to judge the doctrine of preachers provided they humoured his majesty by always condemning it.

Independently of these considerations, the proceedings against Melville were grossly unjust and illegal. His sentence rested not on the proof of the articles libelled, but entirely on the mode of his defence. Granting that the council had the fullest right to judge in the cause and at first instance, and consequently that his requisition, protest, or declinature was invalid and inadmissible, all that remained for the court to do, was to repel his defences, to find itself competent, and to proceed with the trial. He was before them, and the only opposition which he made was by words and a written instrument. Of the same complexion, and still worse, was the conduct of the council in introducing, among the grounds of his sentence, his behaviour and the expressions used by him on his defence. Although these had been as offensive and disrespectful as they were alleged to be,‡ still it was in the highest degree unjust to convert them into matter of crimination and ground of punishment, in the absence and complete failure of all proof of the charge exhibited against him. Even in the case of those who are charged with the most flagrant crimes, great liberality is allowed to them, or to their counsel, to avail themselves of every legal plea, and to urge every plausible objection, whether it respects the competency of the judges, the relevancy of the libel, the character of the witnesses, or the mode of conducting the prosecution. And it is only where tyranny and blind passion have usurped the seat of justice, that the strong, and, it may be, intemperate language that has escaped a prisoner in the heat and agitation of his defence, is charged against him or recorded upon his conviction as even an aggravation of his crime. Such procedure, while it demonstrates the iniquity of the judges, affords a strong presumption of the innocence of the accused individual.

Melville's flight to England turned out to be of great advantage to his native country, by enabling him to discover and counteract the insidious schemes of Adamson. During the late changes the archbishop had acted with his usual craftiness and inconstancy. In the affair of Montgomery, he appeared to co-operate with the church, while, in reality, he was secretly encouraging the court to persevere in the support of episcopacy. At the same time that he was giving the strongest assurances of his attachment to the presbyterian discipline, he was, as he afterwards confessed, plotting its overthrow.* The General Assembly appointed the Presbytery of Glasgow to try certain charges brought against him; but Melville, who was empowered to summon him to appear, excused himself from executing the summons on account of the sickness under which the bishop laboured. No sooner, however, had the king withdrawn from the confederated lords, than Adamson left his castle, to which he had confined himself for a whole year, appeared in the pulpit, and although he had himself approved of the enterprise at Ruthven,† inveighed against the nobility who were concerned in it and such of his brethren as had supported their administration. To avoid the prosecution pending against him he left the kingdom in the end of the year 1583, under the pretext of going to Spa for the recovery of his health. But he proceeded no farther than London, and having obtained a public commission, became an active agent for Arran, by endeavouring to prepossess the court of Elizabeth against the Scottish noblemen who had fled into England. He consulted with the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London as to the overthrow of presbytery in his native country. He represented

—*in all matteris* quharin thay or ony of thame salbe apprehendit, summound or chargeit to answer to sic thingis as salbe inquirit of them be our said souerane lord and his counsell." (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293.)

* "In respect that at the last calling of Jon Durie befor the privie counsell vpon ane compt of certaine words alledgit spokin in his sermon, ordour was takin be certaine commissioners of counsell and brether of the kirk, that in cace such accusationes afterward sould fall out, the kirk sould have the judgment yrof: And if the kings Ma. please to send any commissioners at tryall they sould see the proceidings of the kirk." (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 114. b.)

† Spotswood, p. 317, 318. Those who consult the expressions charged on Balcanquhall, as given by the archbishop, will probably be of opinion, that if there was any thing offensive in them it lay in the preacher's playing on words in the pulpit. And surely his majesty, at least, had no right to be offended at a speaker's being acquitted for *punning* unseasonably.

‡ According to Spotswood's account, "He burst forth in undutiful speeches against the king, saying, *He perverted the laws both of God and man.*" (Hist. p. 330.) But this statement is refuted by the act of Privy Council, which makes no mention of a personal charge against the king, but merely says that he alleged, "that the laws of God and practices observed within this country, were perverted, and not observed in his case." (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 17, 1583.)

* "Efter y^{t} generall assemblie in October [1581] Mr. Patrik Adamsone aggreit to all the pointts in the buik of Polecie and concerning the office of a Bischope, and calling to dinner Mr. Andro Meluill my uncle Mr. Alex^{r} Arbuthnot and ythers diuers, he subscryvit yrto, quhilk his subscription is yet in my uncles custodie. Item y^{t} winter he passed ower to a convention of the esteates, and efter he fand no^{t} curt as he luiked for he drest him to the ministers of Ed^{r}, shawing tham how that he cam ower to court w^{t} Balams hart of purpose to curse the kirk and do euill, bot God haid wrought sa w^{t} him, y^{t} he had turned his hart to the contrare and maid him bathe in reasoning and votting to stand for the kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruitts of his conversion and guid miening. Wharat Jbone dury was sa reioysit y^{t} he treated him in hous and wrote ower at lainthe to me in his fawour. Wherevpon I past down to his castell at his hamcoming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the breithring of Ed^{r}, thanking God y^{r}for and offering him in caiss of continuance the right hand of societie, whereat reioysing he tauld me the maiter at lainthe, and namlie concerning the grait motiones and working of the spreit. Weill said I y^{t} spreit is an vpright hailie and constant spreit, and will mair and mair kythe in effects; bot it is a fearful thing to lie against him."—(Melville's Diary, p. 89—91. 95.) The papers which Adamson subscribed at this time may be seen in the printed Calderwood, p. 93—96. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 350—364.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 326.

the principles and conduct of his brethren in an odious light to the ministers of the French church in London, and wrote letters to the same purpose to the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Melville having obtained intelligence of this lost no time in despatching letters to the foreign churches, in which he conveyed a very different account of the late proceedings in Scotland, and painted Adamson's conduct in no favourable or flattering colours. As he was well known in the places to which he wrote, his representations were successful in defeating the scheme of the archbishop, who hoped to have drawn from the continental divines such replies as would be helpful to him in the execution of his plans.* The same success attended the letters which Melville sent from Berwick to the French church at London.† Whatever encouragement Adamson might receive from the bishops in England,‡ his embassy did not succeed at court, and his residence at London injured the cause which he was employed to promote. This was owing in no small degree to his private conduct, which was unbecoming the clerical character and disgraceful to the sovereign whom he represented.‖

Upon Adamson's return to Scotland a Parliament was held, by which presbytery was overthrown, and the liberties of the church and nation laid at the feet of the king and of those by whom he was guided. To decline the judgment of his Majesty or of the Privy Council in any matter was declared to be treason. Those were declared guilty of the same crime who should impugn or seek the diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates of parliament; by which all that the church had done for a series of years in the abolition of episcopacy was pronounced treasonable. All judgments and jurisdictions, spiritual or temporal, which had hitherto been exercised, but which were not ratified by parliament, were discharged, and the subjects prohibited, under high pains, from convening in any assembly, except the ordinary courts, to treat, consult, or determine on any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and license of his majesty. This act was intended for the suppression of the General Assembly as well as of Presbyteries; or rather, it put the whole government of the church into the hands of the king, without whose express consent no ecclesiastical assembly could be held.§ Accordingly, it was ordained, by another act, that commissions should be given to the bishops, along with such others as might be constituted King's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, to put order to all ecclesiastical matters in their dioceses. In fine, it was ordained that none should presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his majesty, his council, or proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt or prejudice of his highness, his parents, and progenitors, or to meddle in the affairs of his highness and his estate, present, bygane, or in time coming, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament against the making and telling of lesings, to be executed with all rigour, even upon those who heard such speeches and did not reveal them.*

These are the *black acts* (as they were called) of this servile parliament. Though eversive of all liberty, civil and natural as well as ecclesiastical, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess ventured to open his mouth against them. Some of the ministers having received secret information of what was going on, repaired to the parliament-house with the design of protesting for the rights of the church; but the doors were shut against them. The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to drag from the pulpit any individual who presumed to censure what the parliament had done. But this did not deter them from exonerating their conscience; and when the acts were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Lawson, Balcanquhall, and Pont, "taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made public protestation" against them, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions.†

Orders were immediately issued to apprehend the protesters, who saved themselves by a timely flight. Upwards of twenty ministers soon after followed their example, and took refuge in England. Arran threatened, with his usual brutal coarseness, "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his halse,‡ though it was as big as a hay-stack." David Lindsay, the minister of Leith, was imprisoned in Blackness, and John Howieson in Spey Tower. For praying for his distressed brethren, Nicol Dalgleish, minister of St.

* Melvinus Pastoribus Genev. et Tigur. (Wodrow MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. ccc. 2. 12, vol. xx. no. 17.) Adamson's papers, and a translation of Melville's letter, are preserved in James Melville's Diary, p. 107—118. The answer from Geneva, addressed to the exiled lords, is inserted in Cald, iii. 735.

† Letter to Castol: Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 59.

‡ Mr. Beale, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, in a letter published by Strype, charges Archbishop Whitgift with speaking in a degrading style of the ministers of Scotland and of other reformed churches, and says that he was suspected of having given his approbation to Adamson's design of overturning the order of the church of Scotland. Whitgift, in an apologetical letter, says, that he had not given his subscription to Adamson's plan, but does not deny having conferred with him on the subject. (Life of Whitgift, p. 149, 150. Append. p. 57.)

‖ This statement does not rest on the authority of satirical poems, (See Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century, p. 309.) nor even of Calderwood, who might be suspected of giving too easy faith to reports unfavourable to the bishop. But it is confirmed by Sir James Melville, who was of the same political party with Adamson, and succeeded him as ambassador at London. "The said Bishop—was disdained in England, and dishonoured his country by borrowing gold and pretious furniture from the Bishop of London and others, which was never restored nor paid for." (Memoires. p. 150. folio edit.) Adamsom in a letter to Whitgift, promises to send his Grace "a galloway naig," in return for his hospitality; but that the "opportunit commodite" of conveying it ever presented itself, or that the nag ever filled a stall at Lambeth, is more than dubious. (Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.)

§ "The vther forme of Jugement quhilk hes Majesty hes dischargit, is the generall assemblie of the haill Clergie in the Realme: under pretence quhairof ane number of Ministeris from sundry presbyteries did assemble, with sum gentlemen of the country," &c.—"His Maiestie vpoun necessario occasions —vpoune humble supplicatioun made vnto his Hienes will not refuse to grant them licence to convene, to wit, the Bishoppes, Commissioners, and sume of the maist verteous, learnit & godly of their dioceis," &c. (Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties intentioun and meaning toward the last Acts of Parliament, p. 17. 19. Edin. 1585.) Even the meetings of kirk-sessions were considered as discharged by this act. On the 28th May, 1584, a special license was granted by his Majesty, in virtue of his dispensing power, for holding the weekly exercise, and the meetings of kirk-session in Edinburgh, "notwithstanding our late act of parliament or any pains contained therein, *anent the which wee dispense be thir presents.*" (Cald. iii. 376.) An intimation of a similar kind was made to the elders of St. Andrews by Adamson. (Record of Kirk Session of St. And. June 17, 1584.) But where the ministers or elders were unconformable to the will of the court, they were prevented from assembling. The kirk-session of Glasgow, which used to meet every week, did not assemble from July 18, 1584, to March 31, 1585. (Wodrow's Life of Mr. David Weems, p, 33. MSS. vol. 3.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293, 296, 303.—As a fit supplement to the last mentioned act, Buchanan's History and Dialogue *De Jure Regni* are condemned. *Tempora mutantur.* Not many years before, a pension of L. 20. yearly had been assigned, "for the guid, true and thankfull service done to our so. lord be his louit Mr. John Geddy, scruitour to Mr. George Buchquhannan, preceptour to his hienes and kepar of his privie seal, in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and vtheris lovable werkis of the said Mr. Georges editioun." May 8, 1577. (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. f. 81.)

To be consistent the Parliament ought also to have condemned Buchanan's *Baptistes*, or at any rate to have expunged the following sentence in the dedication of it to James: "Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus, vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante, secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte momentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse."

† Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 335, 336. Cald. iii. 366 368. Spots. 333.

‡ neck.

Cuthbert's church, was tried for his life. The jury acquitted him; but he was instantly served with a new indictment for holding correspondence with rebels, merely because he had read a letter which one of the ministers of Edinburgh had sent to his wife. Being persuaded to come in the King's will for this fault, sentence of death was passed on him, and, though it was not executed, yet by a refinement in cruelty, the scaffold was erected and kept standing for several weeks before the window of his prison.* All ministers and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged to obey the late acts of Parliament and to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being for ever deprived of their benefices and salaries.† The most of the ministers refused subscription. Having convened the principal recusants, Arran asked them, how they durst be so bold as to find fault with the late acts of Parliament. John Craig told him, that they durst find fault with any thing repugnant to the word of God; upon which Arran started to his feet, and threatened that he would shave their heads, pare their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example to all rebels. Craig having admonished him that persons who were raised as high as he was had been humbled, he replied, "I will make you of a false friar a true prophet:" and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Now I am humbled." Perceiving that the greater part of the ministers were not to be terrified into compliance, Adamson artfully divided them by introducing into the bond one of those ambiguous and unmeaning clauses which serve only to blind the simple, and to salve the consciences of such as are anxious to escape from trouble.‡ After having made a manful resistance, Craig suffered himself to be caught in this snare, and drew into it the greater part of his brethren. Even the honest and intrepid Dury is said to have become a subscriber, and thus to have lent his hand to build again the things which he was among the foremost to destroy. And Erskine of Dun, whose character stood so high, and who had formerly made so honourable a stand for the liberties of the church, not only became a conformist himself, but was extremely active in persuading others to conform. So difficult is it for good men to preserve a strict and inflexible integrity in the hour of temptation! ‖ But there is no end to the impositions of despotical authority, and to the humiliations of those who have once bowed their necks to its yoke. Subscription was not reckoned a sufficient bond of fidelity, and written injunctions were sent to all the conforming ministers, by which they were obliged to frame every sentiment and expression in such a manner as to please the court.§

The privileges of the universities were violated. At Glasgow, Hay, the Rector, was banished to the north of Scotland; all the Professors were thrown into jail; the students dismissed, and commanded by public proclamation to leave the city; and the college shut up. Nor did the remote situation of the university of Aberdeen save it from similar treatment.*

As soon as he recovered from the depression of mind into which he had sunk upon the flight of his uncle, James Melville returned to St. Andrews, and exerted himself in preserving the college from the ruin with which it was threatened. His first care was to secure his uncle's library, which was in danger of confiscation; after which he endeavoured to supply his place by reading lectures on the system of divinity. In addition to his double task as Professor of Divinity and of Hebrew, he found himself obliged to undertake the management of the revenues of the college and the board of the students; the persons entrusted with these duties having refused to act, as soon as they learned that the court looked on the establishment with an evil eye. In these circumstances he was encouraged by the sympathy of the masters of the university, who attended his lectures and did every thing in their power to promote the interests of the New College. On this occasion, too, Thomas Buchanan testified his regard to his exiled friend at the risk of displeasing the court, by coming forward and taking a share of the burden of theological instruction, to which he had formerly been appointed by the General Assembly.† They were not interrupted until the meeting of Parliament, but no sooner were the laws overthrowing the presbyterian discipline passed, than Adamson came to St. Andrews for the purpose of imposing them on the university. He had procured an order for apprehending James Melville; who being apprized of the fact, escaped, not without great hazard, by crossing the sea in an open boat to Berwick. Robertson was the only professor who remained in the college, and the bishop soon after suppressed the teaching of theology.‡

A few days before his nephew arrived at Berwick, Melville had left it for London, accompanied by his relation and pupil, Patrick Forbes, younger of Corse.‖ He had obtained liberty from the English court to repair to the capital, and was furnished with instructions from the exiled noblemen, who still remained at Berwick. Along with James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, who added to his learning a talent for public business, he had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesmen cordially inclined to befriend them.§ But there were counsellors, particularly among the bishops, who were unfriendly to their cause and did every thing in their power to injure it. Adamson conveyed his representations through the Archbishop of Canterbury;¶ and the agents of Arran spared no professions or promises to induce Elizabeth to drive the exiles from her dominions, or at least to refuse a hearing to their complaints. Melville was at this time employed in writing a reply to a vindication of the Scottish court, published under the title of a Declaration of the King's Majesty's intention in the late acts of Parliament. It was artfully drawn up by Archbishop Adamson, and contained vile and unfounded aspersions

* Nicol Dalgleish had been for many years a Regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, which he left in the year 1577. (Papers of the University.) He went to France, and remained for some time at Bourges. (Cald. ii. 606.) After his return to Scotland he was nominated by the General Assembly, in 1581, as a fit person for being made Principal of King's College, when it was proposed to remove Arbuthnot to the ministry of New Aberdeen. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102.)

† Act Parl. Scot. iii. 347.

‡ They promised "to obey,—*according to the word of God.*" James Melville, who wrote a long letter intended to expose the the evil of the bond, characterizes this qualifying clause as "*manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto;* as if one should say, he would obey the Pope and his prelates according to the word of God." (Diary, p. 144.)

‖ Cald. iii. 529, 641—643. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. p. 337. Wodrow's Life of Mr. James Melville, p. 161, MSS. vol. xii.

§ Cald. iii. 742, 743.

* Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 78.

† October 1582. "It is leisum for a minister for a season to superseid ye ministrie and vse ye office of a doctor. y^r^for ye assemblie hes concludit and ordanit Mr. Tho. Buchannan to enter in ye new Colledge and vse and exercise ye office of a doctour y^r^, for ye support of ye samein, his kirk [Ceres] being alwayes provydit of a sufficient pastour and ye said Mr. Thomas sufficientlie satisfied anent ye promise maide for expeditioun of his pleyis." (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 129, b.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 105, 118—123. Cald. iii. 422.

‖ Afterwards bishop of Aberdeen.

§ A great number of letters written by Carmichael, Galloway, and Hume of Godscroft, which contain minute information of transactions at this period, are preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library. A great part of them is transcribed into the third volume of Calderwood's MS. and Wodrow's Lives of Carmichael and Hume.

¶ Letter from Patrick archb. of St. Andrews to his Grace of Canterbury, June 16, 1584. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.

on the banished lords and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of of Scots affairs, which prevailed so long in England and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces in being soon lost and forgotten.* The Declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the King's name, it was embodied, as an authentic and official document, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, from which it continued to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as a false and slanderous libel.†

In the month of July 1584, the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glammis, wrote to Melville, requesting him to repair to them immediately at Newcastle, along with Lawson, "on matters of greater importance" than they could judge of alone.‡ With this request he was prevented from complying, as he was then absent from London on a visit to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.‖ He was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profession and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. On this occasion he formed an intimacy, which was afterwards kept up by letters, with two very promising young men, George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Savile, whose early erudition was not less admired than his premature death was deplored by the learned on the Continent and in his native country.§ Melville afterwards paid a fine compliment to two of the theological masters, and to the young men whom he found at this time prosecuting their studies under them;

Non ita æterni Whittakerus ¶ acer
Luminis vindex, patriæque lumen,
Dixit aut sensit: neque celsa summi
Peuna Renoldi,*
Certa sublimes aperire calles,
Sueta cœlestes iterare cursus,
Læta misceri niveis beatæ
Civibus aulæ.
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore
Mente, qui cœlum sapit in frequenti
Hermathenæo, et celebri Lycæo
Culta juventus;
Cujus affulget genio Jovæ lux:
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet:
Quem jubar Christi radiantis alto
Spectat olympo.†

On his return to London, he had to perform the painful duty of attending the death-bed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James Lawson. The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and brought on a disorder, which was aggravated by grief at the unhappy state of his native country and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all communion with them. This the King sent to the town-council, accompanied with an injunction that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper.‡ Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of the case. He died piously and comfortably, bearing an honourable testimony to the cause in which he had spent his life, and exhorting his brethren, who surrounded his bed and sought to alleviate his sufferings by the most sympathizing attentions, to persevere in their attachment to it, whatever it might cost them. Such was the respect in which he was held, that, though a stranger, his body was accompanied to the grave by above five hundred persons of respectability. Lawson had been selected from all his brethren by Knox, to whom "he owed even his own self besides," as the individual best qualified for succeeding him in the charge of the church of Edinburgh; and his conduct in that important station, and during the most difficult times, proved that the choice had been made with our Reformer's usual sagacity. He was pious, learned, eloquent; modest, zealous, prudent.‖ He had been originally in a humble situation, and displayed the ornament of a humble spirit after he rose to distinction. His capacity and avidity for learning when a young man had attracted the attention of Andrew Simson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth, who took him into his own house, bestowed upon him a gratuitous education, and recommended him first to the University of St. Andrews, and afterwards to the

* Melville's reply (inserted in Cald. MS. iii. 714—734.) is entitled, "Answer to the Declaration of certain Intentions set out in the King's name, &c. 7th of Feb. 1585." James Melville is supposed to be the author of another reply, in the form of a Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon, which is dated Newcastle, Feb. 10, 1585, (Cald. iii. 672—714.) It is probable that both were printed. (Ib. 423. 428. 753.) The former reply passes over what relates to Melville; but the latter vindicates him strenuously, and its style is sharper and more acrimonious than that of the other. Extracts from both may be seen in the printed Calderwood, p. 174—184.

† This was strange, considering that the Declaration was the Manifesto of an arbitrary administration, and an abusive attack on the men who had uniformly shown themselves the most steady friends of England. "Our kirk deserved no such indignity at the hands of that estate as to be so highly prejudged by the publick records of the realme; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at that time specially, to entertain amitie betwixt the two countries. But let such a lying libell lay there as a blurr to blot the Chronicles of England." (Cald. iii. 650.) But this was not all. In 1646, the Declaration was reprinted, in Scots and in English, not by the Cavaliers at Oxford, (that would not have been strange,) but by the friends of the parliament at London, who had so lately loaded the Scots with thanks for their "brotherly assistance," and solemnly vowed "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland,—in discipline and government!" (Baillie's Historical Vindication, Epist. Dedic. A. 4.)

‡ Cald. iii. 432. ‖ Melville's Diary. p. 159.

§ See Melville's letter "D. Th. Saville et G. Carletono," in the Appendix. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss. vol. i. col. 159; vol. ii. 312, 422. Fasti, coll. 212, 227. Thomas Savile was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton College, and editor of the works of Chrysostom. His letters in *Cambdeni Epistolæ* shew the progress which he had made in recondite literature before Melville became acquainted with him.

¶ Dr. William Whittaker, Regius Professor and Master of St. John's College, Cambridge.

* Dr. John Rainolds, Divinity Reader, and successively Master of Queen's College and President of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

† Anti-tami-cami Categoria, Authore A. Melvino, 1604.

‡ Cald. iii. 377—383, 436. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.—On the 11th June, 1584, a commissioner from his Majesty presented to the town-council an answer to a letter of their ministers, with a charge to subscribe it; because it appeared to be "consavit in scharp and ruch tearmes," the council appointed another form to be drawn up. On the afternoon of the same day, they appointed some of their number to go to Falkland to entreat his Majesty, that they should "nocht be burthenit wt any thing hurtfull to ynir consciences, and to labour that his Maitie may be content with the secund form yrof pennit be the town." (Records of the Town-Council of Edinburgh, vol. vii. 91, b. 92, a.) This request was peremptorily refused. (See the Letter from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham, June 15, 1584, in the Appendix.)

‖ David Buchanan De Script. Scot. Illustr. num. 53. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6. 34. The works which this author ascribes to Lawson appear to have been all in manuscript.

Countess of Crawfurd, whose son he accompanied as tutor to the Continent.* After his return to his native country, he testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a distinguished place among the benefactors of our national literature.†

Balcanquhall and Davidson preached once or twice in London, but received an order from the bishop to desist.‡ When the banished noblemen came to the English capital, they applied for the use of a separate place of worship: but this liberty, which had been granted to the French and Dutch, was refused to them. The Lieutenant of the Tower, however, invited the Scots ministers to preach in his Chapel, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. Among other exercises performed there, Melville read a Latin lecture on Genesis, which was well attended, and much admired, particularly by the Earl of Angus, who possessed a more cultivated mind than any of the Scottish peerage.‖ It is somewhat singular that Melville should, on this occasion, have officiated as a lecturer in the place where he was afterwards confined as a prisoner of state.

Scotland was in the mean time suffering from the ravages of the plague, by which its principal towns were depopulated, and from the scourge of the worst of all plagues, an insensate and despotical government. The following anecdotes, which are less generally known, will perhaps convey a livelier idea of the policy with which it was afflicted, than the more glaring acts of tyranny which have been often brought forward in histories. In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came out of the Low Countries into Scotland, accompanied by some of his followers. Having taking up his residence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were stigmatized as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers and calling in question their authority.§ At the same time Papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country.*—The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth and treated his Grace very unceremoniously.† Instead of overlooking this very excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder against the spirited females whose wrath he had provoked and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families instantly, under the pain of rebellion, to leave their manses; and also commanding and charging, under the same pains, certain other matrons, "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament, to remove beyond the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition."‡—The treatment of the Countess of Gowrie, whose husband had been lately executed, was marked with the most savage inhumanity. She had come to Edinburgh to present a petition in behalf of her children, whose property was confiscated. After being different times repulsed, she one day met the King on the street, and "reaching at his cloak to stay his majesty, Arran, putting her from him, did not only overthrow her, which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her, who partly with extreme grief, and partly with weakness, swooned presently in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life of her."‖—The last fact which I shall mention is, if possible, a proof of still deeper depravity, whether it be viewed in a political, moral, or religious light. William, Prince of Orange, the patriotic asserter of the liberties of the Low Countries, fell at this time by the hands of a hired assassin. When the news of his death came to Scotland, the King said openly, that the Prince had met with such an end as he deserved, and the greater part of the court rejoiced at the event.§

An administration so much at variance with the sentiments of the nation, and which trampled so outrageously on its tenderest and most sacred feelings, could not maintain itself long. The people groaned for deliverance from a tyranny of which they durst not complain. The principal courtiers whom Arran had attached to him by his favours, disgusted at his arrogance, or anticipating the fall of his fortunes, consulted their own security by entering into a correspondence with those who were likely soon to supplant him. His power rested wholly on the dread he inspired and the ascendancy which he had gained over the royal mind. James himself began to feel unhappy, though he still continued to be the slave of an ignoble and vicious favouritism.¶ In these circumstances, the exiled noblemen, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, appeared on the borders. They had scarcely entered Scotland when the inhabitants began to flock to their standard, and by the time that they reached Stirling, to which the court retreated on their approach, they found themselves surrounded with a

* Wodrow's Life of James Lawson, p. 1, 2, 30. Cald. iii. 535.

† Crawfurd's Hist. of University, p. 19, 26. Feb. 3, 1568, he was presented to "the secund place wtin the new college or pedagog wtin the universitie of Sanctandrois," or, if it was already provided, to "the third place in the said new college." (Reg. of Present. vol. i. f. 23.) January 8, 1569, he was presented to the place of Sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen, (Ib. vol. i. f. 26, b.) He died on the 12th of October 1584, and was buried "in the new church-yaird at Bedlem." His testament was subscribed by him "at London in Honielane of Cheapside, in Mr. Antony Martine's house upon Wednesday the 7 of October 1584." On hearing of his death, Archbishop Adamson wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the King and the bishops. These, as well as the real testament, are inserted in Cald. iii. 537—564. His testament informs us, that he left three children. Among the alumni of the New College of St. Andrews, A. 1601, was "M. Jacobus Lowson, M. Jac. f. Edinburg.;" of whom the record says, "paulo post obiit." Elizabeth Lawsoun was his only surviving child in Aug. 23, 1603. (Inquisitiones Retorn. Gener. num. 142.) She married Mr. George Greir, minister of Haddington. (Commissary Records of Edinburgh, April 5, 1615.)

‡ Cald. iii. 649. ‖ Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.

§ Cald. iii. 302—304. On his return to England, Brown published a book into which he introduced various invectives against the ministers and government of the church of Scotland. Dr. Bancroft did not scruple to appeal to his inflamed statements, as one of the two authorities on which he rested his attack on the Presbyterian discipline. (Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 63. Reprinted Lond. 1636.

* W. Davison to Sec. Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63.

† Harl. MSS. num. 291. 68. Cald. iii. 437.

‡ Harl. MSS. num. 291. 66. Cald. iii. 531. Janet Adamson, relict of Sir James Macgill of Rankeillor, Clerk Register, was among those "worse affected" ladies.

‖ Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 84.

§ Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63. Cald. iii. 435, 528.

¶ "The king is become very ill: I will say no worse. For, being at the hunting, when he came home, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: *Tell-true*, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig." (David Hume of Godscroft to Mr. James Carmichael, March 20, 1584. Cald. iii. 750.)

numerous army. After meeting with a slight resistance, they entered the town, and Arran consulted his safety by flight. A short negociation followed; and the king having come from the castle, the nobles laid down their arms, and were admitted to favour and power.

Melville accompanied the banished noblemen from London, and returned to Scotland in the beginning of November 1585, after an absence of twenty months.*

CHAPTER V.—1585—1592.

MELVILLE exerts himself in recovering the liberties of the Church—Difficulties in the Way of this—Selfishness of the Restored Noblemen—Threatened Dissension among the Ministers of the church—Education and character of the King—Examples of his Dogmatism—Restoration of the Theological College of St. Andrews—Melville invited back to the College of Glasgow—Returns to his Place at St. Andrews—His Share in the Process against Adamson—He is Confined beyond the Tay—Is Restored—Disputes on the Execution of Queen Mary—The French Poet, Du Bartas, Visits the University of St. Andrews—Annexation of the Temporalities of Bishoprics to the Crown—Exertions of Melville at the time of the Spanish Armada—Interview between James Melville and a Spanish Admiral—The Court Favourable to the Church—Robert Bruce—Melville's Stephaniskion Pronounced at the Coronation of the Queen—Royal Encomium on the Church of Scotland—Bancroft's Attack on it—Disgrace, Recantation, and Death of Adamson—Civil Establishment of Presbytery—Remarks upon it.

THE first object that engaged Melville's attention, after his return to Scotland, was the restoration of the liberties of the church, which lay buried under the late parliamentary laws. Considering the corrupt influence by which they had been procured, the irregular manner in which they were enacted, and the baleful effects which they had produced, the abrogation of these laws might have been expected, almost as a matter of course, at the first meeting of the estates of the kingdom. But it soon appeared that this measure would have to encounter the most strenuous opposition, and that it would find weak and treacherous friends in those who were under the greatest obligations to support it.

The removal of the corruptions which had been introduced into the church during the late maladministration, was at first craved by the nobility, and acceded to by the King in general terms.† But, in the course of the conferences, the sagacity of Secretary Maitland soon discovered, that, provided they obtained satisfaction in what regarded themselves, the most of the nobles would be easily induced to pass from their demands respecting the church. Emboldened by this information, the King opposed any alteration of the existing ecclesiastical law, as touching on his prerogative which he was determined to maintain. And the nobility consented to gratify him in this, at the expense of their honour and good faith. In all the manifestoes which they had published to the world, they professed that one of their primary objects was the redress of the grievances under which the church laboured. They had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves to the same cause during their exile;‡ and by this means had secured the good wishes and cordial support of the nation in their recent attempt. The hardships and sufferings which the ministers of the church had endured, were owing in no small degree, to the inviolable attachment which they had shewn to the liberties of the nation and the interests of the nobility. Had they refused to approve of the Raid of Ruthven, or had they afterwards consented to retract the approbation which they had given it, and yielded their support to the administration of Arran, they might have secured to themselves favourable terms, or at least have escaped persecution;—they might have escaped imprisonment, and the loss of goods, and exile, and this last wrong and insult, for which they were altogether unprepared, and which was, in some respects, more galling and intolerable than all the former. The nobility did not pretend to deny the truth of these allegations. But they pleaded that the King was inflexibly bent on the maintenance of episcopacy; that he felt his honour implicated in the support of the late statutes; that it was necessary to humour him and to gain his affections; that as soon as their power was firmly established they would obtain for the church all that she required; and that in the meantime, if any altercation arose, they would interpose their influence between her ministers and the resentment of the sovereign. All this was only an excuse for bad faith; and it was, moreover, bad policy. The King could not, and he would not, have refused the joint demands of the nobility and the church; his honour could not suffer so much from giving up the bishops as it had done from declaring good subjects and admitting into his secret councils men whom he had so lately proclaimed traitors and rebels; they could urge their sense of duty and the public pledges which they had given, with more propriety, and with less risk of giving offence, than their own personal claims; by humouring his Majesty in the manner proposed, they would foster the prejudices which he had unfortunately conceived, infuse jealousies of him into the minds of his best subjects, and give occasion to discord and dissension between him and the ministers of the church; and, in fine, the boon which, if now conferred, would allay all animosities, diffuse joy and gratitude among all his majesty's subjects, and establish the authority of his present counsellors on a solid and permanent basis, would, if withheld till a future and distant period, produce none of these salutary effects—be conferred without cordiality, and accepted without confidence.*

From the charge of selfishness and ingratitude to which the nobility of Scotland subjected themselves on the present occasion, justice requires that we should except the Earl of Angus, who remained faithful to his promises, and deeply lamented the defection of his peers. This is but a small part of the tribute due to the memory of the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scottish nobility, whose modest and unassuming disposition, and retired habits, prevented him from taking that lead in public affairs to which he was entitled by his rank, and which those who best knew his worth and talents were most anxious that he should not have declined.† It has been one of the great misfortunes of princes and commonwealths, that men of integrity and real patriotism have shrunk from the contest necessary to obtain and keep possession of high official stations, and have given way to the ambitious, the daring, and the unprincipled, who deemed no sacrifices too dear for the enjoyment of power, and scrupled not to set a whole nation or even the world on fire, that they might rescue their own names from obscurity. This will continue to be the case until the period when a change shall take place which it will require something more to bring about than a mere reform of constitutional laws, when it shall be believed that the affairs of a nation can be managed on the same principles as other affairs, and when sound sense and sterling principle shall be more admired by the public, than a talent, not for great things—for that has always been very rare—but for intrigue and bustle and shew; a period, as to the near approach of which the wisest will not be the most sanguine in their expectations.

* Melville's Diary, p. 162—164. † Ib. p. 164.
‡ Cald. iii. 328, 329, 800. Melville's Diary, p. 133.

* Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 375—381. 402—407. Cald. iii. 853. Sir James Melville's Mem. 171.
† Hume of Godscroft, ii. 289. 293, 344, 375. Melville's Diary, p. 134, 164, 230. Spots. 372.

One of the first acts of the new counsellors was to advise the King to summon a parliament to be held at Linlithgow in the month of December. This was necessary to rescind the forfeitures under which they were still lying, and to legalize the step which they had lately taken. It had been the almost uniform practice since the Reformation, for the General Assembly to convene before the meeting of Parliament, that they might have an opportunity of preparing petitions to lay before that high court. Accordingly it was judged proper that the moderator of last Assembly should call an extraordinary meeting to be held at Dunfermline in the end of November. But when the members assembled, the provost, alleging an express command from his Majesty, refused them admission into the town; upon which they met in the fields, and adjourned to meet again at Linlithgow some days before the opening of Parliament.*

In the interval Melville was busily employed in repressing a dissension which threatened to break out among his brethren respecting subscription to the late bond. Travelling through different parts of the country, he urged the necessity of union on the present occasion, and prevailed on the subscribers to co-operate with their brethren in petitioning for the repeal of the offensive laws.† The success which attended his labours was nearly blasted after they assembled at Linlithgow. A preacher introduced the subject imprudently into the pulpit, and condemned the conduct of the subscribers. Craig considered his honour as affected by this, and in a sermon preached before the members of Parliament, not only vindicated what he had done, and blamed the *peregrine ministers*, (as he called those who had fled to England,) but, contrary to the doctrine which he had himself formerly maintained, he extended the royal prerogative beyond all reasonable bounds, and exhorted the noblemen, instead of standing upon their innocence, to crave pardon of his Majesty.‡ This incident would have led to consequences fatal to the church, had not the flame been allayed by the interposition of the wiser and more moderate, who persuaded the parties to postpone the adjustment of their differences to a future period. This affair having been accommodated, a deputation of ministers was appointed to wait on the nobility, and again to urge the fulfilment of their promises. They intreated, reasoned, expostulated, threatened; but all to no purpose. The only answer which they could obtain was, that an insuperable obstacle had presented itself in the repugnance of the royal mind to their requests. They were thus reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the King, and this led to a personal altercation with him, which they were most anxious to avoid. He received them very ungraciously, repeated all the charges against them which they had been accustomed to hear from Lennox and Arran, and made use of expressions which were not more disrespectful to them than they were indecorous from the lips of a king. The consequence was, that he was obliged to hear some things in reply which were not the most grateful to his royal ears. Melville defended himself and his brethren with spirit, and hot speeches passed between his Majesty and him at several interviews.

At the King's desire the ministers drew up their animadversions on those laws of which they craved the repeal. When these were presented to his Majesty he shut himself up in his chamber and spent a whole day in penning a reply to them with his own hand. This he delivered to the ministers as his declaration and interpretation of the statutes, telling them that it should be as valid and authentic as an act of Parliament.‖ It differed considerably from the declaration lately published by authority, and which James now thought proper to disavow under the name of "the bishop of St. Andrews' own declaration."* But still it defended, and indicated a disposition to support, the main encroachments which had been made on the jurisdiction and liberties of the church. Notwithstanding the challenge with which it concluded, the ministers declined engaging in a contest in which authority would have supplied the lack of argument. As Parliament was in haste to conclude its business, they contented themselves with presenting a supplication to the King, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at the display which he had given of his "knowledge and judgment," they craved that the subject should be submitted to grave consultation; that the execution of the objectionable acts should be suspended until the next meeting of Parliament; that they should have liberty to hold their ecclesiastical assemblies as heretofore; that the bishops should assume no more power than they exercised before the late enactments; and that all ministers and masters of colleges should be restored to their places and possessions. The last article of their request was the only one which was ratified by Parliament.†

This Parliament dissolved without fulfilling any of the expectations which had been raised by the circumstances in which it met. In the long list of its acts, consisting of so many ratifications to noblemen and gentlemen who had been lately outlawed, and including the names of hundreds of their retainers, we look in vain for one statute calculated to secure personal or public liberty against the invasions of arbitrary power.‡ On the other hand it decreed the punishment of death, "to be executed with all rigour," against such as should publicly or privately speak to the reproach of his Majesty's person or government, or should misconstrue his proceedings; and it prohibited, under the pains of sedition, all leagues or bands among the subjects without his Majesty's privity and consent, under whatever pretext they should be made;‖ although the principal members owed their seats in that parliament to a league of this description, and had recently been charged by open proclamation with using those very freedoms against which they now denounced so exemplary a punishment. The despotical acts of Arran's parliament were left untouched; and although some of them were in

* Melville's Diary, p. 164, 165. † Cald. iii. 810.
‡ Life of Knox, ii. 127; compare Hume of Godscroft, ii. 333—399.
‖ Printed Calderwood, p. 193—196. James prefixed to his Declaration the words, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere;* a legal maxim of which he was extremely fond, and which he often used in this application. (King James's Works, p. 520. Lord Hailes, Memorials, i. 52.)

* The following is a specimen of his Majesty's explications, and of his egotistic dialect: "*My* bishops, which are one of the three estates, shall have power, as far as God's word and example of the primitive kirk will permit, and not according to that man of sin his abominable abuses and corruptions.—In the fourth act. *I* discharge all jurisdictions not approved in parliament and conventions without my special license.—*I* acclaime not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture. *I* allow not a bishop according to the traditions of men or inventions of the pope, but only according to God's word.—Finally *I say* his office is *solum [illegible] ad vitam*, having therefore some prelation and dignity among his brethren, as was in the primitive kirk.—To conclude, *I* confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be head and lawgiver to the same, and whatsomever person doth arrogate to himself as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter any thing that the word of God hath only remitted unto them, that man, *I say*, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the word of the Son; against the Son, in not obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience."
† Cald. iii. 210—288, 253. Melville's Diary. p. 175—179. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 395.
‡ The only act which has the semblance of this is that which relates to charges *super inquirendis;* and all the provision which it makes is, that the charge shall be subscribed by four of the chief officers of state. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 377.)
‖ Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 375, 376.

whole or in part rescinded or disabled by subsequent statutes, yet others continue to this day to disgrace our legal code; and recourse has been had to them, even in modern times, by high-flying statesmen and court-lawyers, to crush opposition to unpopular measures or to inflict vengeance on those who had incurred their political resentment. It has been remarked, that the lords, after the enterprise of Ruthven, "improved the opportunity of insinuating themselves into" the King's "favour with little dexterity."* It appears that they were now convinced of their error; and as they were men by no means destitute of sagacity, their conduct shews what was the most likely way of securing the royal favour.

As the personal conduct of his Majesty had from this period great influence on transactions in church and state, and as his name will often occur in the following pages, it may be proper here to give some account of his education and character.

James, after he grew up, was accustomed to complain of the treatment he had received from those who governed the kingdom during his minority. In these complaints there was much ingratitude mixed with the political prejudices which he unhappily imbibed. No monarch of that age had such attention paid to him in his early years. Every provision was made, by the Estates of the kingdom, for his personal safety and comfort, and for his being educated in a manner becoming his rank as king of Scotland, and his prospects as presumptive heir to the throne of England. The command of the Castle of Stirling, chosen as the place of his residence, was entrusted, upon the death of the Regent Mar, to his brother, Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, a gentleman of approved courage, and of the strictest honour and integrity. The immediate care of James's person, during his youth, was committed to Annabella, Countess of Mar, the widow of the deceased regent, who discharged the duties of her place with the most unexceptionable propriety and delicacy.† David and Adam Erskine, commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, both gentlemen of excellent character, superintended the bodily exercises and sports proper for a young prince. Gilbert Moncrieff, a learned man who had studied in foreign universities, and sustained the fairest reputation both abroad and at home, held the place of physician in the royal household.‡ The superintendence of the Prince's studies, and of whatever related to the improvement of his mind, was devolved on Buchanan, who was qualified for this important task not less by his unbending integrity and the soundness of his judgment, than by the splendour of his genius and the extent of his erudition.

The plan on which the education of James was conducted is a proof of the enlightened views of his preceptor. It included the learned languages, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, and history.‖ In the exercises in composition prescribed to the royal pupil, more attention appears to have been paid to improvement in the vernacular language than was common at that period.§ Great care was taken to instruct him in modern history, and especially the history of the nation over which he was to rule.¶ And next to the imbuing of his mind with the principles of religion and virtue, it was Buchanan's great concern to give him just views of the nature of government, and what was incumbent on the king of a free people.*

James enjoyed the advantages of a private and public education combined. Several young men of rank were allowed to reside in the castle, and to carry on their studies along with him; as the young Earl of Mar, Sir William Murray of Abercairny, a nephew of the Countess of Mar, who spent his future life at court, Walter Stewart, afterwards Lord Blantyre and Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord Invertyle.† To these may be added Jerom Groslot, a Frenchman, afterwards known by the name of the Sieur de l'Isle,‡ who lived in habits of friendship with the greatest men of his age, and by his attachment to letters and his exertions in behalf of religious liberty, proved himself worthy of the master under whom he was educated, and of the high commendations which he received from him.‖

When the education of a young man is entrusted to more than one tutor, it is of the utmost consequence that they harmonize in their views and mode of management. To the want of this is to be ascribed in no small degree the disappointment of the hopes formed from the education of James. Peter Young acted as Buchanan's assistant, and was sufficiently qualified for attending to the more trivial parts of instruction.§ Young was destitute of Buchanan's genius, and every way his inferior in literature; but he possessed one talent to which his colleague was an utter stranger, that of knowing how to improve the situation which he held to his own advantage. He did not indeed fail in outward respect for Buchanan, nor did he resist his authority, but he injured him more deeply than if he had been guilty of both these offences. Buchanan had undertaken the delicate task of directing the young king's education from the most disinterested motives, and he never suffered himself to be diverted from his duty by the slightest regard to his own emolument. He did not forget that he was training up one who was destined to reign, but he knew that the best way for fitting him to sway the sceptre, when it

* Robertson's Hist. of Scot. ii. 419.

† "Sed hoc est memorabile quod Comitissæ Mariæ, Proregis uxori, comissus fuerit enutriendus, quæ, profecto, gravitate, honitate, omnes nobiles exsuperavit, quæ, quantum præ loci ejus dignitate potuit, Regem sicut ejus filium aluit, fovit, et, Zoilo etiam contratestante, nutrivit. Sic Rex puer omnimodo felix, si fortunam suam non læsisset." (Arch. Simson, Annales Eccl. Scot. MS. p. 158. See also Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 158.)

‡ Buchanani Epist. p. 27. Melville's Diary, p. 39, 56.

‖ Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 160, second edit.

§ It is highly probable, that "The Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie," the earliest publication of James, consisted chiefly of exercises performed by him under the direction of Buchanan.

¶ Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam G. Buchanani, p. 20.

* See his Dedication to the king of his *Baptistes*, *De Jure Regni*, and *Histor. Rer. Scot.* Translations of these may be seen in Dr. Irving's Memoirs.

† Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 393, 402. Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 172.

‡ "Comite itineris Hieronymo Groslotio Lislæo, nobili Gallo, cuius maiores ex Francia Germaniæ oriundi erant, qui cum adolescentulo Jacobo vi. Scotiæ rege, sub Georgio Buchanano, educatus fuerat, Academias Oxoniensem et Cantabrigiensem, bibliothecasque libris veteribus refertissimas, perlustrasset." (Vita Pauli Melissi. in Adami Vit. German. Philosoph. p. 450.)

His father, a respectable magistrate of Orleans, lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Buchanan repaid the civilities which he had formerly received from the father, by the kind reception which he gave to the son, when he took refuge in Scotland. It was doubtless by his influence that the young exile was received at court, and permitted to prosecute his studies along with the prince. In consequence of the connexions which he at this time formed with the court of Scotland, the Sieur de l'Isle was afterwards employed in certain confidential communications between James and Henry IV. of France, while the latter was king of Navarre. They related chiefly to a proposal of marriage between King James and Henry's sister. Bayle is incorrect in his statement of this affair. (Dict. art. Navarre. Jeanne d'Albret Reine de. Note Z.) The true state of facts may be learned from Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. p. 125—127, 624, 648, 656; and Vie de M. Plessis, p. 122.

‖ Lipsii Opera, tom. ii. p. 139, 144. Teissier, Eloges, tom. iii. p. 314. Buchanani Epist. p. 33, 34; and Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 279—282. In 1612, he sat in the National Synod of Privas, as an elder of the church of Orleans, and was one of the deputies appointed to reconcile the Marshal Duke of Bouillon to the Dukes of Sully and Rohan. (Quick, Synodicon Gallicæ Reformatæ, vol. i. p. 347, 368.)

§ Young was for some time on the Continent with his uncle, Henry Scrimger, and attended the University of Lausanne. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4. Adami Vit. German. Theolog. p. 766.)

should be placed in his hands, was to treat him as a boy as long as he was such; and he guarded against fostering those premature and extravagant ideas of superiority which are but too ready to rise in the breast of a royal youth in spite of the utmost care and vigilance on the part of his tutors. At an early period James discovered symptoms of those vices which afterwards degraded his character, and rendered his administration a source of uneasiness to himself and oppression to his people. Buchanan treated these with a wholesome severity, and accordingly kept the King in great awe.* It was Young's duty to have avoided every thing which tended, even indirectly, to counteract the influence of such measures; and provided he had used his endeavours to reconcile the mind of James to the restraints imposed on him by representing them as proceeding from the regard which his preceptor felt for his welfare, the superior mildness of his own manners might have proved highly beneficial. But he was in the prime of life; he had the prospect of a family; he saw the advantages to be derived from ingratiating himself with the young king; and with a cool and calculating prudence, which men of ordinary minds often possess in a high degree, he pursued the course which tended to advance his worldly interests, by flattering the vanity of his pupil, humouring his follies, and conniving at those faults which he ought to have corrected.† The consequences were such as might have been expected. The youthful vices of James were confirmed; Buchanan incurred the rooted aversion of his pupil; and Young had his reward in the honours and gifts that were lavished on himself and his family.‡

At the most critical period of his life James fell into the hands of Lennox and Arran. The great object of those by whom he was now surrounded, was to eradicate any good principles which his instructors had sown in his mind, and to give him habits opposite to those which they had laboured to form. The greater part of his time was spent in pastime. The conversation to which he was accustomed was profane, loose, and mixed with low buffoonery. Monberneau, a French gentleman who had accompanied Lennox to Scotland, and who was equally distinguished by his facetious talents and his licentious manners, was the manager of these scenes, and accompanied the King wherever he went.‖ The odious and abandoned Arran initiated him into youthful debauchery, and with the view of inflaming his passions, scrupled not to trample on those ties which natural affection and a sense of honour have induced the most profligate to respect.§ At the same time, the doctrine of absolute power, so flattering and grateful to princes, was poured into his ear. His mind was filled with prejudices against those who had preserved his life and crown during his minority. He was told, that all that had been done during that period, and ever since the Reformation, was obnoxious to the charge of faction and usurpation and rebellion. And he was taught, that the only way to legitimate his authority, and procure the acknowledgment of it by foreign princes, was either to admit his mother to a share with him in the government, or else by renouncing his crown, to receive it again with her voluntary consent and parental benediction. Strong prejudices were instilled into his mind against the government and ministers of the church. The former was represented as utterly irreconcilable with a pure and absolute monarchy. And if the latter were suffered to retain their liberties, he was taught to believe that he would be liable to be continually checked and controlled in the execution of his will.* Historians have dwelt on the arbitrary administration of the favourites; but pernicious as this was, it appears harmless when compared with their malignant and too successful efforts to poison the principles and corrupt the morals of the prince who had unhappily fallen under their influence. To the impressions which he received at this time we must trace, as their principal cause, the troubles which distracted his administration in Scotland, as well as his arbitrary and disreputable reign in England, which prepared the revolution by which his successor was overwhelmed, and led to the ultimate expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of their ancestors.

When the banished lords returned from England, James was in the twentieth year of his age; and as he early arrived at maturity, his character had already unfolded itself, and his capacity appeared to greater advantage, and perhaps was really greater, than at any future period of his life.† He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension and fluency of speech, which had an imposing effect, and impressed strangers with an idea of his talents which subsequent acquaintance invariably tended to diminish. He was not deficient in learning, but his knowledge was of that kind which is often attained by persons of high rank but slender intellect, who have received a good education. The soil being thin but well improved, the abundance of the first crops excited hopes which were not afterwards gratified. The taste which he had contracted for study, and which to a vigorous and sound mind would have afforded an innocent and agreeable relaxation, only served to minister to his vanity, and to create a feverish thirst for literary fame which nothing but courtly adulation could gratify. His studies never interfered with his amusements; but they diverted him from the duties of his office, and confirmed and aggravated the errors of his administration. When he should have been learning the art of government he was serving an apprenticeship to the muses; and while his ministers were perverting all the principles of justice, and grinding the faces of his subjects with oppression, he was busied in composing and publishing "rules and cautelis for Scottish poesy."‡ Having

* Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 159. D'Israeli's Inquiry into the Character of James I. p. 61.

† Sir James Melvil (Memoirs, p. 125.) has insinuated all that is contained in the text. The charge has been directly brought against Young by Archibald Simson, who had good opportunities of information, as his brother Patrick was minister of Stirling, and lived on an intimate footing with the family of Mar. His words are: "Educationis ejus cura Georgio Buchanano comissa est et Petro Junio, qui impares omnimodo erant; quod ille inter literatos fuit literatissimus, iste mediocriter elementa vix gustaverit. Sed in hoc differebant: Buchananus animi candore juvenis Regis naturam præsagiens satis acriter monendo compescebat; alter adulando fovebat. Sed quid eruditionis in Rege erat, hoc Georgio Buchanano debebat." (Annales Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, MS. p. 158.)

‡ See the places in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland referred to in the Index under the articles, *Young* (*Peter*,) and his children. Scaliger has remarked, that princes of some learning dislike men of great learning, and delight only in pedantic pedagogues. "Principes docti oderunt doctissimos homines, amant tantum pedantes magisterulos." (Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 473.)

‖ Strype's Annals of the Reformation, ii. 622. Melville's Diary, p. 59, 60. See also the facts and authorities stated in Note V.

§ Cald. MS. apud Adamson's Muse's Threnodie, vol. ii. p. 86. Perth, 1774.

* Melville's Diary, p. 89. "At that time it was a pitie to sie sa weill a brought vp prince, till his bernheud was past, to be sa miserablie corrupted in the entress of his springall age; baith with sinistrous and fals information of all proceidings in his minoritie, and with euill and maist dangerous grundes and principalles in government of kirk and common welth," &c.

† "Encore (says the French ambassador in a letter to the Marquis de Sillery, October 31, 1606.) qu'un Gentilhomme d'honneur m'ait dit, que tous ceux de cette maison promettent merveille jusqu'à l'age de 20 ans, mais que de-la en avant ils diminuent bien; m'alleguant a ce propos l'example du Roi present." He adds, speaking of Prince Henry: "Toutefois ce qui fait contre cela, c'est que celui-ci tient beaucoup de sa mere." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 402.)

‡ James's first publication, which made its appearance during the reign of Arran, is entitled, "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine art of Poesie. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas

little mind of his own, he was moulded by those who were near him, and whom vanity or affection induced him to imitate. Hence the motley and heterogeneous composition of his character—that love of letters which was combined with a passion for low sports and buffoonery; those pretensions to religion which were discredited by vulgar profaneness and the coarsest blasphemy; and those maxims of political wisdom which were mixed up in his speeches and writings with the most undisguised avowal of the principles of absolute authority. The former were instilled into his mind by his early instructors: the latter he drank in from his corrupt favourites and the base companions whom they placed around him. Other princes were in love with despotic power: James thought that he could demonstrate its reasonableness, and was not satisfied unless he could produce the same conviction in the breasts of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogmatism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

Poetry, politics, and divinity, were the three subjects on which his Majesty was fond of displaying his talents. The poets were more disposed to pay their court to him than to contest his merits; there were few politicians at that time who were so bold as to lay down rules to kings, or to question the wisdom of their actions; so that the chief opposition which James met with was from divines, who wanted taste to perceive or politeness to applaud the beauties of his sonnets, insinuated their doubts of the political aphorisms which he gave out, and flatly contradicted his theological dogmas. James, on the contrary, plumed himself greatly on his skill in divinity, and verily thought that he could settle a theological question, or make a commentary, or handle a text, better than all the divines of his kingdom. This appeared very conspicuously in the late conferences at Linlithgow. In the same paper in which he disclaimed the right of judging in doctrine, interpretation of Scripture, or heresies, he dogmatized, and interpreted, and created heresies, with the utmost freedom and confidence. And he concluded with throwing down the gauntlet to the whole clerical corps: "Whatsoever I have affirmed, I will offer me to prove by the word of God, purest ancients, and modern neotericks, and by the example of the best reformed kirks." He gave another display of his passion for polemics soon after the dissolution of the Parliament. Having gone to Edinburgh, he attended worship in the High Church. Balcanquhall, in the course of his sermon, advanced something which was derogatory to the authority of bishops; upon which James rose from his seat, and, interrupting the preacher, asked him what Scripture he had for that assertion. Balcanquhall said that he could bring sufficient proof from Scripture for all that he had asserted. The King denied this, and pledged his kingdom that he would prove the contrary; adding, "I know it is the practice of you preachers to busy yourselves about such causes in the pulpit, but I am aware of your intentions and will look after you." This interlude continued upwards of a quarter of an hour, to the great edification of the audience; after which James resumed his seat, and heard the sermon to the end. But he was not satisfied with this skirmish. The preacher was sent for to the palace, where his Majesty had the satisfaction of engaging him in close combat for more than an hour.* Not long after this, he signalized himself in a contest with an adversary of a different description. A great number of ministers and other spectators being assembled in Holyroodhouse, James Gordon, a Jesuit, was produced; his Majesty singly entered the lists with him, beat that practised disputant from all his defences, and was saluted victor by acclamation.† James has often been accused of cowardice; but, at least, he discovered no lack of courage or keenness in fighting for his civil supremacy against popish priests, and for his ecclesiastical supremacy against presbyterian parsons.‡

The conduct of the nobility, in referring the ministers to the King for an answer to their petitions, instead of transacting the business themselves, produced another evil beside that of fostering the unhappy disposition which James had contracted for controversy. In their censures of public measures, the preachers had hitherto said nothing which implied a reflection upon the King personally, but had uniformly imputed the faults which they condemned, and the grievances of which they complained, to the advice and influence of his counsellors. What had taken place at Linlithgow, joined to the galling disappointment which they had met with, drove some of them to a different course. In particular, James Gibson, minister of Pencaitland, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, made use of the following indiscreet language: "I thought that Captain James Stewart, Lady Jesabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it was the King himself: As Jerohoam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true wor-

Vautroullier, 1584. Cum Privilegio Regali." Small 4to. P in fours. It consisted of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated; and of "Ane schort treatise conteining some revlis & cautelis to be obseruit & eschewit in Scottis Poesie." This last is in prose. The "Metaphoricall invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix" was intended to commemorate his late favourite, the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a part of Lucan was evidently chosen to convey James's high notions of royal power, and to reflect on his nobility who were then living in England. Having said that all the rivers are supplied from the ocean, which could suffer no diminution by their conspiring to withhold their waters, he goes on to say:

> So even siclike: Though subjects do conjure
> For to rebell against their prince and king;
> By leuing him, although they hope to smure
> That grace wherewith God maks him for to ring.
> Though by his gifts he shew himself bening
> To help their need and make them thereby gaine,
> Yet lacke of them no harm to him doth bring,
> When they to rue their folie shall be fain.

The best way of making the royal pedant to "rue *his* folly" would have been to have left him to live by his sonnets, in which case he would soon have felt that dependence from which many better poets have not been able to save themselves. —James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus, Feb. 27, 1585. mentions that "the King's *Poesies*" had just arrived, and "some sentences and verses are not well liked of, as he being a king of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms. And the verses which are a commentarie to the prose, *Quo duce*," &c. (Cald. ii. p. 745.)

* Henry Widdrington to Secretary Walsingham, January 7, 1585. (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237.)

† Moyse's Mem. p. 132. Johnstoni Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 125. The Jesuit here referred to was uncle to the Earl of Huntly; and is commonly designed "Jacobus Gordonus *Huntlæus*," to distinguish him from "Jacobus Gordonus *Lesmoræus*," who was also a Scotchman and a controversial writer among the Roman Catholics. Spotswood calls him "a simple man, and not deeply learned." (Hist. p. 306.) But this is a mistake. Gordon was well versed in the controversies of the age, and some of the most distinguished Protestant divines did not look on him as a despicable adversary. (Glassii Philol. Sacra Accommod. a J. Aug. Dathio, tom. ii. par. i. p. 48.) Charters says, "Peter Blackburn wrote a book against James Gordon the Jesuit." (Short Account of Scotch Divines, p. 4. MS. in Adv. Lib.) The following extract from the proceedings of the General Assembly, February 1587, relates to it. "Anent the disput had betwixt Mrs James Gordoun and Peeter blackburne committit to the reviev of Mr Andro Melvill and certaine brether, the said Mr Andro reportit that on the pairt of the said Mr James and the enemies they fand great diligence and sophistrie: alwayes they praised god for the knowledge gevin to thair brother, in whose answer they had found solid judgment and great licht to the praise of god and overthrow of the enemie." (Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 152, a.)

‡ In the language of his ancestor,

> "He turned and gave them baith their paikis,
> For he durst ding na udir,
> Men said."

shipping of God, so I fear that if our King continue in his present course he shall be the last of his race." He was immediately brought before the Privy Council, and having acknowledged the expressions which he had employed, was declared to have incurred the penalty of treason, and imprisoned until further steps were taken against him.* He was afterwards liberated from prison, and suspended from the exercise of the ministry by the General Assembly; but as the King was uncommonly sensitive as to personal affronts, and pardoned them with greater difficulty than an attempt upon his crown,† he continued long after to resent the liberty which Gibson had taken with his name.‡

Though the Parliament had passed an act restoring the ejected professors to their places, Melville found it impossible to resume his academical employment. The plague had dispersed the students, and the New College had been completely disorganized during his absence. When James Melville fled into England, Adamson assumed the superintendence of its affairs. At first he attempted to ingratiate himself with the young men by professions of great respect for their Principal; but not succeeding in this he altered his course. He questioned them in private on the lectures which they had been accustomed to hear, and the doctrine which they had been taught on particular topics; and the information which he acquired in this clandestine way he used to inflame his Majesty against Melville.‖ The supremacy of kings and the pre-eminence of bishops formed the leading features of his own discourses from the chair and the pulpit; a mode of teaching which was extremely acceptable to the King and his courtiers: For, though rulers have often complained loudly of clergymen for introducing affairs of state into their sermons, they have never had any objection to the practice when it was employed to exalt the prerogative or to eulogize their own administration. But the students, who were not altogether strangers to such controversies, and moreover had not the greatest confidence in the bishop's honesty, examined the quotations which he made, and the authorities to which he referred in support of his opinions, and triumphantly exposed such infidelities and inaccuracies as they detected.§ Other acts of annoyance, such as young men are extremely apt to use against those who have incurred their dislike, were employed by them;¶ so that Adamson was glad to give up his prelections, and to avail himself of an order of court to leave St. Andrews, and supply the place of the ministers who had forsaken the capital.** Irritated by the opposition he had met with, and averse to the system of theological instruction, he procured a warrant to convert the college into a school of philosophy, to invest Robertson, who had become subservient to his purposes, with the office of Principal, and to make such other arrangements in it as he should think proper.*

During the early part of the year 1586, James Melville was employed before the Privy Council and Court of Session in getting these deeds reduced, and in taking such other steps as were necessary to restore the college to its former state.† His uncle in the mean time, took up his residence at Glasgow with his old friend the Rector, who had requested his assistance in reorganizing the university in that city. Hay and the other patrons of the institution urged him to remain with them, and to resume his former situation, which, owing to the public confusions, had continued vacant since the death of Smeton.‡ The most handsome and liberal offers were made to induce him to comply with this request. But though he retained a great affection for that college, which he used to call his *eldest bairn*, and though he was sensible that he had the prospect of enjoying far more personal comfort there than in any other place, yet such were his convictions of the national utility of the new college of St. Andrews, as a theological and literary establishment, that he could not think of deserting it, and determined to force himself a second time from Glasgow, against his own inclination and the solicitations of his best friends.‖ He accordingly returned to St. Andrews in the month of March, and recommenced his lectures after an intermission of two years.§

Next to Arran, no individual in the nation was so universally disliked as Archbishop Adamson. He had been the chief adviser of the laws which overturned the ecclesiastical discipline. He had lent all the influence of his clerical character and episcopal power to the support of the late detested administration; and he had employed his pen in arraigning the exiled noblemen and ministers as traitors, traducing their characters before the world, and attempting to drive them from the asylum which they had found in England. His disgrace ought to have accompanied the fall of the administration with which he had chosen to connect his fortunes. It does not appear that the King ever felt for Adamson that personal favour which he still retained for Arran;¶ but having resolved to maintain episcopacy, he judged it necessary to protect the individual who was its ablest and most devoted champion.

James Melville preached at the opening of the provincial synod of Fife which met at St. Andrews in April 1586. In the course of his sermon, the preacher turned to the archbishop, who was sitting with great dignity in the assembly, and charged him with overthrowing, in violation of his promises, the scriptural government and discipline of the church of Scotland; and then, addressing himself to the members of the synod, exhorted them to act the part of bold chirur-

* Record of Privy Council, 21st and 23d Dec. 1585. An account of a very curious conversation between the King and the prisoner, before the Council, is inserted in Wodrow's Life of Gibson, p. 2, 3.

† Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. v. p. 437, 489.

‡ Record of Privy Council, Sept. 24, 1586. Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 150, 153. Records of Presbytery of Haddington, July 15, 1590. Gibson being apprehended a second time in November, 1590, for resuming the exercise of his office, Duncanson, one of the King's chaplains, said that the people were offended that he was so hardly used, while Jesuits were overlooked. James replied that "no Jesuit had wronged his person so much as James Gibson." (Cald. iv. 211, 212. Wodrow's Life of Gibson, p. 6.)

‖ Discoursing one day on this subject, he exclaimed, "By the Lord God, Sir," (for the bishop did not scruple to encourage his Majesty in his habit of profane swearing,) "had that enemy to lawful authority remained another half year, he had pulled the crown off your head by his seditious doctrine: For he taught that kings should come by election, as the multitude pleased to put them up or down." (Cald. iii. 530.)

§ Cald. iii. 530.

¶ Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 78.

** Adamson felt himself exposed to similar affronts at Edinburgh. The council ordered a proclamation, "that nane mak prouocation to the archiebischop of Sanctand." He had been called over "to use the pastoral office within the said burgh," and certain of the inhabitants had employed "their wives and bairns" to insult him in various ways, pretending ignorance, &c. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 26, 1584.)

* See Note AA. † Melville's Diary, p. 180.

‡ On the 10th day of January, 1585, (*i. e.* 1586, according to modern computation,) Mr. Patrick Sharp was nominated and presented to the place of Principal of the College of Glasgow, vacant by the decease of Mr. Thomas Smeton. (Register of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 140.)

‖ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70, 71. § Melville's Diary, p. 180.

¶ The continuance of James's attachment to that worthless favourite after his removal from court, is mentioned by H. Widdrington in a letter to Secretary Walsingham, dated Jan. 7, 1585—6. (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237.) And by the French ambassador in a letter to D'Esneval, Oct. 31, 1586. (Extract of the Dispatches of Courcelles.) It appears also from the circumstance of his not filling up the office of Chancellor, on the flight of Arran, but committing the discharge of its duties to Secretary Maitland, as Vice-Chancellor, which seems to have been an office created for the occasion. (Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 140, 143, 146.)

geons by cutting off such a corrupt member. Adamson complained of this injury; but the synod instantly converted the admonitions of the preacher into formal charges, and put the bishop on his trial. He at first refused to answer, and asserted that it was his prerogative to judge the synod instead of their sitting in judgment upon his conduct. But after being repeatedly summoned, he attended, and gave in objections to their procedure, accompanied with answers to the charges brought against him. To the charge of having assumed the exercise of an unlawful office, he replied that he was ready to maintain the lawfulness of episcopacy before the General Assembly; and he defended his conduct in overthrowing the presbyteries, by pleading the acts of Parliament, which he dared the synod to impeach. He objected, among other things,* that the two Melvilles, and the Master of Lindsay, as his declared enemies, ought not to be permitted to sit as judges in his cause; but the synod allowed them to retain their seats after they had cleared themselves of malice in the usual way. On this ground Adamson protested and appealed to the General Assembly. Notwithstanding this, the synod proceeded with the cause, found Adamson guilty, and ordered him to be excommunicated, which was immediately done at their appointment by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. As soon as the synod was dissolved, the archbishop drew up an excommunication of Melville and some other ministers, which he caused to be read in the church by one of his servants; and then addressed a complaint and appeal to the King, the Privy Council, and the Estates.†

Without denying that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introdnced the affair was certainly a material prejudging of the cause; and there is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger beforehand to his intentions. At any rate, both had suffered severely from the bishop; and although this does not prove that they had conceived malice against him, and might not have warranted the synod to exclude them judicially from a voice in the trial, yet their voluntarily declining to act as judges would have given to the process an appearance of greater decorum and impartiality. In fine, to gain in any due measure the end proposed, it was fit that the sentence should have had higher authority than that of a provincial synod, and that the cause should have been referred to the General Assembly, especially as the bishop had appealed to that judicature. But the truth seems to be, that the ministers were afraid that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would be overawed by the King who had summoned it and in whose presence it was to be held. It is probable, too, that the general odium under which Adamson lay at this time among the principal gentlemen of Fife, pushed on the synod to the adoption of such hasty and decisive measures.*

It has been said, that "the personal emulation between Melville and Adamson mingled with the disputes of the church, and heightened them." I confess I have not met with any thing, either in the conduct of Melville or the bishop, which directly warrants this conclusion. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that personal offences had arisen from their having been so often opposed to one another on public questions, and that their mutual alienation was greatly increased by what happened during Melville's banishment. If we are to believe Adamson, the Melvilles, not contented with directing the highest censures of the church against him, were concerned in a conspiracy against his life.† He wrote to the King, that James Melville had travelled through the country to excite the gentlemen against him, and that his uncle had convened them in the college, and instigated them by a violent harangue to assault his person. James Melville, on the other hand, informs us, that, at the time referred to, he was confined to his bed with a fever; and he gives the following account of what relates to his uncle. The bishop, to testify his contempt for the sentence of the synod, determined to preach in the parish church on the Sabbath after it was pronounced. Such of the people as scrupled to hear an excommunicated person repaired to public worship in the New College. It happened that the laird of Lundie had come to St. Andrews on business, and he went also to hear Melville, accompanied by his friends and retinue. An individual who observed the crowd thronging into the college, told Adamson, as he was entering the parish church, that a number of gentlemen were assembled from all parts of the country, and intended to take him out of the pulpit and hang him. The bishop, whose courage was not equal to his ambition, was struck with a sudden panic, collected his servants around him, and not thinking himself safe in the church took refuge in the belfry, from which the magistrates with great difficulty persuaded him to descend, by promising to escort him home in safety, and assuring him that there was not the slightest appearance of tumult in the city.‡

* The bishop objected to ruling elders and professors of universities, who had not received imposition of hands, having a voice in the synod; and in particular to Robert Wilkie, who was chosen moderator. In his answer to the bishop's reasons of appeal, James Melville says: "He distinguishes the clergy from the laicks. This smelleth of the pride of papistry and arrogancy of the shavelings.—Mr. Rot Wilkie was appointed be the act of the reformation of the colleges to teach theology, and to expone the Scriptures, as Origen *in Alexandrina Ecclesia*, being but *Ludimagister*, and yet approved by the best bishops of Palestina before whom he teached in divinity. Mr. Robert Wilkie had been upon the exercise sixteen years before, and at the first erection of the presbyterie of St. Andrews be common vote of the brethren elected and ordained an elder of the samen, and hath from that time still laboured in the word and doctrine." (Cald. iii. 869.) Wilkie was at this time a professor in St. Leonard's College, and in the month of June following was elected minister and pastor of the congregation of St. Andrews. (Record of Kirk Session, penult. Junii, 1586.)

† Cald. iii. 858—865. Melville's Diary, p. 180—182. Spots. 345, 346. "April 26, 1586, Bishop of St. And[s] excommunication, qlk was acted in fyff, to be intimat and registrat." (Abstract of Records of Presbytery of Edinburgh. Wodrow, MSS. Advoc. Lib. vol. xxi. 4to.) Adamson himself appears to say that the sentence against him was intimated through the kingdom. (Epist. ad Jac. Reg. ante Paraph. Jobi.)

* "The bishop is marvileuslie hated of all the protestants, his life very slanderous and shamfull that its feared that yf the k. stand in his defence, as hitherto he doth, that that will alienate many, mens harts or make them judge hardly of him. ffull resolucon ys taken by all the gentlemen of the ffife and the borough townes about them to stand with their ministers and other that have dealt in this cause agaynst the Bishop.—At a word I never harde man worce spoken of. Ther is a legend wryten of his life, the neurest to that of the abbot of Clunye that was wryten of the death of the Cardinall of Lorrayne, that may be. (Randolph to Walsingham, April 22, 1586. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. iii.)

The following notice appears to be taken from a diary written at the time: "Upon the 16 of Aprile, Patrick, archbishop of Sanct Andrews, was stricken be the Master of Lindsay and Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, and was excommunicated be the ministers. Whereupon both the strickers & excommunicaters were summoned." (Cald. iii. 873.)

† To this the bishop refers in the following rhetorical passage, quoted by his biographer: "Adjuro te, Melvine, per bifurcata tuam frontem, per tumentes venas, per ardentes oculos, &c. quo die *Barrimontium* conscendisti; Quæ tua mens? quis ille animus? quis ardor oculi? quæ tuæ nefariæ atque impiæ conjurationes cu sceleratis tuis & perditis latronibus undiquaq. coactis, & in scelus omne propensis, in caput nostrum conjurantibus? Ecce duo gladii hic, unus ad excommunicandum, alter ad interficiendum." (Tho. Volusenus, Vita Patricii Adamsoni, p. 6.)

By *Barrimontium* we are probably to understand *Balrymont*, a place in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, where, it was alleged, the conspiracy against the bishop was formed.

‡ Adamson, De Pastoris Munere, p. 68, 69, et Vita ejus adject. p. 6. Lond. 1619, 12mo. Melville's Diary, p. 182.

When Adamson's cause came before the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 10th of May,* it was agreed to wave the formal consideration both of the sentence of the Synod of Fife, and of the appeal from it, and to remove the excommunication, upon condition that the bishop subscribed a form of submission which was prescribed to him. By this deed he disclaimed all supremacy over the synod, and all right to judge other pastors or ministers, and declared, that if he had claimed this power, he had done wrong, and craved pardon for his oversight and imperious behaviour; and he promised to conduct himself for the future as a moderate pastor, and to submit his life and doctrine to the trial and censure of the General Assembly, without appealing in any way from its determinations. This declaration having been subscribed by Adamson, the Assembly, "to give testimony with what good will they would obey his highness so far as they might and ought," declared, that, without judging of the appeal or condemning the synod, "they held the said process and sentence as unled, undeduced, or unpronounced, and restored the said bishop to the state he was in immediately before, provided always he observed his promises and behaved himself dutifully.† Archbishop Spotswood expresses his surprise that Adamson should have submitted to terms so derogatory to his episcopal authority; and he insinuates that the King temporized with the church, in the hopes that he would be able at a future period to restore the bishops to their legitimate power. The conduct of James gives too much ground for suspecting him of such views. But so far were the court from thinking that they had pledged themselves too far, that they regarded what they had accomplished as a victory; and the act of Assembly restoring Adamson, in which his submission was embodied, was triumphantly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh by sound of trumpet.‡

In the month of February preceding, the King had called together certain ministers, whom he judged more moderate than the rest, to confer with a deputation from the Privy Council on the subject of the ecclesiastical polity. Their consent was obtained to a species of episcopacy, although of a very limited kind. The result of this conference was now laid before the General Assembly, and all the influence of the court was employed to procure its ratification.§ The King's commissioners protested that if it was not simply adopted, his Majesty would retract the concessions which he had made, and leave the late acts of Parliament to be carried into execution. Notwithstanding this threat, the assembly entered upon the examination of the articles laid before them. They declared that bishops were not superior to other pastors; and being asked, if they would not allow them a pre-eminence in respect of order, though not of jurisdiction, they answered, that "it could not stand with the word of God, only they must tolerate it in case it be forced upon them." After several conferences with the court, it was at last agreed, that until presbyteries were better constituted, and the General Assembly should take further order in the matter, bishops should admit ministers with the consent of the majority of the members of the presbytery or of assessors to be given them; that they should preside in the presbyteries within which they officiated;* and be subject to be tried and censured by the General Assembly only, or by commissioners whom it should appoint for that purpose. At the same time presbyteries were ordered to be re-established, and some of the leading articles in the Second Book of Discipline, concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the powers of general, provincial, presbyterial, and sessional assemblies, were agreed to with the consent of his Majesty.† Upon the whole, though the proceedings of this assembly were somewhat at variance with former acts of the church, yet the approbation given to them by the court unquestionably paved the way for the downfall of the bishops, and the establishment of presbytery.

Melville was employed by this assembly to write in their name to the French Protestant ministers, who had obtained his Majesty's license to reside in Scotland during the persecution which raged in their native country, and to assure them that the assembly would do every thing in their power to render their exile agreeable. The letter was delivered to Monsieur du Moulin, who had already arrived and remained for some years in Scotland.‡

The relaxation of Adamson from ecclesiastical censure was followed by Melville's being laid under civil restraint. That the archbishop might return to St. Andrews with suitable eclat, and recover his lost reputation, it was judged necessary that his rival should be removed for some time with as little noise as possible. On the dissolution of the General Assembly, Melville was sent for to the palace, and after being graciously received and allowed to kiss the King's hand, was told that his services in the university would be dispensed with for a season, and he might spend his time in his native place until his Majesty was pleased to recall him. Lest he should refuse compliance with this intimation, he was served, on quitting the palace, with a written charge to confine himself beyond the Water of Tay.§ The bishop was appointed, besides preaching, to read a Latin lecture in St. Salvador's College, which all the members of the university were enjoined to grace with their presence. In consequence of this the prin-

* This meeting of the General Assembly was called by a royal proclamation, which declared that the members should incur no danger, "notwithstanding any laws &c. maid in the contrair." (Record of Privy Council, April 5, 1586.) Before proceeding to choose their moderator, the members received a message to come down to the Royal Chapel, with which they complied after protesting that this should not prejudge their liberties. James having taken his place at the head of a table around which the members were seated, entertained them with a harangue, and then dismissed them to their ordinary house. (Cald. iii. 681.)

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 141. Cald. 899, 900. Against this decision Hunter, who had pronounced the sentence of excommunication, protested. Spotswood represents Melville and Thomas Buchanan as adhering to Hunter's protest. (Hist. p. 347.) This is a mistake. The fact is correctly stated, from the minutes, in Printed Calderwood, p. 210, 211. The bishop, in his history, passes over one circumstance which he could scarcely have forgotten, viz. that in the list of those who opposed the absolution of Adamson, is the name of *John Spotswood*. (Cald. iii. 916.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 183.

§ It appears from Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 60, and Cald. iii. 855, 857, that the resolutions of this conference are correctly given in the Printed Calderwood, p. 197, 199.

* Robert Wilkie, however, was appointed Moderator of the Presbytery of St. Andrews instead of Bishop Adamson.

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 143. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 6. Cald. iii. 902—905. Spotswood says, "In the mean time was the order of presbyteries set down, and their power defined, *the King taking no notice of their doings in that kind.*" (Hist. p. 348.) So far was this from being the case, that the platform of presbyteries entered into the register of this assembly is expressly said to have been "presentit be my Lord Clerk of Register, and sett downe be his Lordship's travells." And with respect to their power, the commissioners deputied to wait on the King, reported that "in the haill heads fund, little difficulty except [a little difficulty excepted, *Cald.*] quhilk is noted with his Ma. hand, his Grace aggried." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 143, a. 144, a.)

‡ Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 140, b. 141, a. Joachim du Moulin, minister of Orleans, and father of the celebrated Pierre du Moulin, minister of Paris, appears to be the individual referred to. The Magistrates of Edinburgh not only allowed the French refugees to meet for worship in the common-hall of the college, but allotted stipends to their ministers. (Reg. of Town Council, May 11, 1586.) Collections for them and their brethren in England were made in the different parishes. (Rec. of Kirk Session of St. And. Dec. 20. 1587; and Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow, May 23, 1588: in Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 26.)—"Also the said James (Lamb) delyverit the warrand from the Synodall for the ingaddering of the support to Mr. Mwling banest out of France" (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 18, 1589.)

§ See Note BB.

cipal duties of the New College were a second time devolved on James Melville. The University sent a deputation to the King, consisting of the Dean of Faculty and a Professor from each college, to solicit Melville's restoration, as a measure necessary to the prosperity of the academy and conducive to the honour of his Majesty and the nation. James testified his willingness to gratify them, provided the bishop was treated with due respect. But although all the security for this that could be required was given, the answer of the request was delayed; and Melville owed his liberty at last to that secret influence which is often exerted by the meanest persons about weak and arbitrary princes. The King spent the summer at Falkland in his favourite employment of hunting and hawking. He sent several times for James Melville, who was surprised to find that his Majesty, after conversing with him on ordinary topics, always left him in company with the master of his hawks. It turned out that this important personage had a friend who was a tenant of the New College, and who wished to have his lease renewed at a low rent; and James Melville was given to understand that, provided this boon was granted, his uncle would immediately be set at liberty. The professors were extremely averse to injure the revenues of the college to gratify such a minion; but there was no remedy, and the King having pledged his word that he would compensate the loss doubly,* the lease was subscribed and put into the hands of the hawk-master. Upon this, orders were issued for the liberation of Melville, who, coming to Falkland, was introduced by the Master of Gray, and after a free conversation with his Majesty, was restored to favour and sent home to his college.†

Melville resumed his academical labours, which had been so long interrupted, with fresh ardour, and the consequence was, that the bishop's prelections fell into disesteem and neglect. Adamson was still more mortified by the desertion of his pulpit-discourses, in consequence of numbers leaving the parish church when he officiated, and attending sermon in the chapel of the Theological College. To prevent this he had recourse to a measure which was a sure proof of his declining fame. A mandate came from court, prohibiting the masters of the New College from preaching in English, and ordering them to confine their instructions on Sabbath as well as on other days to the Latin tongue.‡

Great occasion has been taken to asperse the Church of Scotland from the circumstance of some of her ministers having refused to obey the King's order to pray for his mother, when she was under sentence of death. They might be too squeamish; but had James been less imperious, and more mindful of his disclaimer of all interference with the immediate acts of worship, he might have obtained ample satisfaction on this head. Instead of this, an act of council was made prescribing the form of prayer; all ministers were charged by public proclamation to use it on pain of incurring his Majesty's displeasure; and commissioners and superintendents were commanded to suspend from preaching such as refused.‖ None of the ministers refused to pray for the Queen. The scruples of those who hesitated to comply with the order of the court rested upon the manner in which it was issued, and its implying, in their opinion, that Mary was innocent of the crime for which she was condemned to die.§ They had not been accustomed, like the English clergy, to pray by book, or to frame their addresses to the Almighty in words which courtiers might be pleased to dictate to them, or to offer them up, like criminals at the foot of the gallows, under the terrors of suspension. They had long entertained an unfavourable opinion of Mary; they had at different times been alarmed for the security of their religion by plans laid for her restoration; and many of them were convinced of her accession to the conspiracy of Babington against Elizabeth. But the truth is, that few if any of them refused to pray for the preservation of her life.* The order for this was not made known to the ministers of St. Andrews until the very day of her execution, and it was immediately complied with.† But the worst feature in the affair is, that there is reason to suspect that James wished the ministers to act a part in the solemn farce along with himself and Elizabeth. While he was issuing orders to offer up prayers for his mother's preservation, and summoning, imprisoning, and silencing ministers for alleged disobedience to these,‡ strong presumptions are not wanting, that his grief for her fate, and his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct, were in a great degree affected and hypocritical.‖ It is certain, at least, that they were neither deep nor lasting. One proof of this, among many others, may be mentioned. Soon after the execution of Mary, Melville happened to be introduced to his Majesty. James appeared to be in great spirits; laughed, and frisked, and danced about the room, in the boyish manner which he retained long after he came to man's years. The contrast between this levity and the sable attire of the company and apartment struck Melville's fancy, and brought to his recollection the way in which Mary was said to have mourned for the murder of her husband. He expressed his feelings, in an *impromptu*, to a gentleman of his acquaintance who stood beside him. The King seeing them smile, came forward and eagerly inquired the cause of their mirth. The gentleman excused himself by saying, that it was merely a sally of the Principal's

* A gift of certain prebendaries, &c. to the New College of St. Andrews passed the Great Seal, on the last day of January 1586. It was confirmed in the subsequent Parliament. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 488.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 183—185.

† See Note BB.

‖ Record of Privy Council, Feb. 1, 1586.

§ Cald. iv. 9. The only recusant specified by Spotswood (Hist. p. 354.) is Mr. John Cowper, "a young man not entered as yet in the function." It is evident, from his narrative of that case, that the archbishop had the Record of Privy Council before him. But he has introduced circumstances not warranted by that record, and which, if true, it would scarcely have failed to mention. It says nothing of the King's giving the preacher liberty to proceed with the service provided he would obey the charge and remember the Queen in his prayers; nor of Cowper's replying, that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him. Cowper was not imprisoned for refusing or declining to pray for the Queen, but (as the minute expresses it) "becaus his Matie desyrit him to stay efter he had begwn his prayer in the pulpit within sanct geills kirk in Edinburgh, declaring that thair was ane vther appoyntit to occupy that rewme, that he vtterit thir words following, thay ar to say, That this day suld bere witnes aganis his Matie in the grett day of the Lord;" and because he denounced a woe against the inhabitants of Edinburgh. (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 3, 1586.)

* Spotswood says, "Of all the number, Mr. David Lyndesay at Leith and the King's own ministers gave obedience. (Hist. p. 354.) The native inference from this is that Spotswood himself did not "give obedience:" for he was then one of "the number." But Courcelles, the French ambassador, who was in Scotland and took a particular interest in the affair, informs us, that even those who at first refused, yielded. (Letter to Henry III. Feb. 28, 1587.)

† "Die mercurii viii. fe^rii anno lxxx. sexto. The quhilk day comperit M. Patrick Adamsoun, bishop of St Andr^s allegeand him to haif an verbal direction of the Kingis maiestie to desyre the minister and redar to pray publiclie for his hienes mother for hir conversioun and amendment of lyfe, and if it be godis plesor to preserve hir from this present danger quhairin sche is now, that sche may heir efter be ane profitabill member in chrystis kirk. The session presentlie assemblit being sufficientlie resoluit heirwith hes concludit that the minister at ilk sermone and the redar at ilk time quhen he sayis prayers, pray publiclie for the kingis g. mother as is desyrit." (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews.)

‡ The two ministers of Aberdeen were brought twice all the way to Edinburgh, on a charge of disobeying the King's order. When they appeared before the Privy Council, it turned out that they were innocent; but, to save James's honour, one of them was obliged to make a declaration from the pulpit, on his return. (Record of Privy Council, March 25, and May 19, 1587.)

‖ See Note CC.

humour which had extorted a smile from him. His Majesty then applied to Melville, who felt averse to gratify the royal curiosity; but James, insisting on his demand, and promising not to resent any freedom that might have been used, he repeated the lines:

Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cachinnus?
Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut illa patrem.*

In the course of this year, Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, the celebrated French Poet, visited Scotland. The King, in a work lately published by him, had given a translation of the *Uranie* of Du Bartas, whom he had invited to his dominions, with the view of engaging him to return the compliment by translating his Majesty's *Scottis poesie* into the French language.† Henry IV. then King of Navarre, availed himself of this opportunity to secure the friendship of the King of Scots, by giving the poet a letter of credence to him, and secret instructions to propose a marriage between him and his sister, the Princess of Navarre. A wiser choice of an ambassador could not have been made; for James was flattered by the visit of a man of genius, and felt disposed to concede to his representations what he might have denied to a professional though more dignified negociator.‡

In the end of June his Majesty accompanied Du Bartas to St. Andrews. On his arrival he came to the New College, and intimated that he would return in the course of an hour, along with his learned French friend, to hear a lecture. Melville had already read his ordinary lecture, and was quite unprepared for entertaining such illustrious auditors; but the King would take no excuse. Accordingly the university was assembled, and Melville delivered an extemporary discourse, which gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except his Majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church-government. Next day the bishop feasted the King and Du Bartas. Previous to this he pronounced an elaborate discourse, containing the substance of his late lectures in support of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville attended on the occasion, and was observed to take notes during the delivery of the discourse. When it was over, he sent information to the royal party, and to the members of the university, that he intended to prelect in the afternoon. Suspecting his intention to answer the bishop's oration, James sent one of his attendants to warn him, that if he did not keep within the bounds of moderation, and of the respect due to his presence, he would again lay him under restraint. Melville replied, that he was bound to counteract the effect of poisonous doctrine at the risk of his life, but, so far as was consistent with what he owed to truth, he would be most tender of his Majesty's honour. James sent a second messenger to say, that he depended on his prudence, and meant to take a repast with him in the college. At the hour appointed, the hall was crowded with auditors, among whom were the King, Du Bartas, and Adamson, who, expecting to be attacked, had obtained liberty from his Majesty to defend himself. Melville took no notice of the discourse which had been delivered in the morning, but quoted from certain popish books, which he brought along with him, the leading positions and arguments which the bishop had advanced; and then, as if he had to do only with Roman Catholics, proceeded to overthrow them "with such inimitable force of reason and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed and stricken as dumb as the stock he sat upon." His Majesty afterwards made a speech in English, interposed some scholastic *distinguos*, and concluded by enjoining the members of the university to respect and obey the bishop. He then partook of an entertainment in the college and retired.* Du Bartas remained behind to converse with Melville. In the evening James asked his visitor's opinion of the two discourses. Du Bartas said, they were both learned, but the bishop's was prepared for the occasion, whereas the Principal had shewn that he had a vast store of various learning at command; "besides," added he, "he has far more spirit and courage than the other." In this judgment his Majesty professed to acquiesce.†

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in June 1587, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of Parliament.‡ At this Parliament the temporal lands of bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, were annexed to the crown; a measure which payed the way for the abolition of episcopacy.‖ It virtually divested the bishops of their right to sit in the national judicature, which was founded on their baronial possessions; and, consequently, removed the principal plea upon which the court had hitherto upheld them in opposition to the unequivocal and decided sentiments of the church. This consideration induced the presbyterian ministers to wink at the alienation of the ecclesiastical property. Nor do the bishops appear to have made any formal opposition to this sweeping statute. Existing solely by the favour of the prince, and dreading the entire suppression of their order, they silently acquiesced in a measure which stripped them of such valuable possessions, and left them exposed to the persevering attacks of their adversaries.

In the beginning of the year 1588, Melville took an active part in arousing the nation to a sense of its dan-

* Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 52. MSS. vol. i.—Two copies of verses on Queen Mary, by Melville, are inserted in Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regvm Scotorvm, p. 58. Amstel. 1602. The following lines, which he composed on her execution, have not been printed.

Si Scotam Angla ferit, Mariam si mactat Eliza,
Reginam Regina necat, cognata propinquam;
Ecquid agas Mariæque hæres, hæres et Elizæ?
Non abeunt, non adveniunt sine sanguine regna.
Archib. Simsoni Annal. Eccl. Scotic. MS. p. 47.

† Courcelles's tenth dispatch to the French king, June 24, 1587. (MS. referred to in Note CC.) Du Bartas did translate one of James's poems into French heroics, and added very grateful encomiums on the "Scots Phœnix:" so he calls him. "La Lepanthe de Jaques vi. Roy D'Ecosse, Faicte Francoise par le Sieur du Bartas. Imprimé a Edinbvrg par Robert Waldegrave, Imprimeur du Roy. Anno Dom. 1591. Auec Priuelége de sa Majesté." 4to. 14 leaves. It was printed, along with the original, in *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises*.

‡ James denied to Courcelles that the King of Navarre had requested military aid. "He (James) will not assist rebellious subjects against their Soveraigne, a thing commendable neither before God nor man, and of evil example to all the world." The Lord of Weimes (he added) "was going with 10 or 12 gentlemen to accompany the king of Navarre in hunting, but to have nothing to do with war." But the ambassador did not feel disposed to place implicit confidence in his Majesty's word, which he had already found reason to suspect. (Courcelles's 11th Dispatch, compared with his 6th.)

"The kinge, besides all his costes which he defraied, gratefyed Dubartas at his departure with a Chaine of 1000 li. and as much in redie money, made him knight, and accompanied him to the sea side, wher he made him promise to retourn againe." (13th Dispatch, Sept. 28, 1587.) Lord Tungland accompanied him to France, to bring James a report of the Princess of Navarre. (Ibid. and Sir James Melville's Mem. p. 177.) The Princess rejected the match in consequence of her ardent attachment to the Comte de Soissons. (Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. p. 656. Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 122.)

* The king with Monsieur du Bartas cam to the collage hall, wher I causit prepear and haif in readiness a banquet of wat and dry confectiones with all sorts of wyne; wherat his Matie *campea* verie mirrilie a guid whill." (Melville's Diary, p. 188.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 188, 189. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 52, 53. Adamson's son-in-law says that his discourse before the King and Du Bartas was *extempore*. (Vita Patr. Adamsoni, p. 9.)

‡ By this assembly "Mr. Andro Mevill was ordainit to pen a favourable wryting to the ministrie in Danskine [Dantzic] congratulating their embracing of the treuth in the matter of the sacrament." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 148, b.) They had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*. (Bibliotheca Bremensis, Class. vi. p. 1142.)

‖ Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 431—437.

ger from the threatened Spanish Armada. James had received timely warning of the hostile intentions of the King of Spain, and of the correspondence which he maintained with Scotland; but he testified no disposition to adopt the precautions necessary to avert the danger which menaced his dominions.* While Jesuits and seminary priests were seducing his subjects from their allegiance, and preparing them for revolt on the first appearance of a foreign force, he was busy commenting on the Apocalypse, and demonstrating by arguments drawn from that book that the Pope was Anti-christ.† So bold was the faction devoted to Spain and Rome, and so great its influence at court, that it obtained a protection for these dangerous emissaries to remain in the country; a liberty which they improved in maturing a plot to banish or massacre the Protestant statesmen.‡ In these circumstances, Melville, in virtue of the powers vested in him as moderator, called an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. He opened the deliberations with an animated address, in which he acquainted the members with his reasons for convening them. The alarming crisis had drawn an unusual concourse of the subjects to the capital, and all were actuated with the same spirit. It was agreed that the barons, burgesses, and ministers, should meet apart, to consult on the dangers which hung over the church and commonwealth, and on the best means of providing against them. A deputation was appointed to lay the result of their consultations before the King, and to make him an offer of their lives and fortunes. James interpreted this as an interference with his administration, and an implicit censure upon his past conduct; but the deputies having remonstrated with him freely on the dangers of the times, he, after consulting with his advisers, returned them thanks for their zeal, and nominated a committee of Privy Council to meet with them and concert common measures for the public safety. The consequences of this co-operation were of the happiest kind. Among other steps that were taken, a solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence, approved by his Majesty and zealously promoted by the ministers of the church, was sworn by all ranks. In this they protested that the reformed religion and his Majesty's estate had the same friends and foes, and engaged that they would defend and maintain them against all plots and preparations, foreign or domestic, and particularly against the threatened invasion from Spain; that they would assist in the discovery and apprehension of Jesuits and other vassals of Rome; that they would assemble at his Majesty's command, and hazard their lives, lands, and goods, in resisting the common enemy; and that they would lay aside all private feuds, and submit every difference that might arise among them in the mean time to the judgment of arbiters to be chosen by the King.‖ By these means Scotland was put in a state of defence, and in concert with England waited the result of the formidable preparations of Spain.

James Melville had, some time before this, left the university of St. Andrews, and was now minister of Anstruther, a maritime town on the southeast coast of Fife. Early one morning, when the fate of the Armada was yet unknown in Scotland, one of the bailies of the town appeared at his bedside, and informed him that a ship filled with Spaniards was off their harbour; adding, that he needed be under no alarm, as they were come "not to give mercy but to ask it," and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them. The principal inhabitants having convened, it was agreed to give audience to the commander, and that their minister, who had some acquaintance with the Spanish language, should convey to him the sentiments of the town. Intimation of this having been sent to the vessel, a venerable old man of large stature and martial countenance entered the town-hall, and making a profound bow and touching the minister's shoe with his hand, addressed him in Spanish. "His name was Don Jan Gomes de Medina; he was commander of twenty ships, being part of the grand fleet which his master, Philip King of Spain, had fitted out to revenge the insufferable insults which he had received from the English nation; but God, on account of their sins, had fought against them, and dispersed them by a storm; the vessels under his command had been separated from the main fleet, driven on the north coast of Scotland, and shipwrecked on the Fair Isle; and, after escaping the merciless waves and rocks, and enduring great hardships from hunger and cold, he and such of his men as were preserved had made their way, in their only remaining bark, to this place, intending to seek assistance from their good friends and confederates, the Scots, and to kiss his Majesty's hand, (making another profound bow,) from whom he expected relief and comfort to himself, his officers, and poor men, who were in a most pitiable condition." When James Melville was about to reply in Latin, a young man, who acted as interpreter, repeated his master's speech in English. The minister then addressed the admiral. "On the score of friendship, or of the cause in which they were embarked, the Spaniards," he said, "had no claims on them; the king of Spain was a sworn vassal to the bishop of Rome, and on that ground they and their King defied him; and with respect to England the Scots were indissolubly leagued with that kingdom, and regarded an attack upon it as the same with an attack on themselves: But although this was the case, they looked upon them, in their present situation, as men and fellow-creatures labouring under privations and sufferings to which they themselves were liable; and they rejoiced at an opportunity of testifying how superior their religion was to that of their enemies: Many Scotsmen who had resorted to Spain for the purpose of trade and commerce had been thrown into prison as heretics, their property confiscated, and their bodies committed to the flames; but so far from retaliating such cruelties on them, they would give them every kind of relief and comfort which was in their power, leaving it to God to work such a change on their hearts respecting religion as he pleased." This answer being reported by the interpreter to the Spanish admiral, he returned most humble thanks; adding, that he could not answer for the laws and practices of the church to which he belonged, but as for himself there were many in Scotland, and perhaps some in that very town, who could attest that he had treated them with favour and courtesy. After this, the admiral and his officers were conveyed to lodgings which had been provided for them, and were hospitably entertained by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen, until they obtained a protection and licence from his Majesty to return home.* Before their departure James Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the Armada, with the names of the principal persons who had perished in the wreck of the galleots on the coasts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On this news being imparted to Jan Gomes, the tears flowed down the furrowed cheeks of the hardy veteran.

* Courcelles's Eighth Dispatch to the French king, May 12, 1587.

† Melville's Diary, p. 191.

‡ Cotton MSS. Cal. D. i. 98. Gordon's Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 210—212. Moyse's Mem. p. 130, 134.

‖ Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 149—152. Printed Calderwood, p. 223—225. Spotswood passes over this transaction entirely. Dr. Robertson has confounded this *Band* with the *National Covenant* which was sworn seven years before. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. b. vii. p. 83.)

* The names of the officers were "Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legaretto, Capitan de Suffera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seignour Serrano." The privates "to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled, and hungred," were supplied with "keall, pottage, and fishe." (Melville's Diary, p. 193.)

The sequel of the story must not be suppressed. Some time after this, a trading vessel belonging to Anstruther was arrested in a Spanish port. Don Jan Gomes was no sooner informed of this than he posted to court, and obtained her release from the King, to whom he spoke in the highest terms of the humanity and hospitality of the Scots. He invited the ship's company to his house, inquired kindly after individuals of his acquaintance in the good town of Anstruther, and sent his warmest commendations to their minister, to whom he considered himself as particularly indebted.* The mind feels relieved in turning from "the battle of the warrior, with its confused noise, and garments rolled in blood," to contemplate the image of him who is "a strength to the needy in his distress, and a refuge from the tempest, when the blast of the terrible is as a storm against the wall." It is pleasing to perceive the ardent zeal of our ancestors against popery not interfering with the calls of humanity and charity; and it is consolatory to find that there have always been examples of generosity and gratitude in a country which superstition has chosen for her favourite abode, and where bigotry has so long maintained her intolerant, degrading, and most frightful reign.

The signal overthrow of the Spanish Armament did not repress the fiery zeal of the Papists in Scotland. During the year 1589 they were indefatigable in extending their conspiracy among the nobility; and their agents urged Philip, and the Duke of Parma, his general in the Low Countries, to send an army directly to Scotland, as the best method of invading the dominions of the English Queen. An assembly of the chief ministers was again called; Thomas Craig and other eminent lawyers assisted at their deliberations; and the wise and vigorous measures which they recommended, enabled the government to suppress the insurrection made by the popish lords on the discovery of their traitorous correspondence. Melville took the lead in this affair; and was chosen Moderator of the Assembly, to which his nephew acted as clerk.†

It was at this time that the variance which had long subsisted between the court and the church began to be removed. This was chiefly owing to the prudence of the Chancellor Maitland. That able statesman had commenced his political career unhappily under the administration of Arran, and had taken an active part in promoting some of the most obnoxious measures respecting the government of the church. But he was soon convinced of the folly and mischief of that course, and embraced the first opportunity of cautiously retracing his steps. He perceived the danger to which the nation was exposed from the popish faction, and the policy of cultivating a close connexion with England. He saw that the peace of the church was necessary to the strength of the kingdom, and that this could not be established so long as the court supported the bishops, who were odious to their brethren and destitute of all influence over the people. And he was convinced that it was a gross anomaly in politics, for the civil authority to uphold one form of ecclesiastical polity, while the church established by law continued to act upon another which was diametrically opposite to it. These views he took every opportunity of inculcating upon the King; and although he was thwarted by those who envied his power, and felt it no easy task to counteract prejudices which he had contributed to infuse into the royal breast, yet as James entertained a high opinion of his talents, and was very dependent on those to whom he entrusted his affairs, the Chancellor was ultimately able to execute his plans.‡

Another individual who had great influence in bringing matters to this desirable issue was Robert Bruce. He was the second son of the laird of Airth, and after completing the study of the laws abroad, had practised for some years at the Scottish bar with the most flattering prospects of advancement. But after a severe struggle of mind between secular motives and convictions of a higher kind, he abandoned that profession and entered as a student of divinity at St. Andrews. In the year 1587 he was introduced to the General Assembly by Melville, who recommended him as every way qualified for filling the pulpit that had been occupied by Knox and Lawson. It was not without great reluctance, and after a considerable trial, that Bruce complied with the joint entreaties of his brethren and of the inhabitants of the capital.* The nobility respected him for his birth and connexions; his eminent gifts as a preacher gained him the affection of the common people; and those who could not love him stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and incorruptible virtue. He acted in full concert with Melville; and his station at Edinburgh, and his influence with the Chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the church than any other individual.†

The happy effects of this change of policy appeared convincingly while his Majesty was in Denmark, on the occasion of his marriage. In the instructions which he left behind him, he nominated Bruce an extraordinary member of the Privy Council, and declared that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility. Nor was he disappointed. Bothwell was made to give public satisfaction in the church of Edinburgh for his turbulent conduct. The popish lords attempted to excite disturbance; but, finding the council prepared to resist them, they desisted from their practices and remained quiet. During the six months that the King and Chancellor were absent, the kingdom exhibited a scene of unwonted tranquillity: scarcely one affray happened in which blood was shed; although formerly a week seldom elapsed without instances of such violations of the peace and insults on legal authority.‡ The letters which Bruce received at this time from James remain as proofs of his meritorious services, and of the ingratitude of the monarch by whom he was afterwards treated with the most unmerited and unrelenting severity.‖

Melville was invited to be present at the ceremony of the Queen's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the Chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the 17th of May, 1590, in the presence of the ambassadors of Denmark and other foreign states, and of a great concourse of Scottish nobility and gentry. On that occasion three sermons were preached; one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English.§ After an interval, during which the royal party retired

* Melville's Diary, p. 192—194.

† Melville's Diary, p. 195—198. Printed Calderwood, p. 227—229, 230—244.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 200.

* Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says the reason "may be easily guessed at," as he agreed to stay upon "the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 45.) If instead of *guessing*, the writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known, that Bruce, at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle at Edinburgh, and had a call to St. Andrews which he preferred; (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, May 21, 1589, Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 4.) that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis required a stipend much greater than that of his colleagues, in as much as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church was devolved on him; and that the independent spirit, and scrupulous honour, which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives.

† Cald. iii. 320. Melville's Diary, p. 106, 200.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 204, 205.

‖ Calderwood (iv. 178—194, 445.) has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the Chancellor, and four by the King, to Bruce. His Majesty addresses him as his "trusty and well-beloved counsellor;" and says that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom," that he would reckon himself "beholden while he lived" for the services he had done him, and that he would "never forget the same."

§ The coronation was on a Sabbath.

for a little from the assembly, Robert Bruce performed the ceremony of anointing the Queen, and, assisted by the Chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her Majesty's head. Melville then rose, and recited a Latin poem in celebration of the joyful event. The solemnity continued from ten in the morning till five at night.*

Melville had no information that he was expected to take part in the coronation until two days before it happened. He had therefore little time for preparation. But, although hastily composed, his poem was greatly admired, as well as the spirited and graceful manner in which it was pronounced. In returning him thanks, his Majesty said, That he had that day done him and the country such honour as he could never requite. He enjoined him to give the poem immediately into the hands of the printer, adding, that all the ambassadors joined with him in soliciting its publication. It was accordingly printed next day, under the title of *Stephaniskion*;† and being circulated through Europe, added to the reputation which the author had already gained. Lipsius and Scaliger, who then divided between them the dictatorship in the republic of letters, bestowed on it their warmest commendations.‡ A general regret was expressed that the author of such a poem did not favour the public with larger and more frequent productions of his muse. When this was signified to him by his friends, he repeated the excuse which he had formerly made,‖ but at the same time gave them ground to hope that their wishes would be gratified, if he should find leisure from his more important and pressing avocations.§

On the first Sabbath after the coronation of the Queen, the King attended sermon in St. Giles's church, and made a harangue to the people, in which he thanked them and the ministers for their conduct during his absence, confessed that the affairs of the kingdom had hitherto been ill administered, and promised to exert himself in the correction of all abuses. At the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly he repeated these professions, lamented the bloody feuds which disgraced the country, and exhorted the ministers to embrace every opportunity of impressing their hearers with the enormity of such crimes. It was on this occasion that he pronounced his celebrated panegyric on the purity of the Church of Scotland. He praised God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be King in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva (continued his Majesty) keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."* Whether James was seized on this occasion with a sudden fit of devotion and of affection for his mother-church, or whether he merely adopted this language to gain the favour of the ministers, may admit of some doubt. But it is certain, that the speech was received by the assembly with a transport of joy: "there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God and praying for the King."

When the church was enjoying internal peace, and had the prospect of obtaining from the government a redress of her grievances, she met with an unexpected attack from a foreign quarter. Notwithstanding the difference between the churches of England and Scotland, in their external form of worship and discipline, they had hitherto continued on friendly terms. The latter rested satisfied with acting for herself in removing various corruptions which were retained by the former, and did not interfere with the internal affairs of her neighbour; except by interceding, in one or two instances, in behalf of those who were suffering for non-conformity to the ceremonies. Even when engaged in contending against episcopacy, which the court and a few ambitious churchmen obtruded on them, contrary to the original constitution of their church, the ministers of Scotland had avoided, as far as possible, reflections on the ecclesiastical establishment of England. The English bishops, who were in general men respectable for their piety and talents, had used the same reserve with respect to Scotland, and endeavoured to preserve that union between the two nations which was of the greatest consequence to both, while they were exposed to the restless attacks of a common and dangerous enemy. Of late years, symptoms of an opposite spirit had manifested themselves, in the countenance given to Adamson, and in the industry with which his calumnious libel had been circulated, in England. But open hostilities were at this time proclaimed by Doctor Bancroft, an aspiring ecclesiastic, in a sermon which he preached before the Parliament, and which was immediately published. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect specimen of the argument *ad invidiam*, than this oration exhibits. All the topics of declamation calculated to excite prejudice are carefully collected, and employed with no small art. Puritanism is the offspring of a spirit of pride, ambition, covetousness, and insubordination. Puritans are coupled with the worst heretics who had infested the church in ancient or modern times. All those writings which contained sentiments less favourable to monarchical government, whether published in Britain or on the Continent, are imputed to them. The jealousy of the Queen is aroused by representing them as enemies to her supremacy; the nobility are alarmed by being told that the recovery of abbey-lands was what they aimed at; and the gentry and commons are frightened with the inquisitorial powers of the presbyterian discipline. All are warned to avoid such pests to society; and magistrates are called on to use their authority to restrain and punish them.† Not contented with exposing the evils of presbyterianism in the way

* Cald. iv. 196—198. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 170. Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis. Edin. 1590. Spotswood hurries over the affair of the coronation. "The King (says he) determining to have it done in most solemn manner, *because none of the bishops were present, nor could conveniently be brought against the day*, made choice of Mr. Robert Bruce to perform the ceremony." (Hist. p. 381.) The bishops, forsooth, good men! were all so conscientiously employed in watching their flocks, that not one of them could spare time to wait on the court, but left this business to "idle" ministers. To make amends for the brevity of his description, the archbishop introduces, by way of episode or diversion, an account of a dispute among the ministers respecting the lawfulness of unction, which his Majesty put an end to, by threatening that he would "stay till one of the bishops came." James knew very well, that half a dozen of them would have started up at a single blast of his hunting horn.

† See Note DD.

‡ On reading it, Lipsius exclaimed, *Revera Andreas Melvinus est serio doctus.* And Scaliger, who was not usually lavish in his praises of others, and did not entertain the lowest opinion of his own abilities, among other complimentary expressions, said in his letter to the author, *Nos talia non possumus.* (Melville's Diary. p. 206.)

‖ See above, p. 87.

§ Melville's Diary, ut supra. Calderwood represents Melville's *Stephaniskion* as delivered in the presence of the ambassadors on the day of the Queen's public entrance into the city of Edinburgh, which was two days after the Coronation. (Cald. iv. 198.) This is incorrect. (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 71.)

* Cald. iv. 198, 204. When Spotswood has occasion to mention any thing said or done by his Majesty in favour of presbytery, he usually adds, that the King temporized with the ministers. But such an apology on the present occasion would have been rather too gross; and, accordingly, he omits entirely that part of the speech which was in commendation of the church of Scotland. (Hist. p. 382.)

† "If they (the puritanical "geese and dogs") will gaggle and make a noise in the day time without any cause, *opinor iis crura suffringantur*: I think it very fit they be rapt in the shinnes." (Bancroft's Sermon, p. 73, edit. 1636.)

of general argument, and with confuting such as maintained it in England, the author of the sermon makes a direct and wilful attack on the government and discipline of the church of Scotland. The Reformer whom the Scots held in veneration is stigmatized as a man of contentious humour and perverse behaviour. And an odious picture, borrowed from the distorted representations of Adamson and Brown, is given of the proceedings of the ministers and church-courts in Scotland during their late dissensions with the court. They took it upon them to alter the laws of the land without the consent of the King and Estates—threatened them with excommunication—filled the pulpit with seditious and treasonable doctrine—utterly disclaimed the King's authority—trode upon his sceptre—laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God nor of man could tolerate, which was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition and rebellion, and an introduction to anabaptism and popularity—instead of one pope and some lord bishops in name, they had set up a thousand lordly tyrants who disclaimed the name: On these accounts the King had overthrown the presbyteries; and although it might seem from his recent conduct that he had altered his views of them, yet this could not be the case, and he was to be considered as merely accommodating himself for a time to circumstances.* Such was the way in which the chaplain of the Lord Chancellor of England excited the members of the high court of Parliament to express their gratitude to Providence, for the deliverance which they had just experienced from the Spanish Armada! And such was the reward which the preachers of Scotland received, for their unwearied efforts to preserve amity between the two kingdoms, and for the zeal with which they had aroused and persuaded their countrymen to make a common cause with England, during the most alarming danger with which she was ever threatened!†

It is easy to conceive how the ministers of the church of Scotland must have felt at this unprovoked attack. They viewed it, not as an attempt to bring the merits of the two forms of ecclesiastical polity to a fair and dispassionate discussion, but as a vile libel, intended to hold them up to detestation before a neighbouring nation; as the work of an interested alarmist, who was regardless of the means which he employed to please his patrons and to protect lucrative abuses; and as an attempt to throw a firebrand into a peaceable community, to rekindle the flame of dissension which was nearly quenched in Scotland, and to revive in the breast of his Majesty those prejudices and enmities which had already been productive of so much evil. Under these impressions they appointed a committee to write a letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the indignity which they had suffered;‡ and to draw up an answer to the railing accusations which had been brought against them.‖ The letter and the answer were prepared; but on a calmer consideration of all circumstances, it was judged proper to suppress them, and to rest satisfied with a small publication by an individual, containing a protest against the rashness of the calumniator, and the reasons of their declining to enter upon a defence of their conduct.‖ They were averse to engage in open hostilities against the church of England. The falsehood of the charges brought against them was known to several individuals of the English court, who promised to see justice done them. They were loath to offend Elizabeth, whose patronage they had experienced, and of whose aversion to all innovations on the ecclesiastical constitution of her kingdom they were fully aware. And they knew that James, though disposed to consent to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, was anxious to avoid giving offence to the English bishops, who might be provoked to lay obstacles in the way of his succession. A generous adversary would have scorned to avail himself of the advantage which these circumstances gave him, and would have desisted from assailing persons whom he knew to be restrained from self-defence. Bancroft was of a different disposition. Besides corresponding with Adamson, he employed an English bookseller at Edinburgh as a spy on the ministers, transmitted to him a string of officious queries respecting the conduct of the preachers and the procedure of the church-courts, and continued, from time to time, to publish the information which he catered by such means, in books still more inflamed and abusive than his first production.† Sutcliff, Saravia, and other English divines carried on the same mode of warfare in various publications. By remaining silent under these attacks, the ministers of Scotland certainly displayed their moderation:‡ the wisdom of their conduct may be questioned by some who respect the motives from which it proceeded. The fact is mentioned here, as it throws light on the state of parties, and helps to account for events which will afterwards come under our notice.

James took an opportunity of contradicting the insinuation of Bancroft, that he dissembled in the concessions which he had lately made in favour of presbytery.‖ But various parts of his conduct gave too much reason for concluding that he still retained the anti-reformation principles which he had imbibed from his early favourites. Desirous as the ministers were at this period to cultivate his good graces, it was impossible for them to refrain from censuring the glaring instances in which justice was diverted from its course, and convicted or notorious murderers screened from punishment, by his culpable negligence and favouritism. No instance of this kind raised the indignation of the people to such a pitch, or sunk the character of the King so low, as the murder of the Earl of Murray, the heir of the first Regent, by the Earl of Huntley, and the indifference, or rather aversion, which the court testified to avenge the crime. Melville, along with some other ministers, was deputed

* "A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9th of February; being the first Sunday in the Parliament Anno 1588 by Richard Bancroft—Chaplaine to the L. Chancellor of England." Printed in 1588, and reprinted in 1636.

† The only excuse that can be made for such conduct is, that the bishops were at this time greatly alarmed at the increase of the non conformists, and at the resolutions of the House of Commons against ecclesiastical abuses. Bancroft gives an extract from "a Letter of P. A." (Patrick Adamson) which throws light on these fears. "Certain of the chiefe Noblemen of England dealt with me to persuade the king of Scotland my master to overthrow all the Bishopricks in his country, that his proceedings therein might be an example for England adjoining." (Dangerous Positions, p. 5, 2nd edit.)

‡ Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1589. A copy of the intended letter to Elizabeth is inserted in Cald. iv. 171—175.

‖ Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 29, and June 5, 1590.

* This was published by John Davidson under the following title: "D. Bancrofts Rashness in rayling against the Church of Scotland, noted in Answere to a Letter of a worthy person of England, and some reasons rendred, why the answere thereunto hath not hitherto come foorth. By J. D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland. Ex Mvltis Pavca. At Edinbvrgh printed by Robert Walde-grave. Anno. 1590." B in eights. The running title is: "A proofe of D. Bancrofts rashness against the Church of Scotland." It concludes: "Farewell, from Edin. the 18. of September. 1590. Yours in the Lord. J. D." The only copy of this rare tract which I have seen or heard of is in the possession of Mr. David Laing.

† Cald. iv. 175. Bancroft's publications are entitled: "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline;" and "Dangerous Positions, or Scottish Genevating and English Scottizing for Discipline:" printed in 1593, and reprinted in 1662. In the last mentioned work, (p. 30, 2d edit.) Bancroft disingenuously complains of the Scottish ministers as attempting to "cast some of their contentious and disloyal seeds into England." The only proof of this which he is able to produce is Davidson's book, consisting of sixteen small leaves, and extorted by his own virulent invective.

‡ Calderwood quotes from an answer made by John Davidson to Sutcliff, but I do not know that it was ever printed.

‖ Bancroft's Rashnes, sig. A 5.

by the General Assembly, to wait on the King, and to stimulate him to the vigorous discharge of his duty in this affair. As was natural, the preachers, in taking notice of the death of the son, had alluded to the father, and mentioned the name of the Good Regent with that regard and veneration with which they continued to cherish his memory. In the course of the present conference James testified his dissatisfaction at such speeches. Melville defended them, and expressed his surprise and sorrow at learning, that there were persons about the court who spoke disrespectfully of those to whom Scotland was under the highest obligations. The conversation growing warm, the Chancellor, who did not feel quite at ease on this topic, interrupted Melville, and told him that that was not the errand on which he came. He answered, that on such a theme he would not be silenced by any individual beneath his Majesty. The King said, that none but seditious and traitorous theologues would defend Murray, Knox, and Buchanan. Melville replied, that they were the men who set the crown upon his head, and deserved better treatment. His Majesty said, that his crown came to him by succession, and was not given him by any man. "But they were the instruments," replied Melville; "and whoever informs your Majesty sinistrously of these men neither loves you nor the commonwealth."*

Adamson was the only one of the bishops who persisted in opposing the church after the annexation of their temporalities to the crown.† In August 1588, a variety of accusations were in against him to the General Assembly. His extravagance and imprudence had involved him in great pecuniary embarrassments, and his person was liable to be seized by his creditors. He was charged with having abstracted, secreted and mutilated the registers of the assembly, and with having celebrated the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, contrary to an express inhibition of the commissioners of the church.‡ The assembly remitted his trial to the presbytery of Edinburgh, giving them full power to pass a final sentence in the process according to the laws of the church. Having proceeded on a libel given in against him by Robert Pont and Adam Johnston, the presbytery found the bishop guilty of falsehood and double-dealing, erroneous doctrine, opposition to the discipline of the church, and contempt of the late public thanksgiving; and therefore deposed him from all function in the ministry, and debarred him from privileges in the church, until he should give satisfaction for his offensive conduct.*

What happened on the King's return from Denmark should have convinced Adamson, that he could no longer depend on the royal favour. But he continued to deceive himself with vain hopes; and, being flattered by letters from Bancroft, persevered in his opposition to presbytery, and in his attacks on Melville.† Nor was he undeceived until his annuity was sequestered and given to the Duke of Lennox. In vain did he remonstrate against this deed; in vain did he address elegant and plaintive verses to his Majesty, in which he reminded him of the zeal with which he had served him from his birth, and was ready still to serve him.‡ James remained insensible to his entreaties, and withheld from him even that assistance which was necessary to preserve him from want. The unhappy bishop, deprived of his only support, sunk into deep dejection of mind, aggravated by poverty and sickness. So little reliance was placed on his sincerity, that few would believe that he was really in such a miserable situation; and he was reduced to the humiliating step of writing a letter to Melville, in which, after professing sorrow for his former conduct, he disclosed to him his destitute circumstances. Melville immediately visited him, supported his family out of his own purse for some months, and afterwards procured a contribution for him from his friends in St. Andrews. When the provincial synod of Fife met, Adamson applied to them to be released from the sentence of excommunication which they had formerly pronounced against him. His petition was granted; and he subscribed several papers, in which he recanted his episcopal sentiments, retracted the famous declaration which he had published in defence of the acts of Arran's parliament, and professed his deep sorrow for the opposition which he had made to the judicatories and discipline of the church. He died on the 19th of February, 1592.

The circumstances in which the archbishop subscribed his recantation necessarily throw a degree of suspicion over the sincerity with which it was made, and detract from its value as a testimony in favour of presbytery. But there is not the least reason to doubt the genuineness of the document itself.‖ The presbyterian

* Cald. iv. 250.

† Montgomery having submitted to the church, the trial of his repentance was referred to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who, upon receiving satisfaction from him, removed the excommunication. (Record of Presb. of Edin. June 7, 1586; and Aug. 29, 1586.) "Anent the supplicatioun of Mr. Ro^t Montgomerie," the General Assembly (February 158$\frac{8}{9}$.) found that "he may be admittit pastour over a flock quhair he hes not been slanderous, provyding he be found qualified in lyfe and doctrine." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 150, a.)

‡ The writer of the life of Archbishop Adamson, in the *Biographia Britannica*, speaking of the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, says: "The not permitting a man to marry without his having first subscribed a confession of faith is one of the completest instances of ecclesiastical folly and bigotry recorded in history." (Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 41, 2nd edit.) The reader may pronounce on the wisdom and liberality of this censure, after considering the following circumstances of the case. Huntly was the chief of the Popish party in Scotland, and deeply engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain. His proposed marriage with a ward of the crown, the daughter of the Duke of Lennox, his majesty's favourite, was, for obvious reasons, dreaded by all the Protestants. To accomplish this object the more easily, Huntly feigned (as he afterwards acknowledged) a disposition to renounce the Catholic faith, but affected to stickle at some of the Protestant doctrines. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, believing that his object was to drive time, prohibited any of the ministers to celebrate the marriage until he had subscribed the confession. Notwithstanding this, Adamson performed the ceremony, at the very time that the Spanish Armada was expected to appear on the coast of England. (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, July 3, 1588. Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 152, b.)—The Life of Adamson in the *Biographia* is extremely incorrect. In the second edition, the liberal ideas of the editor, Dr. Kippis, joined to the old prejudices of the original author, form a piece of literary patchwork, which is curious, but not singular in such compilations.

* Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 153. Cald. iv. 71. Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Oct. 15, and Dec. 17, 1588; and June 5, 1589.

† In his Dedication of his Paraphrase of the Revelation in Latin verse, ("Sanctiandreæ, Cal. Maijs, 1590.") he informs the King that he had prepared a work, entitled *Psillus*, in which he had "sucked out the seditious poison infused by the *Melvinian faction*, defended the episcopal authority and the royal supremacy, and warned the neighbouring kingdom of England of the rocks on which the church of Scotland had struck." (Opera Adamsoni.)

‡ Auspiciis i musa bonis, pete limina Regis,
Difficiles aditus non habet ille locus.
Invenies illic castas, tua vota, sorores;
Musarum Princeps præsidet ipse choro.

After mentioning the various services which he had rendered to the King, in France, in England, and in Scotland, he concludes:

His dictis, postquam surgentes ordine musas
Viderit ad lacrymas ingemuisse tuas,
Et tristi aspiciens BARTASSIA NUMINA vult
Haud dubie votis annuet ille tuis.
Tu voti compos, caveas ne decide penna
Segnior in laudes repperiare suas.

(Epigrammata, T. 4. Oper. Adamsoni, 4to.)

‖ Wilson passes it over, and says that the ministers took advantage of an ambiguous expression of his father-in-law, to circulate the report that he had renounced episcopacy. (Vita Patr. Adamsoni, p. 16, 17.) Spotswood allows that he subscribed the articles "which were afterwards imprinted under the name of Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation;" but he alleges that "when it was told him that such a recantation was published in

writers have done ample justice to Adamson's talents, but it has been alleged that their prejudices induced them to injure his character. If they did so, they acted not merely an unjustifiable, but also a foolish and preposterous part; for in proportion as they detracted from his reputation, they diminished the honour of the victory which they had gained over the chief of their antagonists.* Nothing can be more absurd, although nothing is more common, than to identify the merits of a public cause, good, or bad, with the private qualities of individuals by whom it may happen to be supported. There have been learned and pious bishops; and there have been illiterate and worthless presbyters. That the opponents of Adamson exaggerated his faults, and accused him of some things which were not criminal, I allow; but, on the other hand, I am satisfied that those who feel most respect for his talents and station will be pained to find, on examination, that the leading charges brought against him are supported by evidence too strong to admit of being controverted. In his works is a beautiful little poem, breathing a spirit of warm piety, which his son-in-law informs us was composed by him a short time before his death.†

The death of Adamson was followed by the legal establishment of presbytery. In June 1592, the Parliament passed an act, ratifying the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the church; and declaring them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws, canon, civil, or municipal, made to the contrary. This act ratified and embodied some of the leading propositions in the Second Book of Discipline, relating to the power of these judicatories. It appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion should require; the time and place of next meeting to be appointed by his Majesty or his commissioner, or, provided neither of them should be present, by the Assembly itself. And it appointed provincial synods to be held twice a-year. It rescinded an act authorising the observance of Christmas and Easter, and some other acts favourable to popery, which had hitherto been allowed to remain in the statute-book. It declared that the act of the parliament 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privileges of the office-bearers of the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures warranted by the word of God. And it declared the act of the same Parliament, granting commission to bishops and other judges appointed by his Majesty in ecclesiastical causes, to be null, and of no avail, force or effect in time coming; and ordered presentations to be directed to presbyteries, who should have full power to give collation to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by his Majesty or other lay patrons.*

This settlement was not without its defects. Not to mention some important pieces of reformation, craved in the Second Book of Discipline, which were entirely left out, the supreme court was deprived of the right which it had hitherto possessed of appointing its own meetings; and the power of presbyteries and the liberties of the people were fettered by the continuance of lay patronage. At a posterior period, when the reformation of the church was carried to a higher degree of perfection, and a settlement made upon more liberal principles, these restrictions were abolished. But at present this could not be obtained; and the church waved her demand in consideration of the advantages which the act conferred on her. Nor were these restrictions found to be so hurtful in effect as might have been imagined. So long as the court was disposed to respect the law, and to allow the church to meet annually in General Assembly, the settling of the particular time and place of meeting was of minor importance; and the arrangement made respecting this might be viewed as an accommodation to the ideas that then generally prevailed as to all public conventions. Nor was the law of patronage attended with very serious evils at a period when the church courts held, that the consent of the people was to be obtained previously to the settlement of a minister among them, and when, actuated by this principle, they were studious, by the influence which they used with patrons, and by the regulations which they made as to presentees, to lighten, instead of aggravating, a yoke which has always been felt to be oppressive and degrading.†

The Act of Parliament 1592, which still continues to be the charter of the Church of Scotland's liberties, has always been regarded by Presbyterians in an important light, and as a great step in national reformation. It repealed several statutes which were favourable to superstition, and hostile to the independence of the kingdom. It reduced the prerogative of the crown, which had lately been raised to an exorbitant height; and, by legally securing the religious privileges of the nation against arbitrary encroachments, it pointed out the propriety and practicability of providing similar securities in behalf of political rights. It gave the friends of the Presbyterian constitution the advantage of occupying legal ground, and enabled them, during a series of years, to oppose a successful resistance to the efforts of the court to obtrude on them an opposite system. And as often as the nation felt disposed to throw off the imposed yoke of episcopacy, they appealed to this charter, and founded upon it a "claim of right" to the recovery of their ancient liberties.

The Church of Scotland did not regard the present or any other parliamentary grant, as the basis of her religious constitution. This had been already laid down from Scripture in her Books of Discipline. For all her internal administration, she pleaded and rested upon higher grounds than either regal or parliamentary

his name he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year. (Hist. p. 385.) The recantation was subscribed April 8, 1591. (Cald. iv. 214.) It was sent to the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the course of that month, that they might "give thair advys gif they vald the said patrick suld add ony thing thairto—as also gif they sall think it expedient to be prentit." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 20, 1591.) Adamson survived this ten months. (Th. Volusenus, Vita P. Adamsoni, p. 23.) By its being "published," Spotswood must mean its being made publicly known: and surely Adamson knew, when he subscribed the paper, that this was the use to be made of it. It does not appear to have been printed until the year 1593. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1519.) At that time several, if not all, of the witnesses in whose presence it was subscribed, were alive; and among them were the most respectable gentlemen of the county.

* This is allowed by James Melville. "The man haid manie grait giftes, but speciallie excellit in the toung and pen.—If he haid bein endowit bot withe a commoun civill piece of honestye in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to naiff wrought mischieff in a kirk or countrey nor anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland." (Diary p. 215.)

† Adamsoni Opera, 4to. Vita Adamsoni, p. 16, 12mo. James was the eldest, and Patrick the second, son of Patrick archbishop of St. Andrews. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 355, 480.) His daughter was married to Thomas Wilson, an advocate, who wrote a life of his father-in-law, and published a collection of his works in 1619. The bishop married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthour and Margaret Martine. (Inventory of goods and books belonging to Mr. William Skene.) Margaret Martine, after the death of "Mr. Williame Arthor of Kernis her first husband," married "Mr. William Skene commissar of Sanctandrois." (Record of Privy Council, January 17, 1582. Commissary Rec. of St. Andrews, Jan. 2, 1572; May 8, and and 24, 1594.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 541. This statute has the vague and undescriptive title of "Act for abolishing of the actis contrair the true religioun."

† See Note EE.

authority. What she now obtained was a legal recognition of those powers which she had long claimed as belonging to her by scriptural institution and the gift of her Divine Head. She had now a right *in foro poli et soli*, by human as well as by divine law, to hold her assemblies for worship and discipline, and to transact all the business competent to her as an ecclesiastical society, without being liable to any challenge for this, and without being exposed to any external interruption or hindrance whatever, either from individuals or from the executive government. Without entering on the question of civil establishments of religion, which might be shewn to be consonant with the soundest principles of policy and Christianity, I shall only remark that when the sanction of civil authority is given to a church properly organized and duly reformed, it may prove one of the greatest national blessings, and be no less beneficial to the power which confers it than to the society on which it is conferred. Had the Church of Scotland been remiss in her exertions to obtain this sanction, or had she declined to accept it when offered, she would have acted an unwise and criminal part. Had the statutes which were directly opposed to her discipline been simply abrogated, without its receiving a positive and legal ratification, it would have been still liable to be interrupted and hindered, whenever the court chose to take offence at any part of ecclesiastical management, or to advance the plea that it fell under the civil jurisdiction. And if the system of some modern theorists had been adopted —if all laws relating to the church had at once been swept away, the ecclesiastical property totally secularized, and a universal freedom in matters of religion proclaimed—the consequences would have been, that many parts of the country would have been thrown destitute of religious instruction and worship; ignorance, and crime, and atheism, would have spread through the land; and, within a short time, popish superstition and tyranny would have regained that power which had been wrested from them with such difficulty, and at the expense of so much toil and blood. The folly of such a course would scarcely have been less than that of abolishing all public institutions for education and the promotion of learning through the kingdom, and of leaving the object of these to be gained entirely by individual exertion or voluntary association; a measure which would be preposterous and hurtful at any time, but which, at the period under consideration, would have been productive of ruinous and irremediable mischief.

This important act was not obtained without a final struggle. It was keenly opposed by some of the nobility from motives which had long been no secret, and they suffered it at last to pass in the hopes that it would be suppressed by the King. There is little reason to doubt that this would have been its fate, had it not been for the peculiar situation in which the court was then placed. The murder of the Earl of Murray, and the impunity extended to the murderer, had excited universal indignation among the people. Ballads and placards were published, accusing the principal courtiers, and even James himself, as accessory to that foul deed; and Bothwell was in arms to revenge it. In these circumstances, the Chancellor, who had incurred a great share of the popular odium, prevailed on the King to assent to the act ratifying Presbytery, as a deed which more than any other would conciliate the public favour to his administration. The royal assent was accordingly given to it, to the great joy of the commissioners of the General Assembly, who had been in constant and active attendance, but despaired of being able to carry the measure until the Parliament was on the eve of dissolution, and were not fully relieved from their fears until they heard the act proclaimed among others at the market-cross of Edinburgh.*

* Melville's Diary, p. 216, 219. Cald. iv. 252.

Melville must have been highly gratified with this act of the legislature. He had now procured the sanction of the state as well as of the church, to a form of ecclesiastical polity which he regarded as agreeable to the Scripture pattern, and eminently conducive to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the nation. Principles, for the maintenance of which he had often been branded as seditious and a traitor, were now not merely recognized as innocent and lawful, but pronounced "most just, good, and godly," by the highest authority in the land. It was the triumph of the cause which had cost him so much labour and anxiety during eighteen years. He could now cherish the hope of being permitted to apply himself with less interruption to his studies and academical duty; although he must have been aware, that it would be necessary for him to watch, with the utmost vigilance, over the safety of an establishment which still had many enemies, by whose efforts it might be secretly undermined or violently overthrown.

CHAPTER VI.—1592—1596.

CHANGE of Professors in the New College—James Melville becomes Minister at Anstruther and Kilrinny—His disinterested conduct—John Jonston—Learned Englishmen invited to Scotland—Melville elected Rector of the University—Firmness displayed by him in that Office—He sits as an Elder in the Kirk-session of St. Andrews—Peculiar practices in Sessions and Presbyteries—David Black—Dissension in the Presbytery of St. Andrews—Death of Erskine of Dun—Public Affairs—Arran's return to Court Frustrated by the Firmness of the Ministers—Conspiracy of the Popish Lords—Their Excommunication and Criminal Process—Reasons of the King's partiality to them—Melville calumniated as a favourer of Bothwell—Loyal dispositions of the Ministers of the Church—Melville's reasoning before the Lords of Articles—He accompanies the Expedition against the Popish Lords—Who leave the Kingdom—Melville's Poem on the Birth of Prince Henry—His broil with Balfour of Burley—Death of Chancellor Maitland—Renovation of the Covenant—Return of the Popish Lords—Singular interview between the King and Melville—The Court renew their Designs against the Liberties of the Church—Black's Declinature—Tumult in Edinburgh.

SINCE the year 1586, Melville had met with no interruption in the performance of his academical duties. Nor did any thing deserving of particular notice occur in the college until the year 1597, except the changes of the professors who taught under him.

James Melville had all along intended to devote himself to the service of the church as a parochial minister; and the only thing which prevented him from gratifying his predilection for this employment, was a conviction that his assistance was necessary to his uncle at the commencement of his literary operations. In the end of the year 1586, the affairs of the theological seminary at St. Andrews were brought to such a settled state, that, with the consent of all parties, he accepted of a call from the parish of Anstruther, to which he was soon after admitted by the presbytery.* His predecessor, William Clark, a pious and laborious minister, had been burdened with the care of the neighbouring parishes of Kilrinny, Pittenweem, and Abercromby; according to a vicious arrangement which the court, in concert with the spoilers of the ecclesiastical

* "1586. 22. day Oct. being Sonday, Mr. James Melvill our ministair now began and ministered the sacrament of Baptisme as aftir follows in Anstruther." (Register of Births, &c. in Anstruther.) In the records of that session the name of *Andrew Melville*, an elder, frequently occurs; and as the witnesses at baptisms were generally the relations of the parents, it is probable, from the following minute, that he was allied to the Principal. "1588. 25 Junii. Andro Melvill, a chyld baptisit called Andro. Witnes Mr Andro Melvill." (Ibid.)—"3 November 1590. Androu Melvill, ane child baptizit, called Robert. Witnesses thomas Morton of Cambo and Sr Joⁿ Melvill of carnbie." (Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther.)

revenues, had sanctioned.* James Melville entered on the same extensive charge, but it was with views very remote from those of a necessitous and mercenary pluralist. By his exertions with the parishioners, and with the proper courts, separate ministers were settled at Pittenweem and Abercromby, in whose favour he relinquished the proportions of stipend due to him from these places. He had brought with him Robert Dury as an assistant.† To him he demitted the charge of Anstruther with all its emoluments, while he himself removed to Kilrinny. Thus, in the course of three years, he provided a minister for each of these four parishes, which had been long deprived of the dispensation of divine ordinances or had enjoyed that benefit but partially and occasionally.‡ On his settlement in Kilrinny he built a manse almost entirely at his own expense. The legal funds for supporting the minister having been alienated, the parish voluntarily bound themselves to pay him an annual stipend. This he relinquished for a sum of money; with which, added to what he could borrow from his friends, he purchased from the family of Anstruther the right to the tithes of the vicarage. Instead of taking his title to these from the laird of Anstruther as tacksman, in which case he would have secured the repayment of what he had expended, he entered to the benefice, by presentation and institution, as actual minister; thus securing it to his successors in office, and leaving his family to Providence, and to the sentiments of justice and gratitude by which the future incumbent might be actuated. He paid the salary of the schoolmaster out of his own purse; and as the parish was populous, and he was often called away on the common affairs of the church, he constantly maintained an assistant. His whole conduct in this affair exhibits a rare example of ministerial disinterestedness, which, in this calculating age, will be in danger of passing for simplicity, not only with the secular clergy, but with those whose spirituality is so exquisitely sensitive as to shrink from the very idea of a legal or fixed provision for ministers of the Gospel.‖

James Melville was succeeded, as professor of Hebrew, by his cousin Patrick Melville, who had held the same situation at Glasgow.* About the same time John Caldcleugh was employed to teach as a fourth professor.† Robertson continued in the college until the year 1593, when, on occasion of his death or resignation, he was succeeded by John Jonston, a native of Aberdeenshire, and of the family of Creimond.‡ After finishing the ordinary course of study at King's College, Jonston went abroad, and continued during eight years to cultivate polite and sacred letters at the most celebrated universities on the continent.‖ Having gained the friendship of the chief literati in France and Germany, and spent some time in England, he returned to his native country. Jonston was a poet and divine as well as a scholar. Melville had heard of the reputation which he had gained abroad, and was so much pleased with him on a personal interview, that he never ceased until he procured him as a colleague in the work of theological instruction.§ His admission was opposed by Caldcleugh, who thought himself entitled to Robertson's place, and had recourse to legal measures to enforce his claim; but he not only lost his cause, but was also deprived of the situation which he already held in the college.¶

About this time the King invited Hugh Broughton, the celebrated Hebrew scholar, to Scotland.** I should have mentioned before, that Melville joined in an invitation to Cartwright and Travers, the two well-known English nonconformists, to come to St. Andrews, on the erection of the Theological college in that city.†† None of these invitations was accepted.

* Melville's Diary, p. 1, 101. "Mr W^m Clerk minr of the kirkis of Kylmarynnie and anstruther deceissand in the month of febr 1583." No person was placed in his room on the 8th of June, 1585. (Reg. of Present. of Benef. vol. ii. f. 133.)

† James Melville had married Elizabeth the daughter of John Dury minister, first of Edinburgh, and afterwards of Montrose. Robert Dury appears to have been a relation of that minister. He married Elizabeth Ramsay, and one of his children was presented to baptism by George Ramsay of Langraw. (Session Rec. of Anstruther, May 18, 1605, and March 8, 1607.) "Mr Andro Meluill" was a witness to the baptism of a son of Robert Dury's, named Andrew, and a daughter, named Margaret. (Ibid. March 18, 1592.)

‡ The town of Anstruther-Easter belonged to the parish of Kilrinny. The minutes of the kirk-session of Anstruther-Wester, contain the following most natural expression of disappointed love, on their minister's leaving them. "Mr. James Meluill touk his guid nyght from this congregation the said monet of october 1590 years and touk him to kylrynnie to be thair minister. God forgif him that did sa, for I know and saw him promes that he suld never laif ws for any vardlie respect sa lang as he lyvit except he var forssit be the kirk and his Majestie, bot nevir being forsit aither be kirk or his Majestie, leift ws." (Ib. October 6, 1590.) Had the minister taken that step "for any worldy respect," could he have read this extra-judicial minute of the honest session-clerk without a pang of remorse?

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 2—9. After stating that he had expended 3,500 merks on the manse, and 2,400 merks on the teinds, he says: "My frind wald ask, What I haiff for my relieff of sic soumes. In answer, the fawour and prouidence of my guid God. For giff he spear my dayes, with rest in his kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my dettes.—Gif not, and the Intrant be worthie of the roum of this ministrie, God and his conscience will moue him to pay the deat resting; giff he will not, the grieff and los will be graitter to haiff sic a man in the roum, nor of myne to pay my deattes whowbeit they sell the books and plenessing for that effect.—As for the Town and paroche the benefit indeed is thairs: let them thairfor, as I hope they will, consider thair dewtie.—I man ernestlie admonische the hous of Anstruther nevir to mein to acclame againe the tytle and possessioun of thay teinds—for I promise heir a curse and malediction from God upon whosoever sall intromet and draw away the commoditie thairof from the right vse of sustening of the ministrie of Gods worschipe and of the saluation of Gods peiple."

* "M. Patricius Melvin" signs the Articles of Religion in the University of St. Andrews in 1587, and in the following year he was chosen one of the Rector's assessors. (Papers of Univ.)

† Grant by James to Mr. John Caldcleugh, anno 1588. (MS. in Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. i. 12.) This ratifies and dispones to him "the 3d place of the Lectors and professors of the said new Colledge," and assigns to him "for his stipend yearly Three chalders of victuall together with a hundred pounds money." It states that he had been chosen by the Commissioners for the reformation of the University, and had taught within the said college continually since that time. But it appears from the Commissary Records that Andrew Melville, James Melville, and John Robertson were the only professors between 1580 and 1584.

‡ John Jonston calls himself "Aberdonensis" in the titlepage of his *Heroes;* but this does not necessarily imply that he was born in the town of Aberdeen. In his Last Will he constitutes Robert Johnston of Creimond one of his executors, and bequeathes a small legacy to the laird of Caskiben. "Item I leave to Mr. Robt Merser persoun of Banquhorie, my auld kynd maister, in taiken of my thankeful dewtie, my qubyit cope wt the silver fit."

‖ Consolatio Christiana, per Joan. Jonstonum, p. 4. In 1587, he was at the University of Helmstadt, whence he sent a MS. copy of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, to Pincier, who published a second edition of that poem, with two epigrams by Jonston. (Sphæra. a Georgio Bvchanano Scoto. A 5, 6. Herbornæ, 1587.) In 1588, he was in the University of Rostock, whither Lipsius wrote to him in very flattering terms, acknowledging the receipt of a letter and a poem from him. (Lipsii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 49, 50.) In 1591, he was studying at Geneva. (Hovæus De Reconcilintione: Epist. Ded. ad Joan. Jonstonum. Basil. 1591.)

§ Consolatio Christiana, ut supra, p. 4, 5. In the Dedication of that work (4. eid. Feb. 1609.) Jonston says he had then been only fourteen years in the University of St. Andrews—"binas annorum hebdomadas." But "Mr. Jhone Jhonesoun maister in ye new college" was elected one of the elders of St. Andrews "Die xxviii^o mensis Novembris 1593." (Record of Kirk-session of St. Andrews.)

¶ Melville's Diary, p. 226.

** Strype's Life of Whitgift, (anno 1595) p. 432.

†† Fuller's Church History, vol. ii. p. 215. That historian has inserted the letter, of which he possessed the original, under the year 159–; but it bears internal marks of having been written in 1580, before Melville left Glasgow. It was subscribed, according to Fuller, by "Jas Glasgney (Glasguen.) Academiæ Cancellarius. Alaynus (A. Hayius) Rector. Thomas Smetonius Decanus. Andreas Melvinus Collegij præfectus. Mr. David Wems minister Glascoviensis."

In the year 1590, the venerable James Wilkie, principal of St. Leonard's College, and rector of the University, died. Robert Wilkie succeeded to the former of these places. Melville was elected Rector; and continued to hold the office, by re-election, for a number of years.* He had more than one opportunity of shewing his resolution and prudence as chief magistrate of the university. In these times, when the students formed a separate community under a jurisdiction independent of the town in which they resided, frequent feuds occurred between them and the inhabitants. The students of divinity at St. Andrews had fitted up a place in the garden of their college, in which they might enjoy the favourite amusement of shooting with the bow. Caldcleugh, "one of the masters of theology, but scarce yet a scholar in archery," amusing himself one day with this exercise, overshot the mark so far, that his arrow, flying over several houses, lighted in the neck of one Turnbull, a maltman, who happened to be passing through an adjoining lane. The wound was neither mortal nor dangerous; but some individuals who were inimical to the New College laid hold on this incident to inflame the minds of the inhabitants. A mob, collected by the ringing of the town-bell, forced the gate of the college, and finding Melville's chamber secured, called for fire, and threatened to burn the house, with all that were in it, unless Caldcleugh was instantly delivered up to them. By addressing them from a window, and flattering some and threatening others, Melville succeeded in gaining time till his friends assembled and rescued him from his perilous situation. The town-council, yielding to the popular clamour, took up the cause, and insisted that the rector should renounce all right to judge in the affair, and find security to produce the aggressor before them or the lord of regality, provided Turnbull's wound proved mortal.† Some of his friends, alarmed at the storm raised against the university, went and gave the security which was demanded; but he refused to compromise his authority or allow the outrage to pass unpunished. The magistrates were accordingly called to account, and obliged to delete the obligation from their records. The ringleaders of the riot were brought to trial, and would have been severely punished, had not Melville put a stop to the prosecution, upon their submission and giving bond for their peaceful conduct for the future.‡

He was no less ready to support the authority of the magistrates of the town, when assailed by the turbulent and ambitious, than he was to assert the rights of the university. The affairs of the borough had been grossly mismanaged under the direction of Learmont of Dairsie, a neighbouring gentleman, who had for many years held the office of provost. In the year 1592, the burgesses, availing themselves of their right, elected another individual as chief magistrate. Incensed at being excluded from an office which he considered as hereditary in his family, Dairsie sought to revenge himself in a way which was then too common; and Balfour of Burley, one of his friends, repeatedly entered St. Andrews during the night at the head of an armed force, and committed depredations upon the inhabitants. On one occasion, Dairsie having approached the town at the head of a strong band of his retainers, the magistrates, despairing of being able to oppose him, proposed to capitulate. But Melville encouraged them to stand out for their independence. Having assembled the members of the university, he persuaded them to take arms in defence of their brethren, put himself at their head, with a white spear, the badge of his rectorial office, in his hand, and joined the forces of the town and of some neighbouring gentlemen who went out to meet Dairsie, and gave him such a reception as discouraged him from repeating his turbulent and illegal aggressions.*

Among his other employments, Melville acted for several years as a ruling elder in the congregation of St. Andrews. It was a matter of importance, at that early period, that kirk-sessions should contain such individuals within their bounds, as, in addition to religious qualifications, possessed superior knowledge and influence. In boroughs, it was the almost invariable custom to have some of the elders chosen from among the magistrates. This circumstance, connected with the nature of the offences usually tried and the punishments decreed against them by the legislature, led to that apparent confounding of the two jurisdictions, which is apt to strike those who happen to look into the ancient records of kirk-sessions as an anomaly, and a contradiction to the principles of the Presbyterian church. At the beginning of the Reformation, the kirk-session of St. Andrews were in the habit of calling in the principal professors of the colleges, and taking their advice, in the decision of the most difficult causes which came before them.† From experience of the benefit derived from their advice, it came to be the common practice to choose a certain number of elders from the university every year.‡ Upon the same principle ministers or preachers who happened to reside in the town were taken into the session; and it may startle our southern neighbours to learn, that even archbishops were chosen to be ruling elders, and did not think themselves degraded by occupying an inferior form in the lowest court of the Presbyterian church.‡ The general law of the church was, that the elders and deacons should be chosen by the voice of the congregation over whom they were placed. But deviations were made from this law at an early period, and in some congregations the formal election was assumed by the session; although the people still retained a right to add to the leet or list of nominees, as well as to object to those who were chosen upon "the serving of their edict." The office of an elder in those times was far from being merely nominal. Those who accepted it were bound to give regular attendance on the meetings of session, which were held at least once a-week. The town and parish of St. Andrews was divided into districts, and over each of these a certain number of elders and deacons were appointed as inspectors and visitors, whose duty it was to report to the session on the state of morals and the necessities of the poor. Such elders as were professors appear to have been exempted from this part of duty, in consideration of their academical charge; but they were required to assist the pastors in the examination of the congregation before the communion.§ The session took cognizance of all open vio-

* Papers of the University.

† See Note FF.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 225, 226.

* Melville's Diary, p. 226.

† Causes of divorce were tried before the reformed church-courts, previously to the erection of the commissary courts. In the cause Rantoun against Gedde, the sentence runs in the following terms: "We the minister and seniors of this our Christian cogregation within the parochin of Sanctandrois Judges in the actioun and caus moved—In pns [presence] of Mr. Johne Dowglass rectour of the vniversitie of Sanctandrois Johne Wynrame Supprior men of singular eruditioun and vnderstanding in the Scriptures and word of God, with Mrs. Williame Skene and Johne Rutherfurde men of cunning in sundry sciences, with quhome we comunicatet the secretes of the merits of the said actioun and caus being be ws and them hard and scane," &c. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, March 21, 1559.)

‡ The same practice was observed at Glasgow. (Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow. Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28, MSS. vol. iii.)

‖ "The names of Eldars and Deaconis chosin vpon ye xii daye of october 1571. Eldars. Mr. John Douglas archbishop & rector of Sanctandr. Mr. Thomas Balfour. Mr. John Rutherfurd, Mr. Wm Cok, Mr. James Wylkie," &c. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews.) Mr. Robert Wilkie was chosen an elder immediately after he resigned the pastoral inspection of the congregation. (Ib. Jan. 20, 1590.)

§ Record of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, April 16, 1584, and April 9, 1589, compared with the minute of December 5, 1593.

lations of the moral law, not only unchastity, but also non-attendance on religious ordinances, profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, undutifulness to parents and other relations, neglect of the education of children, drunkenness, slander, backbiting, and even scolding. In some sessions it was the custom, as a preparation for the communion, to nominate a certain number of elders as arbiters; and such members of the congregation as were at variance with one another, were publicly warned to attend on a particular day, and submit their differences to an extra-judicial decision. And there are examples of their proceeding in certain causes by way of inquest and the nomination of a jury. The session was no less strict in the inspection which it exercised over its own members. At their entrance to office they were sworn to observe the sessional statutes, and a day was annually fixed for administering the *privy censures*, which, at that period, were something more than a form. On that occasion, the ministers, elders, and deacons were removed, one after another; their conduct, both in and out of court, was judged of by the remainder; and each was commended, admonished or rebuked, as his behaviour was thought to have merited.*

Melville had been instrumental in procuring for St. Andrews two faithful and laborious ministers, David Black and Robert Wallace. The former of these, in particular, was most indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and exerted himself in reviving the ecclesiastical discipline, and in taking care that the different members of his session performed their respective duties in the most efficient manner. By these means he produced, during the short period of his incumbency, a striking reformation on his people, by checking vice, promoting religious knowledge, and diminishing pauperism. To strengthen the hands of this zealous minister, was one great object which Melville had in view in undertaking the office of an elder, which he accepted in 1591, and continued to hold until Black was forced from St. Andrews.†

As a member of presbytery, Melville attended and took part in *the weekly exercise*. Two members, according to the order of the roll, delivered each a discourse at the weekly meeting of presbytery. The one explained a passage of Scripture, and the other stated and briefly illustrated the doctrines which it contained; after which the presbytery gave their opinion of the performances. In their form these discourses bore a resemblance to *the Exercise and Addition* in our divinity-halls, and on trials for license and ordination. Such students of divinity as were recommended by their professors were allowed to take part in them, after they had given a satisfactory specimen of their gifts before the presbytery in (what was called) the *private exercise*. A contribution was sometimes levied from the members to purchase commentaries on those parts of Scripture which were thus explained, for the use of such as were deficient in books; and this laid the foundation, in several instances, of presbytery libraries. In the year 1597, the General Assembly enjoined an additional exercise to presbyteries. Once every month a question relating to some point in divinity controverted by the adversaries of the truth, was substituted for the ordinary subject of presbyterial exercitation. One of the members in his turn discussed the question; after which, he defended his thesis against the objections started by his brethren. The discourse was delivered before the people and in English: the disputation was held in private and in the Latin language. In point of form, our modern *Exegesis* corresponds to this performance. The Presbytery of Aberdeen were considerably later than their brethren of the south in opening this theological palestra, but they appear to have entered very much into the spirit of the exercise; for they agreed that "the head of controversy should be handled every fourteen days," and their minutes inform us, that the brother who took the lead in it "did marvellous." This fact may perhaps help to account for the superior dexterity which the *Doctors of Aberdeen* afterwards attained in the use of controversial weapons, and which they displayed so conspicuously in their celebrated contest with the champions of the covenant. Whatever may be in this, it cannot be doubted that the presbyterial exercises were useful in sharpening the judgment, and stimulating the ardour of the ministers, and particularly the younger part of them, in their private studies.*

The exertions made at this time shew, that the fathers of our church, in seeking to substitute presbytery in the room of prelacy, stretched their views beyond the establishment of a mere form of ecclesiastical polity, and that it was their grand object to provide an evangelical ministry which should be efficient for the purposes of diffusing the knowledge and promoting the power of religion. During the period of the Tulchan Episcopacy, a number of persons had been inducted into parishes who were destitute of gifts, or who laboured under other disqualifications. Presbyteries, for some years after their erection, were employed in remedying this evil. The General Assembly repeatedly appointed commissioners to assist in the work; giving them power, along with the respective presbyteries which they visited, to try all actual ministers, and to suspend or deprive those whom they found unqualified. In consequence of this, several individuals, in different parts of the country, were deposed from the ministerial office; some were suspended for a time, or translated to more obscure corners; and others were admonished of their deficiencies and exhorted to give themselves to reading and study. The measure was unquestionably an extraordinary one, and may be blamed by some as an undue and unwarrantable stretch of authority. But it shews the zeal for the credit and usefulness of their order with which the ministers were at that time animated; and it will be difficult to prove that the essential end of the pastoral function—the instruction and edification of the people—ought to be sacrificed to forms, or that it should be indefinitely postponed from respect to personal claims which had been irregularly and unjustly acquired during a corrupt administration.† So far as a judgment can be formed from the records which remain, this delicate trial appears to have been conducted with impartiality, and with all that tenderness to individuals which was consistent with justice to the public.

Melville exerted himself with much success in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the presbytery of which he was a member. When he first came to St. Andrews there were not above five parishes provided with ministers; but in the course of a few years the number had increased to sixteen. This object was effected chiefly by his exertions, joined to those of his nephew and Black.‡ Spotswood takes no notice of this meritorious service; but he details with great minuteness the particulars of a dissension which arose in that presbytery on occasion of the settlement of the parish of Leuchars. The presbytery (he says) was divided in opinion as to the candidate most fit for the charge; Melville being at the head of the one party, and Thomas Buchanan of the other. Impatient of

* See Note GG.

† Melville's Diary, p. 215, 237. Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 167, a. Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Nov. 11, 1590—Dec. 1596, *passim*. "Erat hic Blackius," (says Calderwood) "et vitæ et sinceri animi laude omni memoria dignus. Delectus ad Fanum Andreæ Minister, ita Ecclesiam illam administravit, ut in tanto populo (sunt enim plures quam 3000 qui Sacram Cœnam percipiunt) *nemo mendicus conspiceretur, nemo Sabbatum auderet violare.*" (Altare Damasc. p. 751.)

* See Note HH.

† See the authorities brought forward in the last mentioned Note.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 237, 243.

contradiction, and irritated at being left in the minority, Melville made a secession from the majority, and, along with those who supported him, constituted another presbytery in the New College. At the desire of the provincial synod of Fife, the synod of Lothian sent three of their members to compose this disgraceful strife. Melville defended himself by pleading, that the candidate preferred by his opponents was not to be compared with the individual whom he supported, and that votes ought to be weighed and not numbered. And the umpires could find no other way of restoring peace than that of dividing the presbytery into two, and appointing the one to meet at St. Andrews and the other at Cupar.* It has been shewn by a contemporary writer that the archbishop has misrepresented and grossly exaggerated this affair.† To gain the greater credit to his narrative, after it was contradicted, Spotswood states in his history, that he was himself one of the delegates appointed by the synod of Lothian to reconcile the parties. The minute of that appointment is now before me. It mentions that "a little dissension" had fallen out among the members of the presbytery of St. Andrews, who had agreed to submit the matter in dispute to certain brethren belonging to other presbyteries; it specifies the four ministers whom the synod "licentiated" to go to Fife on this business, and also those who were appointed to supply their place during their absence; but Spotswood was none of them, nor does his name occur in the minute.‡ It is possible that the archbishop might be present at St. Andrews on the occasion referred to; but it is also possible, that, owing to the multiplicity of secular employments in which he was afterwards involved, his memory deceived him, and that he imagined he had been a witness of what he had only heard by report.

The archbishop does not conceal that he introduced this story, to shew that Melville was incapable of brooking submission to the parity which he had established, and that presbyterian government natively tends to produce discord and division. But who does not perceive that such a mode of reasoning is inconclusive and weak? Did the archbishop forget the "contention," not unlike that which he describes, between Paul and Barnabas about the choice of a minister, which was "so sharp that they departed asunder the one from the other?" or, would he have pronounced *it* also "to be ominous, and that the government, which in the beginning did break forth into such schisms, could not long continue?" Wherever affairs are decided by a plurality of voices, a difference of opinion, and consequently opposition, may be expected to arise. In supporting measures which they believe to be conducive to public good, men of honest and independent minds will display a warmth and an earnestness which will appear excessive and intemperate to the lukewarm and temporizing. And as they are men of like passions with others, their zeal will occasionally hurry them beyond the bounds of reason and moderation. But the enlightened friend of a free government will not be moved by objections founded on the partial inconveniences or incidental evils to which it may lead. Though not more in love with discord and contention than other men, he knows that ebullitions of this kind are inseparable from the spirit of liberty, and that they are often productive of good. He is convinced that there is a necessary and honourable, as well as a hateful and ungodly, strife. He is aware, that where all things are decided by the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows also, that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion and even uproar by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken and convulsed, to the appalling tranquillity and death-like stillness which reigns in the courts of despotism.

Before resuming the narrative of public transactions, it is proper to notice the death of John Erskine, the venerable superintendent of Angus. This enlightened and public-spirited baron will be remembered as one of the early and most distinguished patrons of literature in Scotland. In the wars against the English, he had displayed his courage and love to the independence of his native country.* He embarked with great zeal in the struggle for the Reformation; and after the triumph of that cause, served the church first as a superintendent and afterwards as a parochial minister.† If at a later period he suffered himself to be entangled by the politics of the court, and lent the influence of his name to the support of measures injurious to the church, his advanced age and the difficulty of the times may be pleaded as an extenuation of his fault. When incapacitated for active employment, he retained his literary habits, and continued in his closet to pursue the studies connected with the sacred profession to which he had devoted himself.‡ His death took place on the 16th of October, 1592, and in the eighty-second year of his age.‖

The affairs of the kingdom were still in a very un-

* Spotswood's History, p. 386.

† Calderwood, Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 722. The tract referred to is an answer to *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which Spotswood published in 1620, and in which he first brought forward this accusation against Melville.

‡ Record of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, October 3, 1592.

* Beague's History of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549, p. 10, 40, 57—62.

† On the 24th of March, 1574, "Thomas Erskine lauchfull sonne to Johne Erskine of Dwn" was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn."—On the 6th of August, 1575, "Our soureine lord being informed—of his weilbelouit Johne erskine and of his lang travellis in the ministerie w'in the kirk of God," presents him to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn—vacand be deceis of M. *James* Erskine;" and requires the superintendent of Fife to admit him, "seeing it is knawin he is qualifeit." (Register of Present. to Benefices.)

‡ Dedicatory verses to *The Winter Night*, a poem. The dedication is inscribed, "To the right godly worshipfvll and vigilant pastor in Christs kirke, Johne Erskin of Dun,—James Anderson Minister of Collace, wisheth grace," &c. The excellence of this small work certainly does not lie in the poetry; but it went through several editions. That of 1599, mentioned by Herbert, I do not consider as the earliest one. I quote from Andro Hart's printed about 1614. The following is the concluding stanza in the address to Erskine:

> I can not dite as thou hast done deserue,
> In Kirk and court, countrey and commonwenle
> Carefull the kirk in peace for to preserue:
> In court thy counsell was stout, and true as steele,
> Thy policie decores the country well,
> In planting trees, and building places faire,
> With costly brigs ouer waters plaine repaire

The poem itself begins thus:

> The winter night I think it long,
> Full long and teugh, while it ouergang
> The winters night I think so long
> Both long and dreigh till day.
> Full long think I the winters night,
> While daye breake up with beams so bright
> And banish darknesse out of sight
> And works of darknesse, Aa.
>
> The winter night that I of meane
> Is not this naturall night I weine,
> That lakes the light of the sunneshine
> And differs from the day.
> But darknesse of our minde it is
> Which hides from us the heavens blisse
> Since Adam first did make the misse
> In paradise that day.

‖ Act Buik of the Commissariat of St. And' Oct. 25, 1593, and Apr. 19, 1594.—Spotswood fixes his death, by mistake, on the 12th of March, 159¼. He also represents him as "leaving behind him a numerous posterity. (Hist. 334.) But his Will mentions only "his son and air and Margaret Erskine his dochter" who were minors, and whose "tuitioun gyding & keeping" he left to "his weilbelovit spous Margaret Kaith thair mother." —"The noble and potent Lord Robert Lord Altrie" (probably Mrs. Erskine's brother) was one of their "tutouris testamentaris."

settled state. His Majesty, after his return from Denmark, had promised to reform his administration, and having assembled the chief barons, exacted from them a pledge that they would lay aside their deadly feuds; but he held the reins of government with such a weak and unsteady hand, that these scenes of lawless disorder were renewed, and murders, accompanied with circumstances of shocking atrocity, were perpetrated with impunity in the very heart of the kingdom.* He had pledged himself to his Parliament to rule by the advice of his counsellors, and "to suffer none to intervene betwixt his Highness and them in the credit of their offices."† But the spirit of favouritism was too strong in his breast to suffer him to adhere long to this course, and his ablest statesmen found their measures defeated by the secret influence of the companions of his amusements, and of such as had otherwise insinuated themselves into his good graces. Captain James Stewart, who had formerly rendered himself so hateful to the nation under the name of Earl of Arran, presumed at this time to present himself in the palace; and the reception he met with shewed that he still retained a place in his Majesty's affections. With the view of establishing himself at court, and in the hopes of regaining his former station, he applied to the presbytery of Edinburgh, professed great regard for the church, and offered to give satisfaction for any offences which he might formerly have committed. But the presbytery met his advances with the most discouraging coldness, declined receiving his suspicious submissions, and told him that the sincerity of his repentance behoved to be demonstrated by more visible tokens of reformation, and a longer course of trial, before they could indulge a good opinion of his character.‡ They at the same time appointed a deputation to wait upon his Majesty, and to warn him against admitting such a dangerous person into his counsels. In consequence of this, Stewart retired in despair of being able to accomplish his purpose. This firmness on the part of the ministers was highly applauded by all who understood the true interests of the nation; but it exposed them to the undisguised resentment of the King.*

In the latter part of the year 1592, the uncommon activity of trafficking priests within the kingdom, joined to obscure intelligence received from abroad, excited strong suspicions that the popish party were about to renew their treasonable attempts against the public peace. In these circumstances Melville came over to Edinburgh to attend an extraordinary meeting of his brethren. The precautionary measures suggested by him were unanimously agreed to by this meeting, and carried into effect with the consent of the King. It was agreed to advertise presbyteries of the apparent danger, and to desire them to prepare the well-affected gentlemen within their bounds for resisting it; and with this view to endeavour to compose any feuds or quarrels which might subsist among them. An individual in each presbytery was nominated to collect information from his brethren respecting the secret or open practices of the papists, and to transmit this with the utmost dispatch to a committee which was appointed to sit in Edinburgh during the present emergency, and which was charged to watch *ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capcret.* The information thus procured was immediately to be communicated to his Majesty and the Privy Council, who were requested to adopt such other measures as were necessary for detecting the conspiracy, and providing for the public safety.†

The wisdom of these precautions, and the justice of the suspicions which had dictated them, were soon made apparent to all. On the 27th of December, in consequence of secret intelligence which he had received, Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, accompanied by a number of students from the college of Glasgow, and neighbouring gentlemen, seized George Ker, a doctor of laws and brother of Lord Newbattle, in the island of Cumray, as he was about to take ship for Spain. On searching him there were found in his possession letters from certain priests in Scotland, and blanks subscribed and sealed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with a commission to William Crighton, a Jesuit, to fill up the blanks and address them to the persons for whom they were intended. Graham of Fintry, an associate of Ker, was soon after apprehended; and being both examined before the Privy Council, they testified that the signatures to the blanks were genuine, and laid open the nature and extent of the conspiracy. The King of Spain was to have landed thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, part of whom were to invade England, and the remainder, in concert with the forces which the three earls promised to have in readiness, were to suppress the Protestants, and procure the re-establishment, or at least the full toleration, of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.‡

James was absent from the capital when this conspiracy was discovered. Having arrived at the urgent entreaties of his Privy Council and the ministers of Edinburgh, he betrayed his characteristic weakness and obliquity of mind. Instead of sympathising with his people, whose feelings had been wound up to a high pitch of alarm and indignation by the recent discovery, and thanking them with frankness for the vigilance and zeal which they had shown in his service, he renewed his petty and provoking complaints as to the encroachments which they had made on his prerog-

* Richard Preston of Craigmillar, a gentleman of excellent character, was basely stabbed to death, when he was in the act of giving alms to his murderer, David Edmonston, who had accosted him under the disguise of a pauper. (Simsoni Annales, p. 62.) The Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at this period furnish examples of a similar kind.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 562.

‡ The presbytery refused, on the request of his nephew, Lord Ochiltree, to appoint a committee to converse with him in private; upon which he appeared before them. After hearing what he had to say, and informing him that it belonged to the General Assembly to judge of his conduct, "the brether assurit him that they culd haif na opinion bot euill of him for ocht that zit they saw; and schew thot it wald not be woordis bot gude deidis that wald chang thair myndis, and thairfor as they judgit euill of the things that ar past, sua they culd not judg weill of him for the tyme to cum, till they saw alsmekle of his gud eas they [had] sene of his euill. And thairfore was exhortit that gif thair was ony kind of pieti, ony godlines or religion into him that he suld schaw the fruict thairof be a better repentance nor they had sene, and wtter the effect in gude deidis, quhilk gif he suld doe, as thair is mercie with the Lord, sua the brether wald judg of him according to his warkis, bot in cais he had cum thair for the fassones sake to insinuatt him self into the bosome of the kirk that thairby he myght creip in the fauour of the prince, and sua mak a coullour of all to the end that he my accomplische the rest of the mistereis of his iniquities & euill warkis, Then he was scharpely aduertisit that that God whom he had hitherto mockit, and for that caus had hitherto dejectit him with schame, sua gif he continewit in his mocking that sam God sall deiect him and cast him down agane with greiter schame & confusioun nor of before." Lest a false report of their proceedings should be given, the presbytery appointed certain of their number to go to the palace, "to inform his matie of the things that wer done, and to schaw that they as zit culd persaif na appearance of gude in that man, bot rather that he continewit still in his former prvde, and thairfore desyrit thame to exhort his matie that as he luifit the weill of the kirk, the weill of countrey, and respectit his awin honour that he suld geive na countenance nor place to that man to be about him, or haif ony publict charg in this countrey, quhilk gif he did, to protest that the kirk was innocent of all the euill that was able to ensew thairupon." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, December 5, 1592.)

* Cald. iv. 269—271.

† Melville's Diary. p. 219—224. Cald. iv. 262—268.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 219—225. A discoverie of the unnatural and traiterous Conspiracy of Scotish Papists. Edinburgh, 1593. This book, which contains the intercepted letters and the confessions of Ker and Graham of Fintry, was published under the direction of the ministers of Edinburgh. (Record of Presb. of Edin. May 15, 1593.) John Davidson, who wrote the preface to it, recorded, in his Diary, that one of the intercepted letters was suppressed, because it "touched the King with knowledge and approbation of the traffiquing, and promise of assistance." (Cald. iv. 322.)

ative by their precipitate measures; as if they had been bound to sit still and suffer themselves to be spoiled of their lives, liberties, and religion, merely because he thought that these were in no danger, or because he chose to neglect his duty and give himself up to idle and frivolous amusements. He found fault with the magistrates of Edinburgh for apprehending the Earl of Angus, who had entered the town without knowing that his treasonable correspondence was discovered. A deputation from the barons and ministers of the church having been sent to congratulate him on his escape from the conspiracy, and to offer him their advice and assistance in bringing the conspirators to justice, he, in a tedious and formal harangue, blamed them for assembling without waiting for his call; pointed out the difference between the times of the Queen Regent, when the country was under a sovereign addicted to popery, and the present, when they had a protestant king; and upbraided the ministers, in particular, by saying, that they were not wont to assemble with such alacrity, or in such great numbers, at his call. They replied, that they had the authority of the Privy Council for their meeting, and that it was not a fit time to stand upon forms, when they saw his person, the church, and commonwealth, brought into extreme jeopardy. Upon being made more fully acquainted with the nature of the plot, however, he professed himself convinced of the magnitude of the danger, promised to pursue the conspirators with all severity, and requested the barons and ministers who were assembled to favour him with their best advice. A proclamation was issued, declaring that Providence had mercifully discovered a dangerous conspiracy, contrived by the crafty practices of pernicious trafficking papists, seminary priests and Jesuits, who had seduced a number of his Majesty's subjects to apostatize from their religion, and to subject their native country to "the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation, which hath made such unlawful and cruel conquests in diverse parts of the world, as well upon christians as infidels;" and commanding all who loved God, wished well to their Prince, and did not desire to see "their wives, children, and posterity made slaves in souls and bodies to merciless strangers," to abstain from all intercourse with popish priests under the pain of treason, and to "put themselves in arms by all good means they can, remaining in full readiness to pursue or defend, as they shall be certified by his Majesty or otherwise find the occasion urgent."* To remove the suspicions of the nation, which had been raised by the conduct of James, an act of council was made, prohibiting all from attempting to procure indemnity to the conspirators, and authorizing the King's chaplains to exact an oath from his domestics that they should not intercede in their behalf.†

Confiding in the faith of the court, all classes now vied in demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism. The gentlemen voluntarily agreed to form themselves into a guard to defend the King's person and preserve the public peace. And a sacred bond, in defence of religion and the government, was everywhere subscribed with the utmost zeal and unanimity. But the hopes of the nation were soon disappointed. Graham of Fintry, the least guilty of the conspirators, was, indeed, executed; but the Earl of Angus and Ker were allowed to escape from prison. James having advanced to Aberdeen, attended by a large body of his faithful subjects, the conspirators concealed themselves, and those whom they sent to intercede for them were received. The parliament which met in July 1593, listened to their offers of submission, and rejected the bill of attainder against them, on the pretext of its informality.* They were suffered to repossess their castles, and enjoyed every degree of liberty except that of appearing in some of the principal towns of the kingdom. This injudicious lenity to persons who had repeatedly conspired against their native country, accompanied, as it was, with a breach of the royal faith, gave universal dissatisfaction, and excited strong suspicions in the breasts of not a few as to the soundness of his Majesty's attachment to the protestant religion.†

Alarmed at the tendency of this policy, the provincial synod of Fife, which met in September 1593, came to the resolution of excommunicating the four popish noblemen, Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Hume, with their two principal adherents, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindown, and Sir James Chisholm of Dundurn.‡ This sentence was communicated to the other synods, and being unanimously approved and intimated in all the pulpits, contributed to repress the boldness of the conspirators, who, confiding in the royal favour, had begun to behave themselves with extreme audacity. Melville was appointed by his synod to attend a meeting of the gentlemen and burgesses of the county at Cupar; and measures were taken to have a general meeting held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October, consisting of commissioners from the different counties.‖

James was highly dissatisfied with the excommunication of the popish lords, as tending to counteract his intentions of pardoning them, and he dealt importunately with Robert Bruce to prevent the intimation of the sentence in Edinburgh. Unable to succeed with the ministers, he had recourse to the most popular of the barons, and endeavoured to gain them over to an approbation of his scheme. In dealing with some of them he urged the necessity of the case, and with others the claims of humanity. Among other arguments, he availed himself of the specious plea of liberty of conscience; a plea which, as applied, was a *felo de se*, and, had it been then acted upon, would have led to the overthrow of liberty, both civil and religious. A curious conversation between him and Lord Hamilton on this subject has been preserved. James paid a visit to Hamilton House, for the purpose of sounding that nobleman's views. He introduced the conversation by saying, that he was confident that he enjoyed the friendship of his lordship, notwithstanding some reports which had been circulated to the contrary. "Ye see, my lord, (continued he) how I am used, and have no man in whom I may trust more than in Huntly. If I receive him, the ministers will cry out that I am an apostate from the religion; if not, I am left desolate." "If he and his associates be not enemies to the religion, (said his lordship) ye may receive them; otherwise, not." "I cannot tell (replied his Majesty) what to make of that, but the ministers hold them for enemies. Always, I would think it good, that they enjoyed liberty of conscience." Upon this Lord Hamilton exclaimed with great fervour, "Sir, then we are all gone! then we are all gone! If there is not another to withstand them, I will." Alarmed at his earnestness, and perceiving the servants at hand, the King put an end to the conversation by saying with a

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 169.

† "Quhilk was done;" says the Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 168, a.

* The act of Parliament makes no mention of informality; (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 15.) but a reference is made to it in the proceedings of the subsequent convention. (Ib. p. 44.) Spotswood says, their process was remitted to the King and Privy Council, (Hist. p. 397.) but the record is silent on this head.

† MS. Historie of Scotland from 1566 to 1594 under the year 1592. (This is a copy of the work, a part of which was published by Mr. Laing, under the title of *History of King James the Sext.*) Melville's Diary, p. 225. Cald. iv. 291—293. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 168.

‡ The grounds upon which this synod considered it as competent for them to proceed to this censure, may be seen in the printed Calderwood, p. 290, 291

‖ See Note II.

forced smile, "My lord, I did this to try your mind."*

The dissimulation of James was so gross, and so frequently practised, as at last to forfeit him the confidence of the most credulous. Before setting out on a journey to the borders, he renewed his promise to the ministers of Edinburgh not to shew favour to the conspirators. Yet, on the very day on which he gave this pledge, they were admitted to his presence at Fala, and made arrangements with him respecting their trial. A convention held at Edinburgh a few days after this, appointed commissioners to go to Jedburgh, and lay their representations before his Majesty.† They were instructed to complain of his having admitted the popish lords into his presence, to request that the arrangements made respecting their trial, so far as they were calculated to defeat the ends of justice, should be altered; and to inform him that all his faithful subjects were aggrieved at the favour shewn to traitors, and determined to sacrifice their lives sooner than allow the land to be overrun with idolatrous and bloody papists. James gave them a very different reception from that which he had lately vouchsafed to the rebels. He challenged the meeting from which they were deputed as unlawful. He inveighed against the synod of Fife for excommunicating the popish lords. He expressed great displeasure at Melville for the active part which he had taken in that affair, at different meetings held in the county of Fife. He alleged that the persons assembled at one of these meetings had entered into a protestation, in which they declared that they would not acknowledge him as their lawful King, unless he adhered to the religion presently professed and punished such as sought to overthrow it; and that they had endeavoured to bring their brethren in the southern part of the kingdom under the same treasonable engagement. And he concluded with threatening that he would call a meeting of Parliament, to chastise the insolence of the ministers and restore the estate of bishops. James Melville, in the name of the commissioners, replied to this royal philippic, and defended his constituents; after which his Majesty grew calmer, returned a fair answer to their petition, and dismissed them with promises that were never to be performed.‡

It is unnecessary to detail all the deceptions methods taken by the court in the course of this pretended judicial process. The Convention of Estates held at Linlithgow in October 1593, after preparing matters for the acquittal of the conspirators, referred their trial to certain individuals named by them, along with the officers of state, whom they appointed to meet in the following month at Holyrood-house. Melville attended on this occasion as one of the commissioners of the church,‖ and used his wonted freedom in uttering his sentiments. He reproved the King for the manner in which he allowed himself to speak of those who had been the chief instruments of the Reformation and the best friends of his throne, and for the uniform partiality which he had shown to the avowed enemies of both, and particularly to the house of Huntly. He challenged those who advised his Majesty to favour the popish noblemen to come forward and avow themselves before the Estates; pledging himself to prove them traitors to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, provided they were made liable to punishment if found guilty, and engaging that, if he failed in his proof, he would himself go to the gibbet. The King and courtiers smiled at his offer, and said that he was more zealous than wise. After his Majesty had made a speech, in which he urged the danger which might arise to the country from proceeding to extremities against the powerful individuals who were accused, the assembly agreed to "the act of abolition" which had been previously drawn up by the counsellors. By this act the popish lords were ordained, according to the offer which they had made, to give satisfaction to the church and embrace the protestant religion, or else to leave the kingdom within a limited time; the process against them was dropped; and they were declared "free and unaccusable in all time coming" of the crimes laid to their charge, provided they did not for the future enter into any treasonable correspondence with foreigners.*

This mode of issuing the process was a gross imposition on the nation. No intelligent person believed that the popish earls were sincere in their offers, or that they would comply with the terms prescribed to them. The plain tendency of the measure, and their evident object in agreeing to it, was to obtain for them an interval of repose to strengthen their party, and to establish their influence at court, that they might renew their intrigues and embroil the country on the first favourable opportunity that occurred. Various reasons may be assigned for James's adopting this line of policy, without having recourse to the supposition that he was secretly inclined to popery. Huntly, the head of the popish party, had great interest at court in consequence of his family alliance with Lennox, the King's favourite, which was increased by the recent marriage of his sister-in-law to the Earl of Mar.† James was now looking eagerly forward to the English succession, and was desirous of gaining the Roman Catholics, who formed a considerable party in that kingdom, and had conceived a rooted antipathy against Elizabeth. His timidity made him averse to vigorous measures; and he piqued himself on his superior skill in that secret of the art of government which lies in balancing the different parties in the state so as to render them all dependent on the sovereign; although he was destitute of the talents requisite for this delicate task, and could neither poize the scales with judgment nor hold them with a steady and impartial hand. The political principles of the papists were agreeable to James; and the chiefs of the party paid assiduous court to him by flattering his love of power, and inveighing against the levelling doctrines and republican spirit of the reforming ministers. But from whatever causes it proceeded, it is clear that he had adopted a line of policy which led him to protect and favour a foreign faction, addicted to popery and arbitrary power; while the best friends of the Reformation, who were at the same time the natural and surest friends of a protestant government, became the objects of his jealousy and aversion. This absurd and criminal course he pursued throughout his reign, in spite of all the admonitions which he receiv-

* Cald. iv. 338.

† The commissioners were James Melville, Patrick Galloway, Napier of Merchiston, the laird of Calderwood, and three burgesses.

‡ Cald. iv. 338—342. Melville's Diary, p. 227, 228. Spotswood's History, p. 398, 399. MS. Historiæ, ut supra. Gordon's Geneal. History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 222, 223. The last mentioned writer says that it was resolved by the court, in the year 1593, to re-establish episcopacy. Spotswood, in his account of the interview at Jedburgh, says that the commissioners "humbly besought his Majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing, but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave." (Hist. p. 399.) On the contrary, James Melville, who was present as one of the commissioners, expressly says, "Sa that night delyvering our petitiones in wryt, be tymes on the morn we gat our answers in wrait fear aneuche, and returned on the thride day." (Melville's Diary, p. 227.)

‖ Six ministers were nominated by the Convention of Estates, and allowed to be present at the trial. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 44.) Gordon states that this nomination was opposed by the church as an encroachment upon her liberties; upon which the King caused their names to be deleted, and ordered that in future the ministers should have no place on such occasions but as suppliants. (Geneal. Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 223.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 46—48. Cald. iv. 351—357. Melville's Diary p. 229. Spotswood, p. 400, 401.

† James was feasting at the marriage of the Earl of Mar when he received information of the discovery of the late conspiracy. (Spotswood, p. 391.)

ed; and it was persisted in, with hereditary fatuity, by his successors, who carried on a secret and illicit intercourse with the church of Rome, which issued at length in their laying their triple crown ingloriously and irrecoverably at her feet: an example to all British sovereigns who may be tempted to form such an unnatural and unhallowed attachment!

While the country was agitated by this affair, the court was kept in a state of continued and disgraceful alarm by the attempts of the Earl of Bothwell, who repeatedly besieged the palace, and on one occasion, forced his way into the royal presence, and extorted a pardon for his rebellious practices. Inflamed with personal resentment against the Chancellor, he had formerly associated with the popish lords; and availing himself of the odium which the court had incurred by favouring them, he changed sides, and now affected great concern for the preservation of the protestant religion. He was unable, however, to make a dupe of more than one of the ministers of the church. The vices of his private character, his known selfishness, versatility, and turbulence, were sufficient to put them on their guard against his loud but hollow professions, even although they had been disposed to abet any hostile attempt against the government.* But this did not prevent them from being aspersed as favourable to him. With the view of gaining partisans among the people, Bothwell circulated the report, that he acted in concert with the principal preachers; and those who were about the King were either so jealous as to credit the slander, or so politic as to employ it by way of retort to the charge brought against them of countenancing the popish conspirators. In a conference with the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh, the King complained that Bothwell had been suffered to remain in the capital, and upbraided the ministers for maintaining silence respecting his treasonable conduct, while they were loud in their invectives against Captain Stewart and the popish earls. He charged Bruce in particular with having conspired, along with some of his brethren, to place the crown on Bothwell's head, and with having harboured a traitor who sought the life of his sovereign. The rest of the ministers contented themselves with denying the charge, and appealing to their hearers as to their innocence; but as the accusation against Bruce was specific and more serious, he insisted that he was entitled to know the individuals who had slandered him to his Majesty, and declared that he would not again enter the pulpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. After some shifting, James named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for investigating the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge; and Gray, having left the court, sent word that he had given no such information against Bruce, and offered to fight any individual, his Majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister.†

The activity of the Melvilles in thwarting the wishes of the court respecting the popish lords, subjected them to the same odious imputation. It had been the laudable custom of the church of Scotland to make contributions in their different parishes for the relief of their brethren in foreign countries who were persecuted for religion. Since the year 1589, the city of Geneva had been involved in a dangerous war with the Duke of Savoy, which reduced it to the necessity of applying for foreign aid.‡ Liberal collections were accordingly made for this purpose throughout Scotland. James Melville was collector for the province of Fife, and it was surmised at court, that he had, with the concurrence of his uncle and some other ministers, given the money, intended for Geneva, to Bothwell, to enable him to raise troops to harass the King. Setting aside the acknowledged probity of the individuals accused, the supposition of their having committed such an act of sacrilegious fraud involves the highest improbabilities. Who can believe that Melville, who felt so enthusiastically attached to Geneva, who regarded that city as one of the bulwarks of the Reformation, and who, at the solicitation of his most revered friends in it, had exerted himself to obtain collections for its relief, would have given his consent to rob it of those very succours which were so urgently required to preserve its independence, nay, its very existence as a protestant state? Who can believe that he or his nephew, who was as his own soul, would have done this in behalf of a nobleman of irregular habits and of no principles, with whom, although he courted the friendship of both, their keenest adversaries could not prove that either of them had ever had the slightest political connexion, even for a single day?* But James Melville, whose character was immediately attacked, had direct evidence to produce in defence of his honour, and of the strict fidelity with which he had acted in this business. He had in his possession the receipts granted by those for whom the money with which he had been entrusted was contributed;† and during his lifetime no individual durst convert the calumnious surmises circulated to his prejudice into a direct and manly charge. In the General Assembly held in May 1594, some members objected to his being nominated as one of the commissioners to the King, on the ground that he had incurred the suspicions of the court as a favourer of Bothwell. His conduct on that occasion was such as became a man who was conscious of innocence, and who felt what was due to his reputation. He told the Assembly, that so far from having courted appointments of that kind, he had often, as they knew, entreated to be excused from them; but, at present, he thought it incumbent upon him to insist that his name should be put on the list, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself from the slander; and if they declined doing this, he was determined to repair to the palace of his own accord, and to demand an investigation of his conduct. He was accordingly included in the commission.‡ After the commissioners had transacted their business with the King, and were about to retire, James Melville rose, and requested to be informed if his Majesty had any thing to lay to his charge, or if he harboured suspicions of his fidelity. The King replied, that he had nothing to say against him more than against the rest, except that he found his name on every commission. James Melville thanked God that this was the case; for in all his public em-

* Cald. iv. 241—246, 271, 305.
† Cald. iv. 269—272.
‡ Spon, Histoire de Geneve, tom. i. p. 334—393, edit. 1730.

* "About the spring tyme in the yeir following 1594 the outlaw Boduell kythe openlie with forces at Leithe and at Preistfield bot with lyk success as oftentymes befor, he tuk vpe men of war in secret vpe and down the countrey and gaiff out that it was at the kirks employment against the papists, whilk maid me being then mickle occupied in publict about the kirks effeares to be greatly suspected be the king and bak speirit be all meanes, bot it was hard to find quhilk was neuer thought. for I never lyket the man nor haid to do with him directlie or indirectlie. yea efter guid Archbald Erle of Angus whom God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him not of the nobilitie in Scotland that I could communicate my mynd with anet publict affears, let be to haiff a delling with in action." (Melville's Diary, p. 230.)

† After mentioning the liberality with which the people under his charge contributed for the relief of their brethren in France, he says, "The soum of the haill collection quilk the frenche kirks gat (from Scotland) extendit bot till about x thowsand merks, as their acquittances and Letters of thanksgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie delyverit to me be the generall assemblie to translet in Scottes and sett furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull sclanderers wha gaiff out that the collection was maid for an vther purpose; as also the Collection maid for Geneva, whar for we gat mair thankes by a letter of Theodore du Bez in the name of the Senat and kirk thairof nor it was all worthe, readie to be producit." (Melville's Diary, p. 194.)

‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 171, a.

ployments he had studied the good of the King as well as that of the church; and if there were any that traduced him to his Majesty as having engaged in secret, unlawful, or undutiful practices, he desired that they would now come forward and shew their faces, when he was present to answer for himself. No reply was made to this challenge. After this the King took him into his cabinet, and, having dismissed his attendants, conversed with him on a variety of topics with the greatest familiarity, sent his special commendations to his uncle, the principal, and declared that he looked upon both of them as faithful and trusty subjects. "So," (says James Melville) "of the strange working of God, I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet councellor."* Spotswood had good opportunities of becoming acquainted with this honourable exculpation, and yet after the death of the individual whom he was bound to revere, he embodied, in his History, this slander on his master's memory, not as a report, but as if it had been a well-authenticated fact.† And it has been retailed from his time down to the present, as scandal is usually propagated, by the prejudiced, the gossiping, and those who have neither patience to examine the grounds of a report, nor sagacity to perceive the most palpable marks of its improbability.

The General Assembly, which was held in May 1594, testified its sense of the important public services which Melville had lately performed, by placing him again in the moderator's chair. Lord Hume, one of the popish noblemen, presented himself at the bar of this Assembly, and made such professions of sorrow for his past conduct as induced the members to agree to his being absolved from the sentence of excommunication which the synod of Fife had passed against him. From suspicions of the sincerity of these professions, and from the consideration that his former adherents were still in arms, the moderator hesitated to absolve Hume; and the Assembly, after hearing his reasons, excused him, and appointed David Lindsay to supply his place in pronouncing the act of absolution.‡ This is not the only instance in which we find the ecclesiastical courts at this period paying such deference to the private convictions of their members, and even of those whose province it was to carry their sentences into execution.‖ Nor does it appear that the practice led to any decidedly bad consequences. Even in the ordinary management of affairs in the best regulated churches, instances will occur in which conscientious individuals may entertain serious scruples as to the lawfulness of particular decisions, and may decline to take an active part in executing them, without being guilty of a contempt of the court, or maintaining a factious opposition to the measures which they condemn. By giving place to such scruples, at the expense of deviating a little from the strict line of ordinary procedure, a court neither testifies its weakness nor compromises its authority: it merely evinces that moderation which becomes a tribunal confessedly subordinate and fallible, and does homage to the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment. Obstinacy and pride will screen themselves under this plea; but it is better that these evils should be overlooked and tolerated, than that the spirit of independence should be crushed, that there should be no medium left between absolute submission and endless separation, and that a despotical administration should be grafted on an authority which is immediately conversant about the affairs of the mind and conscience.

The Assembly unanimously ratified the sentence which the synod of Fife had pronounced against the other popish lords. These noblemen had refused to take the benefit of the act of abolition, continued in arms, and persevered in their treasonable correspondence with Spain. To a faithful and spirited exposition of the state of the country which the assembly laid before him, the King returned a very favourable answer. He acknowledged the dangers which they had pointed out, and declared his resolution to adopt the most prompt and decisive measures against the common enemies of the religion and peace of the kingdom. All his desires were most cordially granted by this assembly. They renewed an act of a former assembly, enjoining ministers, under the pain of deposition, not to utter from the pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against the King or his council.* They censured a preacher of the name of Ross who had been guilty of this offence. They pronounced the sentence of deposition against the minister of Carnbee, who had taken part with Bothwell.† And they enjoined all ministers to warn the people under their charge not to concur with that turbulent nobleman, or others who might engage in treasonable practices against his Majesty, and not to receive military pay, without the royal warrant, from any individual under the pretext of defending the cause of religion.‡

Indeed, there is not the slightest ground for calling in question the loyalty of the ministers of the church, or their decided and steady attachment to the person and government of James. Had he ceased from favouring a faction equally hostile to his crown and the established religion; had he exerted a reasonable superintendence over the administration of the state, and abstained from encroachments on the jurisdiction of the church; and above all, had he maintained his word and promises inviolate, he would have found the ministers disposed to give him all due satisfaction, and might have derived from them the most essential and efficient support. The submission which the nobility yielded to him was always partial and precarious. In the dispute which soon after arose between him and the Queen, as to the disposal of the person of the young Prince, he was deserted by some of his principal courtiers. His favourites engaged in cabals against him, and Lennox, for whom he had done so much, repeatedly connived at the audacious attempts of Bothwell. The preachers were inclined to favour no faction in the state. The selfishness and avarice of the barons had weaned them from any dependence which they might once have been disposed to place on that order; and there was not at that time a single nobleman to whom they looked up as a protector, or who possessed any considerable share of their confidence. Had their jealousies not been awakened and kept alive by the misconduct of the King, the leading men among them possessed too much sense, and were too well aware that the safety of the church, including their own, depended on the stability of his government, to indulge in or countenance any freedoms from the pulpit that tended to embarrass his administration, or to bring his person into contempt.‖ The joint influence

* Melville's Diary, p. 231, 232. Cald. iv. 371, 389, 390.
† Spotswood's Hist. p. 430. See above, p. 142.
‡ Melville's Diary, p. 230.
‖ In 1586, Robert Wilkie, the moderator of the provincial synod of Fife, having declined pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Adamson, the synod appointed one of the members to act for him in that instance. (Printed Calderwood, p. 201, 203.

* Some judicious and pertinent remarks on this act, and on the subject to which it relates—the freedom used by the ministers in their sermons, may be seen in Dr. Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. 18—20.
† The language employed by James in requesting this may be referred to as an exculpation of the ministers from the charge often brought against them: "3. that they will excommunicat Mr. Andro hunter for bringing in ane scandall upon thair professioun, as the *first* opin traitour of thair functioun agains ane christian king of thair religioun and thair naturall soveraigne." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 174, a.) James Melville says that the Presbytery of St. Andrews had previously deposed Hunter. (Diary, p. 231.)
‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 167—174. Melville's Diary, p. 230—232. Spotswood, 406.
‖ Bruce, at the time he was using the greatest freedom in rebuking the court, said: "It is our parts to crave it (wisdom to

of their doctrine and discipline presented to James a powerful instrument, not possessed by any of his predecessors, for suppressing the feuds of the nobility, purifying the administration of justice, and civilizing and reforming the morals of the people. Had he known how to avail himself of this, his reign in Scotland might have been tranquil and happy.

Although the popish noblemen were now in a state of open rebellion, they found advocates in the Parliament which was held in the month of June. Melville was present, and appeared for the church before the Lords of Articles. He urged the adopting of decisive measures against the delinquents as necessary to the security of religion and the peace of the kingdom. "Sir, (said he, addressing the King,) many think it a matter of great weight to overthrow the estate of three so great men. I grant it is so: but yet it is a weightier matter to overthrow, and expel out of the country, three far greater; to wit, true religion, the quietness of the commonwealth, and the prosperous estate of the King. If ye can get us a better commonwealth than our own, (continued he, directing his speech to the lords,) and a better King, we are content that the traitorous lords be spared; otherwise, we desire you to do your duty." He objected, that some who were present and prepared to vote, were excluded by law, and particularly the Prior of Pluscarden. One of the lords said, that the Prior was a man of honourable place, being President of the Court of Session.. "More honourable men than he are debarred from a place among the Lords of Articles," replied Melville. The King acknowledged that this was true, and promised to attend to the matter. Melville went on to say, that there were other individuals on the Articles who were strongly suspected of partiality in this cause, and of being almost as guilty as those who were under process. The abbots of Kinloss and Inchaffray smiled to each other. "Whom do you mean?" said the King. "One who laughs across the table," replied Melville. "Do you mean me?" said Kinloss. "If you confess yourself guilty, I will not clear you; but I meant Inchaffray." "Mr. Edward, (said his Majesty to Kinloss) that is Judas's question, *Is it I, Master?*" a remark which excited laughter. The majority of the Lords of Articles voted for the forfeiture of the three earls, and the judgment was ratified by Parliament.*

On the defeat of the Earl of Argyle by the popish lords at Glenlivet, the King set out for the north, at the head of some troops to oppose the rebels. At his express request, he was accompanied by Melville, his nephew, and two other ministers. Had it not been for their presence, the expedition must have ended disgracefully. The popish chiefs retired into their fastnesses, and the royal forces were ready to disband for want of pay. So great was the distrust of his Majesty's professions, that the nation testified no disposition to raise the supplies necessary to insure the success of an expedition of which they highly approved. In this emergency, James Melville was despatched to the south with recommendatory letters from his brethren, to procure contributions in the principal towns. He had scarcely left the camp when measures were proposed which would have disgraced his mission, and contradicted the assurances which he was authorized to give in the name of the King. But, after the greater part of the Privy Counsellors had given their opinion that it was not fit to proceed to extremities against the insurgents, Melville reasoned so forcibly against the proposal, and his arguments made such an impression upon the minds of the officers of the army who were present, that his Majesty deemed it prudent to dissent from the majority of his council, and issued immediate orders for throwing down Strathbogie, a castle belonging to the Earl of Huntly. This decisive measure produced the expected effect upon the popish earls, who soon after quitted the kingdom.*

In the midst of the confusions caused by the rebellion of the popish lords, great joy was diffused through the nation by the birth of an heir to the crown. Melville celebrated that event in an elegant little poem, in which he predicted that the infant prince would unite the crowns of Britain, and humble the pride of Spain and Rome:

Fastu donec Iberico
Late subacto, sub pedibus premas
Clarus triumpho delibuti
Geryonis triplicem tiaram.
Qua nunc revinctus tempora Cerberus
Romanus atra conduplicat face
De rupe Tarpeja fragores
Tartareos tonitru tremendo.
Quo terram inertem, quo mare barbarum,
Orcumque, et oras territat igneas
Septem, potitus verna sceptris,
Et solio, gemini draconis.†

The poet, however, lived to see his prediction contradicted, and to sing in other strains the premature death of a prince whose rare virtues and talents had excited universal expectation. David Cunninghame, bishop of Aberdeen, was employed to celebrate the baptism of Prince Henry; a circumstance which, when compared with what took place at the Coronation of the Queen, may be viewed as indicating that the court had altered its intentions as to the government of the church, and already meditated the gradual restoration of the episcopal order.‡

In the course of the year 1595, Melville was involved in trouble through his friendship for David Black. Black had commenced a process against Balfour of Burley, who retained possession of a house in the Abbey which had been assigned as a manse to the minister of St. Andrews.‖ Fearing that he would lose his cause, Burley stirred up the court against his prosecutor, whom he accused of reviling the late Queen, in his sermons. Melville was charged with abetting him in his seditious harangues, and both were summoned before the King at Falkland. At their arrival Black was brought before an assembly consisting partly of members of the Privy Council, and partly of ministers called together from the neighbouring par-

the King:) becaus for as louss as he is, he is the greatest blessing that ever we shall see." And in another sermon: "Surely the only band temporall that holds up the commonweill here, quhilk is ruinouse on all sides, and is like to fall down, stands upon that prince. Suppose he be many wayes abused, out of question an he war removed—I look to see confusion multiplied on confusion." (MS. Notes of Sermons by Robert Bruce: Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 14, 15.)

* Cald. iv. 392, 393. The Form and Probation of the summonds of treason, p. 398. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 56—61.

* Record of Privy Council, Oct 19, and 28. 1594. Melville's Diary, p. 232—236. Cald. iv. 402, 407—418.

† This poem was published under the following title: "Principis Scoti-Brittanorvm Natalia. Edinbvrgi Excudebat Robertus Waldegraue, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus. Anno 1594." 4to. four leaves. A poem entitled "Amvletum" is subjoined to it.

‡ The Account of the Baptism of Henry Prince of Scotland, has been frequently printed. I do not know that the concluding orations of the Bishop were ever published, but they are preserved in MS. in the British Museum: "Frederici Henrici Principis Scotorum Sacra Lustralia, actore atque auctore Dauide Cuninghamo, Episcopo Aberdonensi, celebrata Nineoduni Sterlingorum Septembris 1594." (Harl. MSS. 4043, 4044.) They consist of a "Votum" in verse, and "Eucharisteria," addressed to the ambassadors, in prose. The former contains the following encomium upon the royal parents:

Sin te exempla sequi juvat aut vestigia regum,
Nequicquam antiquata petas, quæ occlusa vetustas
Occulit, ast unum patrem mireris, et unum
Patrem qui reges tantum super altior omnes,
Astræos quantum Phœbus super emicat ignes.
Nec parum matre est, tantaque viragine nasci
Filia quæ regis conjunxque sororque parensque,
Sed superans meritis sortem sexumque genusque.

‖ Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, b.

ishes. He expressed his willingness to give an account of his doctrine for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the individuals present, but objected to being put on his trial before an assembly which was neither civil nor ecclesiastical. His objections were, however, summarily overruled, and the examination of witnesses was already begun, when Melville, suspecting the irregular proceedings which were going on, knocked at the door and was admitted. Having obtained permission to speak on a mode of proceedure which tended to prejudge the rights of the church and his own cause, he told his Majesty, what he had often rung in his ears, that though he was the King of Scotland, he was not the King of the church in Scotland; and that there was no court assembled there which had a right to try the cause which he had brought before them. "But," continued he, "if King James the Sixth has any judicature or cause here, it should be to judge, not the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, but (turning to Burley) *this* traitor, who has committed diverse points of high treason against his Majesty's civil laws, by taking his peaceable subjects in the night out of their houses, and resetting in his own house the King's rebels and forfeited enemies." Burley fell on his knees before his Majesty, and craved justice. "Justice!" exclaimed Melville, "would to God you had it! You would not then be here to bring a judgment from Christ upon the King, and thus falsely and unjustly to vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." James attempted to silence him by assuming an air and tone of authority, but the feelings of Melville were wrought up to too high a pitch to suffer him to pay regard to frowns or threats; and his Majesty was fain to allay the heat by addressing the parties in a jocular strain, and telling them, "that they were both little men, and their heart was at their mouth." By this affray the trial was suddenly broken off as it had been irregularly begun. The affair was at last brought to a happy termination by the wisdom of James Melville, who had been sent for by his uncle to be present on the occasion. He acquainted the Earl of Mar, with the real circumstances of the case; set before him the injurious consequences which would arise from a breach between the church and the King, at a time when the court was divided and the country far from being in a settled state; and persuaded him to mitigate his Majesty's resentment, and bring about an accommodation on reasonable terms. The consequence was, that Black, bring admitted to a private interview, satisfied the king that he had spoken with great respect of his mother, and touched very gently on the errors of her administration; professed that he had no design of insinuating that the extraordinary measures taken by the nation during her reign should be adopted in the present; and, as his Majesty was afraid that the seditious would put such a construction on his words, promised to abstain for the future from such forms of speech as he had used. Melville too was admitted to an audience, and after free but amicable reasoning with James, was graciously dismissed.

All parties professed to be satisfied with the conduct of James Melville in this affair, but he observed that from this time his credit with the King declined. His object in cultivating the interest which he had at court was to persuade his Majesty that the ministers loved him, and were disposed to please him as far as was consistent with their sense of duty; that so the affairs of church and state might be conducted harmoniously, or with as little jarring as possible. His Majesty, on the other hand, was anxious to gain him over to an approbation of court-measures; but finding, after an experiment of two years, that he could not detach him from his brethren, he withdrew the remarks of regard and confidence with which he had hitherto honoured him. Among those who are to be found in kings' courts few are like-minded with James Melville. He annually expended the half of his stipend on the public service: and as for gifts from the crown, I sought none, (says he) and I got none unsought."*

In the end of this year, Melville, along with his nephew and Bruce, visited Lord Thirlstane, the Chancellor, in his castle beside Lauder. His lordship was then on his death-bed, and the conversation which he held with them was highly satisfactory to his visitors. The loss of this able statesman was quickly felt by the nation, and must be viewed as a principal means of bringing on those evils with which the church was soon after assailed.†

The year 1596 is memorable in the history of the church of Scotland. "It had," says James Melville, "a strange variety and mixture; the beginning thereof with a shew of profit in planting the churches with perpetual local stipends; the midst of it very comfortable for the exercise of reformation and renewing the covenant; but the end of it tragical in wasting the Zion of our Jerusalem, the church of Edinburgh, and threatening no less to many of the rest." The first of these measures was defeated by the same cause which had opposed its adoption in every shape since the Reformation.‡ The second measure commenced under more favourable auspices, and, though interrupted by the confusions which ensued, was productive of good and lasting effects. It originated with that pious and honest minister of the Gospel, John Davidson.‖ His mind had for a considerable time been deeply affected with various corruptions in the church. He lamented the inefficacy of the means which had hitherto been used to correct them. He was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue, if the constancy of ministers and people, in adhering to their religious profession, should be subjected to any severe trial. And he was anxious that a great and general effort should be made to bring about such a reformation as all good men wished to see accomplished. Accordingly, he laid a proposal to this purpose before the presbytery of Haddington, who transmitted it, in the form of an overture, to the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in the month of March. The overture was unanimously approved of by the Assembly; and a writing was immediately drawn up, containing an enumeration of the evils to be reformed, under the four following heads: Corruptions in the persons and lives of ministers of the Gospel; offences in his Majesty's house; the common corruptions of all estates; and offences in the courts of justice. Great moderation was used in specifying the offences of the royal household, and of the civil courts. The ministers did not spare their own order, and that part of the statement which related to them was larger than all the rest taken together.§ On the motion of Melville, the means to be employed for reforming ministers, and the censures to be inflicted on them for particular acts of delinquency, were condescended on. As a primary step to reformation, and according to an approved practice in the best times of the church, the members of Assembly agreed

* Melville's Diary, p. 237—242.

† Ibid. p. 242. Simsoni Annales, p. 73. Spotswood, p. 411. Melville testified his respect for the memory of the Chancellor, in an epitaph. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 116.

‡ The plan of providing fixed stipends here referred to was drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and has been preserved at length by James Melville. (Melville's Diary, p. 244—254.) Those who wish to be acquainted with its provisions may consult Printed Calderwood, (p. 325—328.) or the more abridged account of it given by Dr. Cook. (Hist. of the Church of Scotland, ii. 55—59.) The *constant plat*, as it was called, became a convenient engine in the hands of the court, who set it in motion whenever they wished the concurrence of the ministers in any of their measures.

‖ He was admitted minister of Prestonpans on the 7th of January, 1595-6. (Rec. of the Presb. of Haddington.)

§ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. This record contains the offences of the ministers only; but the entire paper may be seen in Printed Calderwood, p. 314—320. The following is the only specification of personal vice in the King: "His Maj. is blotted with banning and swearing, which is common to courtiers also."

to meet by themselves for the purpose of jointly confessing their sins, and "making promise before the Majesty of God" to amend their conduct. This meeting was accordingly held in the Little Church, on Tuesday the 30th of March, 1596. John Davidson, who was chosen to preside on the occasion, preached so much to the conviction of his hearers, and made confession of their sins to Heaven with such devout fervour, that the whole Assembly melted into tears before him; and rising from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, "protesting to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." The scene, which continued during three hours, was solemn and affecting beyond any thing that the oldest person present had witnessed.*

As the greater part of the ministers were not present to join in this sacred action, the General Assembly ordained that it should be repeated in the several provincial synods and presbyteries, and that it should afterwards be extended to congregations. This ordinance was obeyed with an alacrity and ardour which spread from synod to synod, from presbytery to presbytery, and from parish to parish; "the inhabitants of one city saying to another, Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten," until all Scotland, like Judah of old, "rejoiced at the oath."† Nowhere was the service performed with more affecting solemnity than at Dunfermline by the members of the synod of Fife. After they had plighted their faith to God and to one another, James Melville, who had the direction of the exercise, called up some of the most judicious members to address the assembly. David Ferguson, the oldest minister of the church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the reformed church in Scotland. He was one of six individuals, (he said) who engaged in that work, when the name of stipend was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of a single person of rank and worldly estimation: yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and Providence crowned their labours with success. Davidson, who was present by appointment of the General Assembly, said that the opposite emotions by which the Jewish convocation was agitated at the founding of the second temple, were at that moment blended in his soul: he rejoiced at what he saw that day, but he was at the same time filled with sadness when he reflected how far he and his brethren had degenerated from the godliness, zeal, gravity, love, courage, and painfulness, which shone in the first reformers, and which he had witnessed in his youth. Melville, at the moderator's desire, delivered the concluding address. In warning his brethren against defection and breach of covenant, he put them in mind of the humbling example of human frailty which had been given in the year 1584, when the greater part of the ministers, after swearing the national covenant, were induced, by the mere dread of losing their stipends, to ratify by their subscription those acts which subverted the liberties and whole discipline of the church. "What should be looked for, then, (said he) if the Spaniards, who have lately taken Calais, from which in a few hours they might easily transport themselves to this island, yea, into our own frith, should essay our constancy with the fine and exquisite torments of their Inquisition; a piece of service upon which our excommunicated and forfeited earls are attending?"*

The satisfaction felt in this exercise was like a gleam of sunshine before a storm; and the principal persons engaged in it were soon after involved in a severe conflict, attended with a train of consequences distressing to them and disastrous to the church. The ministers were informed, by letters from their friends abroad, of the active exertions which the Scottish priests were making on the Continent against their native country.† The King of Spain again threatened the invasion of Britain. Elizabeth had put her kingdom in a posture of defence to meet the meditated attack.‡ James was fully apprized, by intercepted letters, of the treasonable correspondence which the popish lords continued to hold with Spain, and of the plans which they had suggested for getting possession of the principal ports in Scotland.‖ He had made this information public by repeated proclamations; had given orders for military musters and reviews in the several counties; and had urged the ministers to exhort their people to take arms, and to assist him in raising supplies, to repel the intended invasion.§ In these circumstances the nation was thrown into a state of alarm and confusion by the news that the popish lords had secretly entered the kingdom. James protested that they had come without his consent or knowledge; but this, instead of relieving men's minds, placed them in the most distressing dilemma. If they disbelieved his Majesty's asseveration, what confidence could they have in any thing that he said or did? If they gave credit to it, what could they think but that the noblemen, in coming home, must have received assurances of aid, both domestic and foreign, to enable them to set at defiance the royal authority? The state of matters was now much altered from what it had formerly been, when the prime minister was decidedly favourable to the interests of religion and the church. Since the death of the Chancellor, the administration of affairs had been entrusted to eight individuals, commonly called *Octavians*; the greater part of whom, including the Lord President and the King's Advocate, were either known or suspected Papists. That they were privy to the return of the forfeited noblemen, could scarce admit of a doubt; that their interest would be used to procure for them an indemnity and admittance to his Majesty's counsels, there was the strongest reason to suspect. In that case, the days of Lennox and Arran would return; and the religion and lives of the Protestants would be exposed to the most imminent hazard. Such were the apprehensions entertained by the nation. Their fears might be too highly raised; but none who attends to all the circumstances will pronounce them groundless, or wonder that the preachers should have

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. Melville's Diary, p. 261. Cald. v. 47—49.

† Ibid. Row's Historie, p. 61. The covenant was renewed by the Synod of Fife on the 13th of May (Melville's Diary, p. 262.;) by the Presbytery of St. Andrews "upon the penult furisday of the monethe of July" (ib. 268;) by the congregation of Kilrinny on the 5th of September (Ib. p. 271.;) and by the congregation of Anstruther soon after: "We thot meet to enter in tryell of ourselfes for the better preparation to the covenant and Lordes supper." (Rec. of Kirk Session of Anstruther, Sept. 5, 1596.) James Melville laments that the ministers of Edinburgh omitted this exercise in their congregations. (Diary, p. 274.) If they did so, the presbytery cannot be blamed for the omission: "It is concluditt, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, a covenant salbe renewitt in all the boundis of this presbitrie, and that upon the vii of October next." (Rec. of Presbytery of Edinburgh, Sept. 21, 1596.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 261—267.

† Letter from Augsburgh, April 27, 1596, by Mr. D. Anderson; in the Appendix.

‡ Cald. iv. 443.

‖ Printed Calderwood, p. 353, 372.

§ "Being surlie informit that the foraine preparationis threatnit of lang tyme for prosequtioun of that detestable conspiracie aganis christ and his evangill ar presentlie in readines and intendis to arryve in this Iland—Quairfoir his Maiestie with aduise of the lordis of his secreit counsall ordains and commandis as alsua effectuouslie requiris all ministers of Godis worde and presbiteries w'in this realm Eirnestlie to travaill w' all his hienes subiectis of all estatis—to convene in armes with his Maiestie his lieutenantis or commissionaris," &c. (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 4, 1595.) Proclamations for arming and weaponshawing, in which language equally strong, and even more alarming, is used, are contained in the Council Minutes of 2d of December, the 5th of February, and the 11th of March.

exerted their utmost influence to avert the dangers with which they saw themselves and the country threatened.

Soon after his arrival in the country, Huntly sent an offer of submission for himself and his associates; and an extraordinary meeting of the Privy Council was summoned at Falkland to take his proposals into consideration.* Certain ministers whom the court judged more complying than the rest were desired to be present at this meeting to give their advice. Though not invited, Melville judged it his duty to attend as one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. On hearing of his arrival the king sent a messenger to know his errand, and to charge him to depart; but he excused himself from complying with this private mandate, by pleading the public commission which he had received. When he made his appearance along with his brethren, the King asked him, what call he had to be there. "Sir," replied he, "I have a call from Christ and his church, who have a special interest in this convention; and I charge you and your estates in their name, that you favour not their enemies, nor go about to make citizens of those who have traitorously sought to betray their country to the cruel Spaniard, to the overthrow of Christ's kingdom." Being interrupted by his Majesty, and ordered to remove, he retired, thanking God that he had enjoyed an opportunity of exonerating his conscience. Encouraged by his boldness, the other ministers resisted the proposals of the court; but, in the end, as James Melville acknowledges, they were induced to relax in their opposition. The President made a plausible speech, in which he defended the policy of calling home the exiled noblemen, lest, like Coriolanus and Themistocles, they should join the enemies of their country. And the council agreed, that although the propositions made by Huntly were too general, yet he might be restored upon his acceding to such conditions as the King and Privy Council should prescribe.† This agreement having given general offence, his Majesty took an early opportunity of declaring that he did not mean to act upon it. The presbytery of Edinburgh voted him an address of thanks for this declaration, and the persons who presented it received from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere to the determination which he had avowed.‡ Understanding that a Convention of Estates was to be held at Dunfermline to deliberate on the affair, the presbytery sent two of their members to request that the royal promise made to them should be kept; but their petition was disregarded, and the resolution taken at Falkland was approved of and ratified.‖

In consequence of this the commissioners of the General Assembly, assisted by some public spirited gentlemen, met at Cupar in Fife; and being assured by the royal chaplains that his Majesty was not privy to the return of the popish lords, they appointed a deputation to go to Falkland, and exhort him to prevent the evil consequences which would ensue from the measures which his council were pursuing. The deputies were admitted to a private audience of the King. They had agreed that James Melville should be their spokesman on account of the courteousness of his address, and the superior degree of respect which his Majesty had uniformly expressed for him. But he had scarcely begun to speak, when the King interrupted him, and in a tone of irritation challenged the meeting held at Cupar as illegal and seditious, and accused them of infusing unreasonable and unfounded fears into the minds of the people. James Melville was preparing to reply in his mild manner, when his uncle, unable to restrain himself, or judging that the occasion called for a different style, stepped forward and addressed the King. His Majesty testified the strongest reluctance to listen to his discourse, and summoned up all his authority to silence him; but Melville persevered, and taking hold of the King's gown in his fervour, and calling him *God's silly vassal*, he proceeded to address him in the following strain, perhaps the most singular, in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject, who would have spilt the last drop of his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince. "Sir, we will always humbly reverence your Majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and your crown, and along with you the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the King of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, have power and authority from him to govern his spiritual kingdom both jointly and severally; the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist; otherwise they are not faithful servants of Christ and members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience; but again I say, you are not the head of the church: you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling-clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land in spite of all his enemies: his officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and welfare of his church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction and cutting off. Their assemblies since that time continually have been terrible to these enemies and most steadable to you. And now, when there is more than extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of that duty, will you (drawn to your own destruction by a devilish and most pernicious counsel) begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and your most faithful subjects, quarrelling them for their convening and the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did? The wisdom of your counsel, which I call devilish, is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant; and because the Protestants and ministers of Scotland are over strong and control the King, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and, the King being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly; his curse cannot but light upon it; in seeking both ye shall lose both; whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest counterfeitly and lyingly to give over themselves and serve you." During the delivery of this confounding speech his Majesty's passion subsided. On recovering from the surprise into which he was thrown, along with all who were present, he repeated his asseverations, that he had no previous knowledge of the return of the popish

* Errol did not return till September.

† Record of Privy Council, August 12, 1596. Melville's Diary, p. 275.

‡ Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, vltimo Augᵗ 1596.

‖ Ibid. 28 Sept. 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101.

lords, and pledged his word, that the proposals which they had been allowed to make should not be received till they left the kingdom, and that, even then, he would shew them no favour before they satisfied the church.*

But "the church got only words and promises; her enemies got the deed and effect."† The design of restoring the popish noblemen was persevered in; the Countess of Huntly was invited by the King to the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth; and Lady Livingston, an adherent to the Roman Catholic religion, was appointed to have the care of the person of the young princess. Upon this the presbytery of Edinburgh, at the desire of their brethren in Fife, called together the commissioners of the General Assembly.‡ They, with the advice of deputies from the different synods, drew up a representation of the dangers of the country, and of the measures best calculated for averting them. This was transmitted to every presbytery. It proposed that the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords should be intimated anew; and that a certain number of ministers from the different quarters of the kingdom, should sit at Edinburgh, during the present crisis, as an ordinary council of the church, to receive information, and to convoke, if they should see cause, a meeting of the General Assembly.

Despairing of being able to overcome the resistance of the ministers of the church to the scheme which it was bent on accomplishing, the court resolved to put them on their own defence, by attacking their privileges. This was first ascertained by the commissioners on the 9th of November, at an interview which they had requested with the King for the purpose of removing the jealousies which had arisen between them. On that occasion, his Majesty told them that there could be no agreement between him and them, till the marches of their jurisdiction were rid, and unless the following points were conceded to him: That the preachers should not introduce matters of state into their sermons; that the General Assembly should not be convened without his authority and special command; that nothing done in it should be held valid until ratified by him in the same manner as acts of Parliament; and that none of the church-courts should take cognizance of any offence which was punishable by the criminal law of the country. If, after this declaration, any doubt as to the intentions of the court still remained on the minds of the ministers, it was removed by the information, that David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the Privy Council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons. Satisfied that the overthrow of their liberties was aimed at, the commissioners resolved on making a firm and united resistance to this premeditated attack. They wrote to the several presbyteries to put them on their guard against any attempts that might be made to disunite them; they exhorted them to turn their attention particularly to those points which were likely to become the subjects of controversy; and they appointed certain individuals to make a collection of all the acts of Privy Council and Parliament which had been made in favour of the liberties and discipline of the church. Having in vain used means to prevail on the King to desist from the prosecution of Black, the commissioners, after deliberation, agreed that the rights of the church were inseparably connected with his cause, and advised him to decline the judgment of the Privy Council as incompetent to decide at first instance on the accusation brought against him. A declinature having been drawn up in this form, it was sent through the presbyteries, and subscribed in a very short time by upwards of three hundred ministers. The contest between the civil and ecclesiastic authorities now became open; each had recourse to its own weapons in defence of its claims; and high and strong measures were taken on both sides.

According to Spotswood's representation, it was chiefly through the persuasions of Melville that the commissioners of the church were induced to make a common cause with Black. He adds, that, when it was proposed to give in a declinature, "this was held a dangerous course, and earnestly dissuaded by some few, but they were cried down by the greater number."* I have no doubt that Melville joined in advising this step. His friendship for Black, his conviction of the innocence of his friend, and his having formerly adopted the same course when a similar charge was brought against himself, put this beyond all reasonable doubt. But that there was any thing like an opposition among the ministers to the course which was taken, I have seen no good reason to believe. The fact is, that there never was more unanimity in the church than was displayed in this cause. All seemed to be animated with the same sentiment as to the dangerous tendency of the encroachments of the court, and the necessity of resisting them. Rollock, Lindsay, and Buchanan, who were most distinguished for moderation, and Gladstanes, Nicolson, and Galloway, who were afterwards most active in advancing the views of the King, testified the greatest zeal and forwardness in defence of the rights of the church on the present occasion.†

It is commonly taken for granted, even by those who are favourable to the cause of the ministers, that during the disputes between the King and the church respecting the popish noblemen, Black preached a sermon in which he used a number of freedoms with the royal family, the counsellors, and judges, which, to say the least, were very unseasonable, and afforded the court a handle against him and his brethren.‡ But this is not a correct view of the case. Black was summoned *super inquirendis*; and when, at his appearance before the Privy Council on the 10th of November, he objected to this mode of procedure as inquisitorial and illegal, he was told, and told for the first time, that the general charge was restricted to the particular one contained in a letter from the English ambassador, complaining of liberties which had been taken with the character of his mistress.‖ His summons bore that he was to be examined, not concerning alleged treasonable or seditious language, but "touching certain undecent and uncomely speeches uttered by him in diverse his sermons made in St. Andrews."§ So trivial were the delations, or so suspicious the channels through which they came, that his Majesty professed to the commissioners, that "he did not think much of that matter; only they should cause him appear and take some course for pacifying the English ambassador: but take heed (said he) that you do not decline the judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than any thing that has yet fallen out."¶ Black gave an explanation which satisfied Bowes, the English ambassador, who had been pushed on to complain of him.** But, instead of dropping the process, the court served Black with a

* Melville's Diary, p. 276—278. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 754, 755.

† This was the saying of Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of the King's house; at which James was so much offended, that he refused for a considerable time to admit him into his presence. (Printed Calderwood, p. 336.)

‡ Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 5th October, 1596.

* Spotswood's History, p. 420, 421.

† Ibid. p. 423—430. Printed Cald. p. 333—336.

‡ Spotswood says, "Whilst things thus past betwixt the King and the church, a new occasion of trouble was presented by Mr. David Blake, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, who had in *one* of his sermons cast forth diverse speeches full of spight against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had called the Queen of England an Atheist, a Woman of no religion." (Hist. p. 420.) The minutes of the Privy Council, to which the archbishop had access, do not warrant this statement.

‖ See the minute of the Privy Council, in Note KK.

§ Ibid. ¶ Spotswood, p. 421.

** Moyse's Memoirs, p. 246.

new libel, containing articles of charge which had been collected since his former appearance, and which related to his sermons and conduct during the three preceding years. In short, it appears from the whole proceedings, that the offence was not offered, but eagerly sought; and that "the process against Mr. Black was but a policy to divert the ministers from prosecuting their suit against the popish earls."* The accusations in the second libel were odious; but, although it is probable that he had used expressions which gave some occasion for them, there can be little doubt that his language was wrested and his meaning misrepresented. At his appearance, he protested that the charges were utterly false and calumnious, and had been devised by informers who were filled with resentment against him for bringing them under church censure for their faults.† He produced, in support of his innocence, the testimonials of the provost,‡ bailies, and council of St. Andrews, and of the rector, dean of faculty, professors, and regents of the university. He declared his readiness to submit immediately to the trial of the Privy Council on that article of the libel which charged him with having raised companies of armed men in June 1594. And he requested that the other articles should be remitted to the presbytery of his bounds, to which, and not to the Privy Council, it belonged to judge, in the first instance, of the doctrines which he had delivered from the pulpit. On the 30th of November, the day fixed for hearing his cause, Black was assisted in his defence by Pont and Bruce. The council rejected the declinature, and, disregarding the testimonials which he produced in his favour, proceeded to sustain themselves judges of the whole libel; upon which Black refused to plead. At a subsequent diet they found all the charges against him proved, and sentenced him to be confined beyond the North Water, until his Majesty resolved what farther punishment should be inflicted on him.‖

I have already inquired at some length into the merits of this question, which had formerly been the subject of litigation between the church and the court.§ It is common to censure the ministers for imprudence in entering with so much warmth into Black's defence, when they were involved in another dispute with the King. But from the preceding statement it appears that they were forced into it. Besides, the question respecting the liberty of the pulpit, considered in all its bearings, was of more importance than that which related to the popish lords. These noblemen, if restored, might have distracted the country, but they would not have been permitted to ruin it, so long as the preachers were allowed to retain their wonted freedom of speech. A law which would have had the effect of restraining the ministers of Edinburgh alone from expressing any opinion on matters of state, was more to be dreaded at that time than the presence of ten thousand armed Spaniards in the heart of Scotland. The question was important in another point of view. The indefinite restraint of public rebukes and censures of immorality, at least so far as concerned all who had any connexion with the court, was ultimately aimed at.¶ Persons may declaim at their pleasure on the insufferable license in which the preachers indulged; but it will be found on examination, that the discouragement of vice and impiety, the checking of the most crying abuses in the administration of justice, and the preserving of common peace and order in the country, depended upon the freedom of the pulpit, to a degree which no one who is not intimately acquainted with the state of things can conceive.*

I cannot refrain from quoting here the following energetic, and, I must say, affecting passage, which no person can read without feeling that he reads the heart of the writers. It is taken from an address which the commissioners of the church presented to the King and council on the morning of Black's trial. "We are compelled, for clearing of our ministry from all suspicion of such unnatural affection and offices towards your Majesty and the state of your Majesty's country, to call that great Judge who searcheth the hearts, and shall give recompense to every one conform to the secret thought thereof, to be judge betwixt us and the authors of all these malicious calumnies. Before his tribunal we protest, that we always bare, now bear, and shall bear, God willing, to our life's end, as loyal affection to your Majesty as any of your Majesty's best subjects within your Majesty's realm, of whatsomever degree; and according to our power and calling shall be, by the grace of God, as ready to procure and maintain your Majesty's welfare, peace, and advancement, as any of the best affectioned whatsomever. We call your Majesty's own heart to record, whether you have not found it so in effect in your Majesty's straits, and if your Majesty be not persuaded to find the like of us all, if it fall out that your Majesty have occasion in these difficulties to have the trial of the affection of your subjects again. Whatsoever we have uttered, either in our doctrine or in other actions toward your Majesty, it hath proceeded of a zealous affection toward your Majesty's welfare above all things next to the honour of God, as we protest; choosing rather by the liberty of our admonitions to hazard ourselves, than by our silence to suffer your Majesty to draw on the guiltiness of any sin that might involve your Majesty in the wrath and judgment of God. In respect whereof we most humbly beseech your Majesty so to esteem of us and our proceedings as tending always, in great sincerity of our hearts, to the establishing of religion, the surety of your Majesty's estate and crown, (which we acknowledge to be inseparably joined therewith) and to the common peace and welfare of the whole country. We persuade ourselves that howsoever the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon a purpose of your Majesty to have the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, yet the same is entertained and blown up by the favourers of those that are and shall prove in the end the greatest enemies that either your Majesty or the cause of God can have in this country; thinking thereby to engender such a misliking betwixt your Majesty and the ministry as shall by time take away all farther trust, and in end work a division irreconcilable, wherethrough your Majesty might be brought to think your greatest friends to be your enemies, and your greatest enemies to be your friends. There is no

* Spotswood, p. 421.

† The principal informer was John Rutherfurd, minister of Kilconquhar, whom Black had prosecuted before the presbytery for non-residence. (Altare Damasc. p. 425. Crawfurd's MS. History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 193.)

‡ The laird of Dairsie, who could not be suspected of partiality for Black, was at that time provost.

‖ See Note KK. Cotton MSS. Cal. D. ii. 96. Spotswood, 424—427. A full account of the proceedings in this affair is given in Printed Calderwood, p. 345—356.

§ See above, p. 260, 263.

¶ "Because impiety dare not be yet so impudent to crave in expresse terms that sinne be not rebuked, (say the commissioners of the church,) it is sought only that his Majesty and Council be acknowledged judges in matters civil and criminal, treasonable and seditious, which shall be found uttered by any minister in his doctrine; thinking to draw the rebuke of sinne, in the King, councell, or their proceedings, under the name of one of these crimes." (Printed Calderwood, p. 362.)

† The author of a letter, which was given in to the palace under the fictitious name of the Minister of Kilconquhar, and which fretted James exceedingly, says, "Had not the discipline of the kirk been more reverently and better executed than the civill policy was these years bygane, the country had been cast in a barbarous confusion. Sir, wise men would have your Majesty to ponder that saying, I Tim. iii. 5. "If anie man cannot rule his own house, how sall he care for the Kirk of God?" And wise men think and say, that had the ministers winked and been silent att mens proceedings, and suffered you to runne from tyme to tyme your intended course, the crowne long er now had not been on your head." (Cald. v. 157, 161, 165.)

necessity at this time, nor occasion offered on our part, to insist on the decision of intricate and unprofitable questions and processes; albeit, by the subtile craft of adversaries of your Majesty's quietness, some absurd and almost incredible suppositions (which the Lord forbid should enter into the hearts of Christians, let be in the hearts of the Lord's messengers) be drawn in and urged importunately at this time, as if the surety and privilege of your Majesty's crown and authority royal depended on the present decision thereof. We most humbly beseech your Majesty to remit the decision thereof to our lawful assembly that might determine thereupon according to the word of God. For, this we protest in the sight of God, according to the light that he hath given us in his truth, that the special cause of the blessing that remaineth and hath remained upon your Majesty and your Majesty's country, since your coronation, hath been and is the liberty which the Gospel hath had within your realm; and if your Majesty, under whatsoever colour, abridge the same directly or indirectly, the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled against your Majesty and the kingdom which we in the name of the Lord Jesus, forwarn you of, that your Majesty's and your council's blood lie not upon us."* Had James possessed half the wisdom which he laid claim to, he would have perceived that the rights of his crown could be in no danger from the attempts, or from the faithful and affectionate though sometimes officious and rough reproofs, of such men as these: he would have revered their integrity, and been proud of their spirit.

During the process of Black, and after it was brought to a termination, daily communings were held between the court and the ministers, and various proposals were made for removing the variance which had unhappily arisen.† Different accounts are given of the causes which defeated the success of these proposals; but from what the King had already avowed, and from the whole tenor of his proceedings, there is reason to conclude, that, if the ministers had yielded the point in dispute, the concession would have been followed by additional encroachments on their rights. As it was, the court was determined against any reconciliation which did not imply an absolute submission to its claims on the part of the church. The proposals made by the commissioners were listened to, and hopes of conciliation were held out to them; but when they were flattering themselves that they were on the eve of an amicable arrangement, some new difficulty was started, or some new symptom of hostility manifested.† Finding that they had been amused and deceived, the ministers expressed their dissatisfaction from the pulpit; upon which the court had recourse to the most irritating measures. An act of council was passed, ordaining the ministers, before receiving payment of their stipends, to subscribe a bond, in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the King and Privy Council as often as they were accused of seditious or treasonable doctrine. An old act of council was renewed, prohibiting all from uttering, privately or publicly, in sermons or in familiar conferences, any false or slanderous speeches to the reproach or contempt of his Majesty, his council, proceedings, or progenitors, and from meddling with affairs of state, "present, bygane, or to come, under the pain of death;" commanding all magistrates in burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, to interrupt and imprison any preachers whom they should hear uttering such speeches from pulpits; and threatening with the highest pains all those who should hear offences of this kind committed without revealing them.* At the same time, a proclamation was issued, ordering the commissioners of the General Assembly to leave the capital, and declaring the powers which they claimed to be unwarranted and illegal.†

Melville left Edinburgh, along with the rest of the commissioners, on the 15th of December; but as the events which followed made great noise, and had an important influence on the affairs of the church, it would be improper to pass them over.

The *Octavians*,‡ by the rigid economy which they had introduced into the management of the finances, restricted his Majesty from lavishing money upon his private favourites. Irritated at this, the latter, known at that time by the name of *Cubiculars*, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber, were desirous of driving these statesmen from their places, and to accomplish this object they industriously fomented the dissension between the King and the church. They insinuated to the Octavians, that the friends of the ministers were engaged in a plot against their lives. They, at the same time, privately assured the ministers, that the Octavians were the advisers of the return of the popish lords and of the prosecution of Black; that it was through their influence that the mind of the King was alienated from the church; and that they intended nothing less than the overthrow of the protestant religion.‖

On the morning of the 17th of December, 1596, information was conveyed to Bruce, that the Earl of Huntly had been all night in the palace, and that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for orders to enter the capital. This communication, which was partly true, excited the more alarm, as a charge had just been given to twenty-four of the most zealous citizens to remove from Edinburgh. It being the day of the weekly sermon, the ministers agreed that the barons and burgesses who were present should be desired to meet in the Little Church, after public worship, to advise on what ought to be done.§ They met accordingly, and deputed two persons from each of the estates to wait on the King, who happened to be then in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his Majesty that they were sent to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the King. Bruce mentioned what they had been told as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his Majesty; "and how durst you convene against my proclamation?" "We dare do more than that," said Lord Lindsay; "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this the King retired into an inner apartment, and shut the door upon them. The deputies returned, and made their report to the assembly. During their absence, Cranston, a forward minister, had been reading to the people in the church certain passages from the Bible, and among the rest the story of Haman and Mordecai. Perceiving that their minds were somewhat moved, Bruce proposed that they should defer the consideration of their grievances, and merely pledge themselves at present to be constant in the profession and defence of their religion. This pro-

* Printed Calderwood, p. 344, 345.

† Calderwood, p. 348—356; compare Spotswood, p. 423—427.

‡ "In those treatyis with the King (says the English ambassador) the commissioners alwayes returned satisfyed, reporting to the rest that the K. was pleased to enter in calme [conference] and sundry particular overtures were layde forth and lyked therin, and as it [seemed] that the same should have been allowed and authorized perfectly by the K. the next day; so that every night a full end and conclusion was looked to." (Despatches by Robert Bowes. Edinb. Dec. 14, 1596. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. II. 96.)

* Record of Privy Council, Dec. 13, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101, 102.

† Record of Privy Council, Dec. 9, 1596.

‡ See above, p. 296.

‖ Calderwood, v. 127. Spotswood, p. 428.

§ It is not commonly adverted to, that, besides long usage, the ministers had the authority of an express act of Privy Council for calling meetings of this kind. The King was aware of this, and accordingly procured the repeal of that act. But this was not done until the 5th of March, 1597. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 116; compare Bruce's Apology, in Printed Calderwood, p. 272.)

posal having been received with acclamation, he besought them, as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. At this time, an unknown person (supposed to have been an emissary of the Cubiculars) hastily entered the church, exclaiming, *Fy, fy, save yourselves! the Papists are coming to massacre you!* At the same time a cry was raised in the street, *To arms! to arms!* Some one exclaimed in the church, *The sword of the Lord and Gideon!* "These are not our weapons," cried Bruce, who attempted to calm the assembly; but the panic had seized them, and they rushed into the street, where they found a crowd already collected. For a time all was confusion. Some, hearing that their ministers were slain, ran to the church; others, being told that the King was in danger, flocked to the tolbooth. One or two called for the President and Lord Advocate, that they might take order with them for abusing the King. All accounts that are entitled to any credit agree in stating, that this was the greatest offence that was committed during the uproar. The ministers immediately called in the aid of the magistrates, and, by their joint persuasion, the tumult was speedily quelled. Within less than an hour, not an offensive weapon, nor the least symptom of a disposition to riot, was to be seen on the streets. The barons and ministers resumed their deliberations in the church, and sent Lord Forbes, the laird of Bargeny, and Principal Rollock, to lay their requests before the King, who continued to transact business with the Lords of Session. His Majesty directed them to come to him in the afternoon, when they would have an opportunity of laying their petition before the council; after which he walked down the public street to the palace, attended by his courtiers, with as much quietness and security as he had ever experienced on any former occasion.*

Such are the facts connected with the tumult of *the seventeenth of December*, which has been related in so many histories and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts.† "No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects, nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein."‖ It never was seriously alleged that there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the King. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on the unpopular statesmen, there was nothing to have prevented the populace, at the commencement of the tumult, from forcing the house in which they were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court: no violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair scarcely deserves the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the appearance of one of those dangerous commotions by which the public peace is liable to be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance, by inquiring narrowly into their origin, or punishing those who, through thoughtlessness or imprudence, may have been led to take part in their excesses.

CHAPTER VII.—1596—1603.

The Tumult in Edinburgh made a pretext for overthrowing the Liberties of the Church—Violent Proceedings against the Capital—and its Ministers—The King's Questions respecting the Government of the Church—Caution of the Synod of Fife—Ecclesiastical Convention at Perth—Policy of the Court in gaining over Ministers to its Measures—New Ecclesiastical Commission—Royal Visitation of the University of St. Andrews—Melville restricted from attending Church Courts—Rights of Theological Professors—Removal of the Ministers of St. Andrews—Parliamentary Restoration of Bishops—Ministers' Vote in Parliament—Opposition to it—Cautions under which it was agreed to—Bishops nominated—Death of distinguished Ministers—Archbishop Beaton restored to the Temporalities of the See of Glasgow—Law of Free Monarchies—Basilicon Doron—Gowrie's Conspiracy—Sufferings of Bruce on Account of it—Anniversary of the King's Deliverance from it—The King renews his Vows—New Translation of the Bible proposed—Measures for propagating the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands—Melville confined within the Precincts of his College—Accession of James to the Throne of England.

Unpremeditated in its origin, and harmless in its effects, as the uproar in Edinburgh was, it offered a pretext, which was eagerly laid hold of by the court, for commencing an attack on the government of the church. A tumult had taken place in the capital, which would necessarily make a noise through the kingdom. It would not be difficult to magnify it into a dangerous and designed rebellion, and to involve the ministers who were present on the occasion in the odium attached to that crime. This would enable the court to get rid of men who proved a disagreeable check on its proceedings; the severities used against them would strike terror into the minds of their brethren; and thus measures might be carried which otherwise would have met with a determined and successful resistance. Nothing could be more congenial to the character of James than this piece of Machiavelian policy, which had a shew of deep wisdom in the device, and required a very slender portion of courage in the execution.

To secure the success of his plan, he began by promoting a reconciliation between the two parties at court. He induced the Octavians to resign the invidious office of managing the revenue, and the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to join in punishing a riot which they had raised for the express purpose of driving their rivals from their places.* Having accomplished this object, the King hastily quitted the palace of Holyroodhouse. As soon as he was gone, a proclamation was issued, requiring all in public office to repair to him at Linlithgow, and commanding every person who had not his ordinary residence in the capital to leave it instantly. This was followed by severer proclamations. The ministers of Edinburgh, with a certain number of the citizens, were commanded to enter into ward in the castle; they were summoned before the Privy Council at Linlithgow to answer *super inquirendis*; and

* Cald. v. 128, 176. Spotswood, p. 428, 429. James Melville's History of the declining Age of the Church of Scotland, p. 4, 5. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. iii. 2, 12.) Row's Hist. p. 64—66. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 68—71. Bishop Guthrie represents the tumult as suppressed by a company of musketeers sent from the castle by the Earl of Mar, and he describes their circuitous march with as much minuteness as if he had accompanied them. (Memoirs, p. 6.) If there was any foundation for this story, it is strange that Spotswood, who was present, should have passed it over. But the blunders which Guthrie has committed in his narrative of this affair are sufficient to discredit his statement, so far as it differs from those of other writers. Calderwood and Spotswood agree in all the material circumstances. Compare Simsoni Annal. p. 76.

† Adrian Damman; the Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland, transmitted a false and exaggerated account of the affair to his constituents. He was not in Scotland when the tumult happened, and it is evident that his information was derived from James and his courtiers, or rather that his letter was written at their desire and dictation. Damman's letter was published in *Epist. Eccles. et Theologicæ*, (p. 35—37, edit. 3tia) and the substance of it was afterwards adopted by Brandt. (History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 457.) Among the writers of this country who were most industrious in circulating calumnies on this head was Bishop Maxwell in his Isachar's Burden, reprinted in Phœnix, vol. I. p. 307—309.

‡ Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 71.

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.

the magistrates were ordered to seize their persons. The tumult was declared to be "a cruel and barbarous attempt against his Majesty's royal person, his nobility, and council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons;" and all who had been accessory to it, or who should assist them, were declared to be liable to the penalties of treason. In the beginning of January, his Majesty, with great pomp and in a warlike attitude, returned to Edinburgh, where he held a convention at which these proclamations were ratified, and measures of a still stronger kind were taken. It was ordained, that the courts of justice should be removed to Perth; and that no meeting of general assembly, provincial synod, or presbytery, should henceforth be held within the capital.*

A deputation from the town council had waited on his Majesty at Linlithgow, to protest their innocence, and to implore forgiveness to the city for a tumult which had ended without bloodshed, and which they had done every thing in their power to suppress. Their supplication was rejected, and they heard nothing, while they remained at court but denunciations of vengeance. They were told that the borderers would be brought in upon them—that their city would be razed to the ground and sowed with salt—and that a monument would be erected on the place where it stood to perpetuate the memory of such an execrable treason. Intimidated by these menaces, and distressed at the loss of the courts of justice, they came to the resolution of surrendering their political and religious rights. The magistrates, in the name of the community subscribed a bond in which they engaged not to receive back their ministers without the express consent of his Majesty, and to give him for the future an absolute negative over the election of both magistrates and ministers. This pusillanimous and abject submission encouraged the court to treat them with still greater indignity. "The magistrates and body of the town" were declared to be "universally guilty of the odious and treasonable uproar committed against his Majesty." And thirteen individuals, as representatives of the burgh, were ordered to enter into prison at Perth, and stand trial before the Court of Justiciary. One of the number, who had obtained a dispensation from his Majesty, being absent on the day appointed, a sentence of non-compearance was pronounced against the whole, the citizens were declared rebels, and the property of the town was confiscated. Being thus entirely at the royal mercy, the members of the town council received his majesty's gracious pardon on their knees, after paying a fine, and giving a new bond, containing articles of submission still more humiliating than those which they had already subscribed.* In the mean time, the court was unable, after the most rigid investigation, to discover a single respectable citizen who had taken part in the riot, or the slightest trace of a premeditated insurrection. When we consider the mixture of hypocrisy and tyranny which runs through these proceedings, it is impossible to read the remark with which Spotswood closes his account of the affair without derision. "Never," says the sycophantish prelate, "did any king, considering the offence, temper his authority with more grace and clemency than did his majesty at this time; which the people did all acknowledge, ascryving their life and safety onely to his favour."†

While the court was breathing out threatenings against the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and particularly against its ministers, the latter were advised by their friends to withdraw and conceal themselves for a time.‡ As soon as it was known that they had taken this step, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shown to find some evidence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication in order to criminate them. On the day that the King left Edinburgh with such marks of displeasure, the barons who remained behind met, and agreed to "take upon them the patrociny and mediation of the church and its cause;" and at their desire Bruce wrote a letter to Lord Hamilton, asking him to come and "countenance them in this matter against those councillors" who had inflamed his Majesty against them.‖ Hamilton having conveyed a copy of this letter to the King, some person about the court (for I do not believe that his lordship was capable of such a dishonourable act) altered it in such a manner as to make it express an approbation of the late tumult, and consequently an intention of embodying an armed resistance to the measures of government.§ Conscious of

* "Comperit Georg Todrik one of the baillies of Edinr with comissioners from the kinges Ma^tie and chargit the presbyterie in his Ma^ties name to depart outwith the boundis of the jurisdiction of Edr. The presbyterie for obedience to his Ma^ties lawis concludit to depart and to keip the presbyterie at Leyth." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, 11^mo Jan^il 1596.) "*Mr. Michael Cranstone*" was moderator of this meeting of presbytery, in the absence of Robert Bruce, the ordinary moderator, who had been obliged to abscond. This circumstance throws no small light on the motives of the King's behavior on the present occasion. Cranston was the minister who had read the story of Haman on the day of the tumult, and the only one whose behaviour had any tendency to inflame the minds of the people. He had been summoned, but was already received into favour; for if this had not been the case, the presbytery would not have thought of putting him into the chair at this time. It was not the conduct of the ministers on the 17th of December, it was the resistance which they had previously made to his measures, at which James was so much offended. Calderwood, in his account of what preceded the tumult, says, "Mr. Michael Cranston, then a very forward minister, *but now key-cold*, readeth the history of Haman and Mordecai." (MS. vol. v. p. 129.)

The minutes of presbytery are dated "Apud Leyth" from Jan. 11, to the 8th of Feb. 1596: i. e. 1597, according to modern computation. After that they are dated "At the Queniscolledg." On the 9th of August, 1597, they begin to be dated "Apud Edr."

* Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. f. 104—117. Record of Privy Council from December 18, to March 21, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 103—109, 114. Cald. v. 131, 137, 147, 151, 238. Spotswood, p. 431—434, 444. Melville's Diary, p. 288, 289.

† Spotswood's Hist. p. 444.

‡ Bruce and Balcanquhal went into England, Balfour and Watson concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown on them, and assigned reasons for their flight. The apology of the two former is inserted in Cald. v. 168—191. That of the two latter is inserted in Melville's Diary, p. 280—288.

‖ According to Spotswood (Hist. p. 432.) the letter was signed by Bruce and Balcanquhal only; but the copy of it inserted by Calderwood has also the subscriptions of Rollock and Watson. (Vol. v. p. 132.)

§ Both the genuine and the falsified copies of the letter are inserted by Calderwood. (MS. vol. v. p. 132, 133.) Speaking of the tumult, the former says, "The people animated, as effaires, partly be the word and violence of the course, took armes, and made some commotion, fearing the invasion of us y^r ministers; but, be the grace of God, we repressed and pacified the motions incontinent." In the vitiated copy this is altered in the following manner: "The people animated, no doubt, be the word and *motion of God's spirit*, took arms;" and what was said of the ministers repressing the commotion is omitted. Spotswood, in his account of the letter, has followed the falsified copy, without so much as hinting that its genuineness was ever called in question; and at the same time that he quotes from a letter to Lord Hamilton, in which Bruce complains of the vitiation. (History, p. 432, compared with Cald. v. 150.) It is impossible to reprobate such conduct too severely, especially when it is considered that Spotswood had hitherto co-operated with his brethren. According to the accounts of different writers, he had evinced a more than ordinary zeal in forwarding their measures: he subscribed and promoted the subscription of Black's declinature; he called out his patron, Torphichen, to defend the ministers on the day of the tumult; and he transcribed Bruce's apology with his own hand, and had even given it a sharper edge. (Cald. MS. vol. v. p. 175. Printed History, p. 339. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 753.) Archibald Simson (Annales MSS. p. 76.) agrees with Calderwood, and charges Spotswood with acting treacherously previously to the 17th of December, by informing the court of all that passed in the private meetings of the ministers. This last charge however might proceed from un-

the fraud which had been committed, the court did not dare to make any public use of the vitiated document; but it was circulated with great industry in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

Matters being thus prepared, a publication appeared in the name of the King, consisting of fifty-five questions. They were drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, after the model of the questions which Archbishop Adamson had framed when the Second Book of Discipline was composed; and were intended, by bringing into dispute the principal heads of the established government of the church, to pave the way for the innovations which the court intended to introduce.* A Convention of Estates and a meeting of the General Assembly were called by royal authority, to be held at Perth in the end of February, to consider these questions. This measure had been previously resolved on, and the questions were prepared before the 17th of December; although the publication of them was deferred to this time.†

The leading ministers throughout the kingdom prepared for a vigorous defence of the established discipline. Though grieved at the advantage which the court had gained by the late occurrence in the capital, they did not suffer themselves to fall under an unmanly dread of its menaces. The presbytery of Haddington suspended one of their members for agreeing, without their consent, to an arrangement of the Privy Council for supplying the pulpits of Edinburgh.‡ The synod of Lothian virtually approved of the conduct of that presbytery, and testified their dissatisfaction at his Majesty's proposing that they should advise the infliction of censure on their brethren who had fled.‖ Notwithstanding the royal threat, that those ministers who refused subscription to the lately-imposed bond should not have their *pensions*, (as James insultingly called their stipends,) not an individual of any note could be induced to subscribe; and papers were circulated, in which the bond was commented on with becoming freedom, and shown to be ambiguous and ensnaring.* One of these papers, which is written with much ability and temper, concludes with these words: "Howsoever it shall please God to dispose of his (Majesty's) heart, the ministry, I dowte not, will keepe themselves within the boundis of their callinge, and neither directly nor indirectly attempte any thing that shall not be lawfull and seeming for them, but with patience committe all the successe unto the Lorde; remembringe the sayinge of Ambrose, that, when they have done their duties, *preces et lachrimæ arma nostra sunt*, and we have no warrant to proceede farther."†

The synod of Fife set an example to their brethren in the other provinces on this interesting occasion. Having met *pro re nata*, they appointed a committee to draw up answers to the King's questions.‡ They sent a deputation to request his Majesty to refer the decision of them to the regular meeting of the General Assembly, and to prorogue the extraordinary meeting which he had called. In case he should not comply with this request, they advised the presbyteries under their inspection to send commissioners to Perth, in testimony of their obedience to the royal authority: but they at the same time drew up instructions for the regulation of their conduct. The commissioners were instructed to declare, that they could not acknowledge that meeting as a lawful General Assembly, nor consent that it should call in question the established polity of the church. If this point should be decided against them, they were to protest for the liberties of the church, and keep themselves free from all approbation of the subsequent proceedings. In any extra-judicial discussion of the questions that might take place, they were instructed to adhere to the following general principles: that the external government of the church is laid down in the word of God; that it belongs to the pastors and doctors of the church to declare what the Scriptures have taught on this head; and, as a scriptural form of government and discipline had after long and grave deliberation been regularly settled in Scotland, as the church had for many years been happily preserved by means of it from heresy and schism, and as none of the ecclesiastical office-bearers moved any doubts about it, that his Majesty should be requested not to disturb such a rare, peaceable, and decent constitution by the agitation of fruitless and unnecessary questions.‖ The presbytery of Edinburgh limited and instructed their representatives in the same manner.§ These instructions display much wisdom, and point out the true way of resisting innovations which were sought to be introduced, not by reason and argument, but by the combined influence of fraud and force.

His Majesty was convinced by these proceedings, that, in order to carry his measures, it behoved him to employ other arts besides those of intimidation. The

due suspicion. But he appears to have declared for the court-measures soon after the tumult. I find the following references to him in the record of the presbytery of Edinburgh: "Maij iij 1596. Anent the desyre of M. Johnn Spottiswood craving that seing he was resident within the burgh, and was admitted to the ministerj, that thairfoire he myght be licentiat to exercise in this presbyterie. Quhais desyre being considerit, it is grantit."—"Apud Leyth xxv° Jarij 1596. The exerceis made be M. William Birni, and additioun be M. Johnn Spottiswood. The text Exod. 16. beginnand at the 1 vs. to the 4. The doctrine judged, the haill brether were offended with the doctrine delivered be the said M. Johnn, refussit to let him mak the nixt day, and appointit M. Henrie Blyth to mak the exhortatioun the first of fear nixt." It is highly probable that Spotswood had given offence to the presbytery, by some allusions to the differences between the court and the church.

* "The Questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estaits and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Burgh of Perth the last day of Februarie next to come. Edinburgh Printed be Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings Majestie. Anno Dom. 1597." 4to. Subscribed at the close "James R." In the College Library at Glasgow is a copy of this book, which appears to have belonged to Melville, and has on the margin, in his handwriting, short answers to some of the questions. They agree in general with the answers of the synod of Fife. Spotswood has inserted all the questions in his History (p. 435—438.) Two slight inaccuracies in the 13th and 53d questions may be corrected by Printed Calderwood, (p. 381—389,) where the address *To the Reader*, prefixed to the publication, will also be found.

† Calderwood has shown this from the minutes of the commissioners of the General Assembly, which he had in his possession. After referring to various minutes between the 11th of November and the 11th of December, he adds, "So that it is clear that the king intended before the 17th of December to work ane alteration in discipline, and to sett the ministers on work to defend themselves that they might be diverted from persueing the excommunicated Earls, which was also the ground of calling Mr. David Black before the Counsell for speeches uttered three years before." (MS. Hist. v. 193—4.)

‡ Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 29, Jan. 12, and Feb. 9, 1596.

‖ Instructions to Mr. John Preston. Mr. Edw. Bruce, and Mr. Wm. Oliphant, commissioners for the K. of Sc. to the Synod of Lothian, to be convened at Leith, Feb. 1, 1596. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 97.) This paper contains also the answers which the synod returned to his Majesty's propositions.

* In one of the papers it is objected, that the bond was so, expressed as to imply, that the King by himself, and independently of the courts of justice, might decide on all civil and criminal causes; and that he had a right not only to inflict civil punishment on ministers, but also to deprive them of their office. And it is pleaded that, as the word of God declares the duties of all civil relations, and as idolatry, adultery, murder, &c. are criminal offences, so ministers, for inculcating the former and rebuking the latter, might be charged with a violation of the bond. (Cald. v. 139—145.) It would be easy to justify these interpretations. For example, the late Convention declared, that his Majesty had "power upon any necessitie to command any minister—to preiche or to desist—from preiching in particular placeis." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.)

† Objections to the subscription that is obtruded upon the ministers of Scotland. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 100.)

‡ Their answers may be seen in Printed Calderwood, p. 382—390.

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 290—292.

§ Rec. of the Presb. of Edin. Feb. 22, 1596. Cald. v. 197—199.

ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom had rarely attended the General Assembly, owing to their distance from the places of its meeting, and the deficiency of their incomes. They were comparatively unacquainted with its modes of procedure, and strangers to the designs of the court; not to mention their general inferiority in point of gifts to their brethren of the south. Sir Patrick Murray, one of the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, was now despatched on a mission to them. He was instructed to visit the presbyteries in Angus and Aberdeenshire; to acquaint them with the late dangerous tumult, and the undutiful and treasonable conduct of the ministers, in Edinburgh; to procure, if possible, their subscription to the bond, and their consent to receive the popish lords into the communion of the church; and to desire them to send some of their members to the ensuing assembly to resolve his Majesty's questions, which had already been approved by the discreetest of the ministers.* In his private conversations, Murray laboured to inspire them with jealousies of the southern ministers, as wishing to engross the whole management of ecclesiastical affairs, to the exclusion of those who had an equal right and more discretion to use it; and he assured them, that, if they were once acquainted with his Majesty, any suspicions which they might have conceived of him, and which had been fostered by the representations of their ambitious brethren, would be speedily and completely dissipated.†

Melville was prevented from being present at Perth, in consequence of his being obliged, in his capacity of rector, to attend a public meeting of the university. But he had done his duty in procuring the instructions by which the conduct of the commissioners from Fife was regulated; and his nephew was prepared to express his sentiments on the different points that were likely to be brought forward. After a contest of three days, during which all the arts of court-intrigue were employed in influencing the minds of the voters, it was decided by a majority of voices that the meeting should be held to be a lawful General Assembly extraordinarily convened; upon which the commissioners from Fife, agreeably to their instructions, protested that nothing which might be done should be held valid, or improved to the prejudice of the liberties of the church of Scotland. Disgusted at the influence which he saw exerted, deserted by some of the friends in whom he most confided, deprived of the assistance of his uncle, and distrusting his own ability and firmness, James Melville hastily quitted Perth. His colleagues resolved to remain, and, under the protection of their protest, to prevent, as far as possible, the assembly from sacrificing the rights of the church. But in spite of all their exertions, his Majesty succeeded in obtaining such answers to his leading questions, as gave him the greatest advantage in carrying on his future operations against the ecclesiastical constitution. The answer to the very first question, simple and harmless as it may appear in terms, was really, in the circumstances of the case, pregnant with danger; and the assembly, in agreeing to it, acted like a garrison, which, on the first parley, should throw open its gates, and allow the enemy to make a lodgement within the wall.‡ The King had published a long list of questions which went to produce a total alteration of the existing church-government. By declaring, in these circumstances, "that it is lawful to his Majesty or to the pastors to propose in a General Assembly whatsoever point they desired to be resolved or reformed in matters of external government," the assembly virtually and constructively sanctioned the project of the court, although they might reserve to themselves a right to deliberate upon its details. The qualifications added to their resolution, "providing it be done *decenter*, in right time and place, and *animo ædificandi non tentandi*," were mere words of course, and could be no safeguard against any proposals of royal innovation. If it behoved them to speak Latin, the answer which they ought to have returned, (and it would have served as an answer to all the questions,) was, *Nolumus leges Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ mutari*. The other answers which the assembly gave related chiefly to the liberty of the pulpit, upon which they imposed restrictions, which were doubly dangerous at a time when the court had not only discovered its hostile intentions against the polity of the church, but had procured the assistance of some of its official guardians to carry them into execution. Having succeeded thus far to his wish, the King signified his willingness to refer the decision of the remaining questions to another General Assembly to be held at Dundee on the 10th of May following; and, in the mean time, the articles agreed to were ratified by the Convention of Estates which was then sitting at Perth.*

This assembly is chiefly remarkable, as being the first meeting of the ministers of Scotland which yielded to that secret and corrupt influence, which the King continued afterwards to use, until the General Assembly was at last converted into a mere organ of the court, employed for registering and giving out royal edicts in ecclesiastical matters. "Coming to Perth (says James Melville) we found the ministers of the north convened in such number as was not wont to be seen at any assemblies, and every one a greater courtier nor another: So that my ears heard new votes, and my eyes saw a new sight, to wit, flocks of ministers going in and out at the king's palace, late at night and betimes in the morning. Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent Apostle of the North, had made all the northland ministers acquainted with the King. They began then to look big in the matter, and find fault with the ministers of the south and the popes of Edinburgh, who had not handled matters well, but had almost lost the King."† James afterwards depended chiefly upon the votes of the northern ministers for carrying his measures. The General Assembly was appointed to meet at such places as were most convenient for their attendance; and if at any time it was found necessary to convene it at a greater distance from them, ways and means were fallen upon to provide them with a *viaticum*.‡

* Instructions to Patrick Murray. (Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 98.) The following extracts from his instructions will shew the kind of arguments which Murray was directed to employ. "We will not believe that the presbyterie of Aberdene will acknawledge any supremacie of the presbyterie and ministers of Edinburge above them.—As to the pretended commissioners of the generall assemblie their commission is found and decernit be us and our counsell to be unlawfull.—So ther is no present power above the said presbyterie of Aberdene to stay them to accept the Earles reasonable satisfaction, in case the same be offerit, sen we and the counsell hes commanded them to accept the same." (Instructions, ut supra.)

† Spotswood, 438, 439.

‡ That the assembly, when unbiassed, viewed the matter in this light, may be inferred from the manner in which the answer was expressed, before it was altered to please the King: "The breither convened give their advys in the first article, that it is not expedient to mak a law or act twiching this, leist a durre should be opened to curious and turbulent sprits, otherwise they think it lawfull," &c. (Melville's Diary, p. 305. Spotswood, 440.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 110—112. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 131—134. Cald. v. 222—236. Spotswood, 439—443. Melville's Diary, 303—309. James Melville enumerates thirteen reasons for maintaining the *nullity* of this assembly. The chief of these are: that it was not appointed by the last assembly, nor called by its commissioners, but by the sole authority of the King; that it was not opened by sermon; and that there was no choice of a moderator or clerk. The Buik of the Universal Kirk says: "Exhortatioun v was none;" and it mentions no moderator. It says that Mr. Thomas Nicholson was chosen clerk; but states, on the margin, that some thought his election did not take place till the subsequent assembly.

† Diary, p. 303. comp. his History of the Declining Age of the Church, p 7.

‡ "I am bold humbly to advise your Majesty, (says Archbishop Gladstanes,) that, in the designation of the place of the ensuing G. Assembly, your Majesty make choice either of the

But to secure credit to his cause it was necessary for his Majesty to gain over some individuals who possessed greater respectability, and who were able to plead as well as to vote for his plans. James Nicolson, minister of Meigle,* was highly esteemed among his brethren. He was the intimate acquaintance and bosom friend of James Melville. At assemblies they always lodged in the same apartment, and slept in the same bed; and harmonized as much in their sentiments about public affairs as they did in their private dispositions. On the evening before the question respecting the constitution of the assembly was determined, Nicolson was amissing; and in the morning James Melville learned, to his astonishment and grief, that the mind of his friend had undergone a sudden revolution. He had been sent for to the palace, where he was detained till a late hour; and the King, partly by threats that if his will was not complied with he would ruin the church, and partly by promises and flatteries, had engaged his vote. The two friends went together to the meeting of ministers; and after James Melville had reasoned at great length against the proposal of the court, Nicolson rose and replied to his arguments in a plausible speech, which had the greatest influence in persuading the members to come to the resolution which was adopted.—Thomas Buchanan distinguished himself during this assembly by the boldness and ability with which he asserted the liberties of the church. Having summoned the ministers into the hall where the Convention of Estates was met, the King provoked the friends of the established discipline to a dispute on the subject of his queries, by insinuating broadly that their silence proceeded from fear and distrust of their cause. "We are not afraid," replied Buchanan, "nor do we distrust the justice of our cause; but we perceive a design to canvass and toss our matters, that they may be thrown loose, and then left to the decision of men of little skill and less conscience." Having protested that nothing which he might say should invalidate the authority of the received discipline, he proceeded to examine the doubts started by the royal queries, and exposed their weakness in a style not greatly to his Majesty's satisfaction. But, alas! this was the expiring blaze of Buchanan's zeal. Before he left Perth he was "sprinkled with the holy water of the court;" and at the next assembly, he appeared as an advocate for those very measures which he had so eagerly and so ably opposed.† It may be observed, however, that Buchanan, and some others who acted along with him, seem to have intended merely to concede some points which they deemed of less importance, with the view of pleasing the King. They were kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of James, which were imparted to such men as Gladstanes, Spotswood, and Law, who had been corrupted by the promise of bishopricks. But the latter had at that time so little influence in the church, that they could have carried no measure without the assistance of the former, whose facility and want of foresight we cannot help blaming, while we acquit them of having been actuated by mercenary motives.

Melville learned the proceedings at Perth with deep concern, but without feelings of surprise or despondency. He perceived the course which the court was driving, and that nothing would satisfy the King but the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution. Attached to this from conviction as well as from the share he had had in its erection, satisfied of its intrinsic excellence and its practical utility, and believing it to be the cause of Christ, of freedom, and of his country, he resolved to defend it with intrepidity and perseverance, to yield up none of its outworks, to fight every inch of ground, and to sacrifice his liberty, and, if necessary, his life, in the contest. With this view he joined with some of his brethren in keeping the day fixed for holding the ordinary meeting of the General Assembly. This meeting was constituted by Pont, the last moderator, after which the members present agreed to dismiss, and to refer all business to the assembly which the King and Convention at Perth had appointed to be held in Dundee. By this step they asserted the right of the church as to the holding of her assemblies, which it was one great object of the court to infringe.*

The King was sensible that the advantages which he had gained at Perth were in no small degree owing to the absence of Melville, and he dreaded his opposition in the assembly at Dundee. Before it proceeded to business, Sir Patrick Murray, who was now become his Majesty's Vicar-general, sent for James Melville, and dealt with him to persuade his uncle to return home, otherwise the King would take forcible measures to remove him. James Melville replied, that it would be to no purpose for him to make the attempt. If his Majesty should use his authority in the way of commanding him to leave the town, he had no doubt, he said, that his uncle would submit, but death would not deter him from acting according to his conscience. "Truly, I fear he shall suffer the dint of the King's wrath," said Sir Patrick. "And truly," replied the other, "I am not afraid but he will bide all." James Melville reported the conversation to his uncle, "whose answer," says he, "I need not write." Next morning they were both sent for to the royal apartments. The interview was at first amicable and calm; but entering on the subject of variance, Melville delivered his opinion with his wonted freedom, and the altercation between him and the King soon became warm and boisterous.†

Notwithstanding all the arts of management employed, it was with difficulty that the court carried its measures, even in a very modified form, in this assembly. The assembly at Perth was declared lawful, but not without an explanation; its acts were approved, but with certain qualifications; and the additional answers now given to the King's questions were guardedly expressed. Through the influence of the northern ministers an act passed in favour of the popish lords, authorizing certain ministers to receive them into the bosom of the church, upon their complying with the conditions prescribed to them. They were received accordingly; although it was evident that they were induced to submit, in consequence of the failure of an attempt which some of their adherents had made on the peace of the kingdom: and it was soon after found necessary, with the consent of government, to bring them again under the sentence of excommunication. The design of altering the government of the church was carefully concealed from this assembly; but the King, under a specious pretext, obtained their consent to a measure by which he intended to accomplish it clandestinely. He requested them to appoint a committee of their number with whom he might advise respecting certain important affairs which they could not at present find leisure to determine; such as, the arrangements to be made respecting the ministers of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, the planting of vacant churches in general, and the providing of local and fixed stipends for the ministers through the kingdom.

place appointed by the last Assembly, whilk will help the formality of it, or then of Dundee, where your Majesty knows *your own northern men* may have commodity to repair. And albeit your Majesty's princely liberality may *supply distance of place by furniture to those that travel*, yet," &c. (Letter of Archbishop of St. Andrews to the King: April 18, 1610. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Fac. V. 1. 12. N° 50.)

* Mr. James Nicolson was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Cortoquhay, on the 7th of May, 1580: and to the parsonage and vicarage of Meigle, "penult febr. 1583." (Register of Present. to Benefices, vol. ii. ff. 34, 97.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 303, 308, 311.

* Melville's Diary, p. 309. Cald. v. 240.

† "And ther they hecled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end the King takes upe, and dismissis him favourablie." (Melville's Diary, p. 312.)

To this the assembly agreed, and nominated fourteen ministers, to whom or any seven of them, they granted power to convene with his Majesty for the above purposes, and to give him advice "in all affairs concerning the weal of the church, and entertainment of peace and obedience to his Majesty within his realm." This was a rash and dangerous appointment. The General Assembly had been in the habit of appointing commissioners to execute particular measures, or to watch over the safety of the church until their next meeting. But the present commission was entirely of a different kind. The persons nominated on it were appointed formally as advisers or assessors to his Majesty. They were in fact his ecclesiastical council; and as, with the exception of an individual or two named to save appearances, they were devoted to the court, he was enabled, by their means, to exercise as much power in the church as he did by his privy council in the state. "A wedge taken out of the church to rend her with her own forces!" says Calderwood: "the very needle (says James Melville) which drew in the episcopal thread!"*

James was too fond of the ecclesiastical branch of his prerogative, and too eager for the accomplishment of his favourite plans, to suffer the new powers which he had acquired to remain long unemployed. Repairing to Falkland on the rising of the assembly, he called the presbytery of St. Andrews before him, reversed a sentence which they had pronounced against a worthless minister, and restored him to the exercise of his office. Accompanied by his privy counsellors, laical and clerical, he next repaired to the town of St. Andrews, for the double purpose of expelling its ministers, and imposing such restrictions on the university as would facilitate his future operations. He attended public worship on the day of his arrival; and when Wallace was about to proceed to the application of his discourse, James, either afraid of the freedom which he might use, or wishing to gratify his own dictatorial humour, interrupted the preacher and ordered him to stop. Melville (although aware that one object of the royal visit was to find some ground of accusation against himself) could not refrain from publicly expressing his displeasure at this royal interference, and at the silence which the commissioners of the church preserved on the occasion.†

At the Royal Visitation of the university,‡ great eagerness was testified to find matter of censure against Melville. All those individuals, in the university or in the town, whose envy or ill-will he had incurred, were encouraged to come forward with complaints against him; and a large roll, consisting of informations to his prejudice was put into the hands of the King. He underwent several strict examinations before the visitors. But the explanations which he gave of his conduct were so satisfactory, and his defence of himself against the slanders of his detractors so powerful that the visitors could find no ground or pretext for proceeding against him, either as the head of his own college, or as the chief magistrate of the university.‖ Spotswood has preserved some of the accusations brought against him, and disingenuously represents them as having been proved before the visitors. "In the New College, (says he) whereof the said Mr. Andrew had the charge, all things were found out of order; the rents ill husbanded, the professions neglected, and in place of divinity lectures, politick questions oftentimes agitated: as, Whether the election or succession of Kings were the better form of government; How far the royal power extended; and, If Kings might be censured for abusing the same, and deposed by the Estates of the Kingdom. The King to correct these abuses did prescribe to every professor his subject of teaching, appointing the first master to read the Common Places to the students, with the Law and History of the Bible; the second to read the New Testament; the third, the Prophets, with the Books of Ecclesiastes and Canticles; and the fourth, the Hebrew Grammar, with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job."* The *Acts of the Visitation*, which were in the archbishop's possession, are still in existence, and disprove every one of these allegations. They do not contain one word which insinuates that the affairs of the New College were out of order;† and the regulations made respecting the future management of the academical revenues apply equally to all the colleges. Nor do they contain one syllable on the subject of abuses in the mode of teaching. It is true that they prescribe the branches to be taught in the different classes; but this was not intended to "correct abuses." It was an arrangement made in the prospect of an additional professor being established in the college, according to a recommendation of the visitors; a fact which Spotswood has suppressed. While I am obliged to expose these unpardonable perversions of a public document, I am quite ready to admit that something of the kind mentioned by the archbishop might be included among the accusations presented against the Principal of the New College. The head *de Magistratu* is to be found in every System of Divinity, and falls to be treated by every theological professor in the course of his lectures. I have little doubt, that Melville, when he came to that part of his course, laid down the radical principles on which a free government and a limited monarchy rest; and it is not improbable that the young men under his charge would take the liberty of occasionally discussing questions connected with this subject in their private meetings.‡ This will not now be considered as reflecting any dishonour, either on the master or his scholars. On the contrary, Melville's countrymen will listen with pride and gratitude to the information, that, in an age when the principles of liberty were but partially diffused, and under an administration fast tending to despotism, there was at least one man, holding an important public situation, who

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff, 184—188. Melville's Diary, p. 311, 312. Hist. of Dec. Age of the Church, p. 10. Cald. v. 243—261. Spotswood, p. 445—447.

† Melville's Diary, p. 313.

‡ In this visitation six of the commissioners of the church were associated with certain members of the privy council, the provost of St. Andrews, &c. The founded persons in the several colleges were required to give in to the visitors, "yair greiffis & disorders and contraversies gif they ony haif, togidder with the abuses and enormiteis committit wiin ye samin," &c. (Summonds to appear before the Visitors: July 7, 1597.)

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 313.

* History, p. 449.

† One would almost suppose that Spotswood had confounded the Visitation of 1597 with another which took place after he had been many years Chancellor of the university, when it was stated by authority, "that of late years some abuses, corruptions, and disorders have arisen, and are still yet fostered and entertained within the New College of St. Andrews, partly upon the occasion of sloth, negligence and connivance of the persons—to whose credit and care the redress and reformation of these abuses properly appertained—whereupon has followed the dilapidation, &c. of the patrimonie—the neglect of the ordinar teaching—the professours are become careless and negligent," &c. &c. (Commission for Visitation, Nov. 29, 1621.)

‡ Speaking of this subject in another work, Spotswood says. "Hæc erat discipulorum," &c. "This was the theology of the students of the New College, who at that time were more conversant with Buchanan's book, *De Jure Regni*, than with Calvin's Institutions." (Refutatio Libelli, p. 67.) To this Calderwood replies: "Neminem novi Theologi," &c. "I know none among us entitled to the name of a Divine, who has not read Calvin's Institutions more diligently than Spotswood, who, I suspect, is scarcely capable of understanding them, although he should read them. Must a Divine spend all his days in studying nothing but Calvin's Institutions? Why should not a Scottish theologian read the Dialogue of a learned Scotsman concerning the Law of Government among the Scots?" (Epist. Philad. Vind. Altare Damasc. p. 753.) Whatever the archbishop might do, the King, at least, could not blame those who neglected Calvin. It was one of the *wise sayings* of James, "That Calvin's Institutions is a childish work!" (Cald. iv. 213.)

dared to avow such principles, and who imbued the minds of his pupils with those liberal views of civil government by which the presbyterian ministers were distinguished, and which all the efforts of a servile band of prelates, in concert with an arbitrary court and a selfish nobility, were afterwards unable to extinguish.

Not being able to find any thing in his conduct which was censurable, the visitors deprived Melville of his rectorship. This was easily accomplished; for, disapproving of the union of that office with the professorship of theology, he had accepted it at first with reluctance, and acquiesced conditionally in his last re-election. Of this circumstance the visitors availed themselves to prevent the odium which they must have incurred by ejecting him.*—Under the pretext of providing for the better management of the revenues of the colleges, a council, nominated by the King, was appointed, with such powers as gave it a control over all academical proceedings. Thus his Majesty was furnished with a commission to rule the church, and a council to rule the university, until he should be able to place bishops over both, and become supreme Dictator in religion and literature, as well as in law.

But the regulation which was intended chiefly to affect Melville remains to be mentioned. All doctors and regents who taught theology or philosophy, not being pastors in the church, were discharged, under the pain of deprivation and of rebellion at the instance of the Conservator, from sitting in sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or general assembly, and from all teaching in congregations, except in the weekly exercise and censuring of doctrine. To reconcile them in some degree to this invasion on their rights, the actual masters were allowed annually to nominate three persons, from whom the council appointed by the visitors should choose one to represent the university in the General Assembly; provided the same individual should not be re-elected for three years. The pretext of concern for the interests of learning, by preventing the teachers from being distracted from their duties, was too flimsy to impose upon a single individual. The court was anxious to get rid of Melville's opposition to its measures in the church judicatories; and this was deemed the safest way of accomplishing that object, according to the creeping, tortuous, and timid policy of James. In imposing this restriction on the professors, the visitors acted entirely by regal authority; for no such powers were conveyed to them by the act of Parliament under which they sat.† They were guilty of an infringement of the rights of the church: for by law and by invariable practice, doctors or theological professors were constituent members of her judicatories. A greater insult was offered to the members of the university by the reservation made in this case, than if the privilege had been altogether taken from them. They were not deemed fit to be entrusted with the power of choosing their own representative to the General Assembly. This was given to a council, composed of individuals who did not belong to their body, and who were the creatures of the King. No wonder that Rollock sunk in the estimation of his friends, by suffering himself, as one of the visitors, to be made a tool to enslave the university in which he was educated, and to establish a precedent for enslaving the learned institution over which he himself presided. Indeed, by one of the regulations to which he gave his sanction on the present occasion, he virtually stripped himself of the right to sit in ecclesiastical judicatories; and in order to escape from the operation of his own law, he found it necessary to take a step which violated its ostensible principle, by undertaking the additional duty of a fixed pastor of a particular congregation.* The record bears, that all the masters willingly submitted to the regulations made by the visitors, and gave their oath to observe them under the pain of deprivation. As far as Melville was concerned, this promise could mean no more than that he would run his risk of the penalty; for he was determined not to relinquish his right to sit in the church courts.

There is another act of the visitors which illustrates the malignant influence of arbitrary power on the interests of learning. William Welwood, Professor of Laws in St. Salvator's College,† being called before them, was declared to have transgressed the foundation in sundry points, and was deprived of his situation. Welwood was the friend of Melville and of the ministers of St. Andrews.‡ Whether, in his lectures, he had touched these delicate questions respecting the origin and limits of kingly power which the Principal of the New College was accused of discussing, I have no means of ascertaining. But his profession, as a teacher of jurisprudence, was obnoxious in the eyes of James. Accordingly, the visitors declared, in their wisdom, "that the profession of the Laws is no ways necessary at this time in this university;" and the class was suppressed. Another set of visitors, two years after, ventured to recommend the seeking out of "a sufficient learned person in the Laws, able to discharge him both in the ordinary teaching of that profession in the said college, and of the place and jurisdiction of commissary within the diocese;" but the recommendation was "delete by his Majesty's special command."‖ James considered himself as Teacher of Laws to his whole kingdom; and, unquestionably, royal proclamations were the proper commentaries on statutes which derived their sole authority from the royal sanction, according to his favourite device, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere.*—Melville might have shared the same fate as Welwood, had it not been for circumstances which pressed the fear of disgrace into the service of a sense of justice. There was at that time in the university a number of young men from Denmark, Poland, France, and the Low Countries, who had been attracted to Scotland by the fame of Melville's talents. James was afraid to take a step which would have had the effect of lowering his repu-

* "In respect the present Rector alledges he never accepted the said office but conditionally, against the form of such elections, therefore the office is found vacant." (Acts of Visitation. Melville's Diary, p. 313.) Spotswood says that the King, understanding that Melville had continued Rector for a number of years together "against the accustomed form," commanded a new election; "and for preventing the like disorders a statute was made that none should be continued Rector above a year." (Hist. p. 448.) But how do the facts stand? John Douglas was Rector from 1550 to 1572; Robert Hamilton from 1572 to 1576; James Wilkie from 1576 to 1590; Andrew Melville from 1590 to 1597; and Robert Wilkie from 1597 to 1608. The re-election of Robert Wilkie was sanctioned by the King. (The King's Majesties Second Visitation.)

† In the year 1599, the ratification of a Convention of Estates was procured to this and other regulations of the Visitors. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 189.)

* See Note A.

† John Arthour (a brother-in-law of Archbishop Adamson) succeeded William Skene as Professor of Laws. (Carta Recessus pro Reformatione, Junij 21, 1586.) On his removal Welwood exchanged the Mathematical for the Juridical Chair, about the year 1587. (Melville's Diary, p. 200—203.)

‡ Ad Expediendos Processvs in Jvdiciis Ecclesiasticis. Appendix Parallelorum Juris diuini humanique. Lvgd. Bat. 1594. 4to. Pp. 12. The epistle dedicatory is inscribed: "Fidis Christi seruis, DAVIDI BLAKKIO et ROBERTO WALLÆ, Ecclesiæ Andreapolitanæ pastoribus vigilantissimis fratribusque plurimum dilectis, G. VELVOD." Scaliger's epitaph on Buchanan was published for the first time at the end of this work, and is introduced with the following note: "Ne reliqua esset pagina vacua, placuit subiicere Carmen hoc ab authore ipso etiam assentiente, dum ista cuderentur, oblatum."

‖ The Actis and Recesse of the King's two Visitations of the Univ. of St. And^{s}. In the year 1600, the King, out of "his frie favour and clemency decerned Mr Wm Walwood to be re-possessed in the lawyers plece and professioun in the auld college of Sanctandrous—upon his giving sufficient bond and security for his dutiful behaviour to his Mai^{tie}." But his restitution did not take place, at least not at that time. (His Majesty's Order and Letters, June 6, and Nov. 3, 1600, and March 9, 1611.)

tation in the eyes of the foreign literati, whose good opinion he was fond of cultivating.*

While the visitors were busy in imposing on the university such regulations as were dictated by his Majesty, the commissioners of the General Assembly had gratified him by their proceedings against the ministers of St. Andrews. Wallace was accused of having charged Secretary Lindsay with partiality and injustice in the examination of the witnesses on Black's process. This might surely have been excused, as proceeding from the amiable feeling of sympathy with his colleague; and the secretary was willing, for his part, to pass over the offence. But he was instigated to prosecute; and Wallace, having declined the judgment of the commissioners, was removed from St. Andrews.† Black was removed without any form of process;‡ and George Gladstanes, minister of Arbirlot in Angus, was nominated as his successor.‖ Gladstanes was a man entirely to his Majesty's mind. He had a competent portion of pedantry, was abundantly vainglorious, and at the same time possessed all the obsequiousness which is necessary in one who is to be raised to the primacy. As the session and better part of the congregation were warmly attached to their ministers, the admission of Gladstanes would have met with great opposition had not James Melville, from amiable motives, taken an active part in persuading the parties aggrieved to submit, and make a virtue of necessity.§ In consequence of this, the King was so far reconciled to Black, as to allow his admission to the vacant parish of Arbirlot. During the six years that he survived this event, he gained universal esteem by his private conduct, and by the affectionate and condescending manner in which he discharged his pastoral duties among a simple people. He died of an apoplectic stroke, when he was in the act of dispensing the communion-elements to his congregation. The circumstances of his death are beautifully described in a poem which Melville dedicated to his memory.¶

Having taken these precautions to prevent opposition in the quarters from which it was most to be dreaded, the court thought that it might now safely commence its operations. In the month of December, 1597, the commissioners of the General Assembly, who are henceforward to be considered as moving at the direction of the King, gave in a petition to Parliament, requesting that the church should be admitted to a vote in the supreme council of the nation. The royal influence was exerted in overcoming any objections which were entertained against this measure on the part of the nobility, who humoured his Majesty by granting more than was asked by the petitioners. It was declared that prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom; that such ministers as his Majesty should please to raise to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have as complete a right to sit and vote in Parliament as those of the ecclesiastical estate had enjoyed at any former period; and that bishoprics, as they became vacant, should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the church, was left by the Parliament to be settled between his Majesty and the General Assembly, without prejudice, in the mean time, to the authority possessed by the several ecclesiastical judicatories.* The last clause has been ascribed to the respect which the estates felt for the presbyterian discipline, and their fears that "this beginning would tend to the overthrow of the established order of the church, which they had sworn to defend."† Such might be the views entertained by some members of parliament, and they might be professed by others; but it is probable that the form of the act was agreeable to the King, who was aware of the opposition which it would meet with from the ministers, and knew that it was only in a gradual manner, and by great art and management, that episcopacy could be introduced into the church.

The commissioners of the church were anxious to represent what they had done in the most favourable light. In a circular letter which they addressed to presbyteries, desiring them to send their representatives to the General Assembly at Dundee in the month of March following, they took credit to themselves for having procured a meeting of that court at an earlier day than had been appointed. They spoke of the petition which they had given in to the late Parliament as merely a prosecution of similar petitions presented by the church; and they connected it with the providing of fixed stipends for ministers, and rescuing them from the poverty and contempt under which they had so long suffered. They dwelt on the difficulty which they, in concert with his Majesty, had felt in procuring this boon for the church; mentioned the care which they had taken that it should be granted without prejudice to the established discipline; and signified that it was the advice and earnest wish of their best friends that they should not hesitate to accept it, although the grant was not made altogether in the form which they could have desired.‡ This is the language of men who either wished to deceive, or who had suffered themselves to be grossly deceived. The commissioners had no instructions from their constituents to take any step in this important affair. It is true that the General Assembly had often complained that persons who had no authority or commission from the church took it upon them to sit and vote in Parliament in her name; and in some instances a wish had been expressed that individuals appointed by the church should be admitted to a voice in such parliamentary causes as involved her interest. But this was not her deliberate and unanimous opinion, at least it had not been so for a considerable time back; and far less had she agreed that these voters should be ministers of the gospel. On the contrary, it was the decided opinion of the principal ministers, that if the church should send representatives to Parliament, they ought to be ruling elders, or such laymen as she might think proper to choose.‖ In fine, whatever

* Melville's Diary, p. 313. It may be mentioned here, that there was another royal visitation of the university in the year 1599. On that occasion it was agreed that the faculty of theology should be restored, but the designations to be given to the graduates was left to subsequent arrangement. Melville was chosen Dean of the theological faculty. No provision was made for carrying into effect the recommendation of the former visitors, by the settlement of a fourth professor in the New College. (Acts of Visit. and Diary, ut supra.)

† Mr. Ro. Wallace reasons of his Declinature. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Rob. III. 5. 1.) Melville's Diary, p. 313, 314. Spotswood, 449.—On the 10th of December, 1602, Mr. Robert Wallace was admitted minister of Tranent. (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 8, 1602.) James Gibson was translated from Pencaitland to Tranent on the 9th of May, 1598. On the 6th of October, 1602, a report was made of "the decels of our loving brother James Gibsone, of gud memorie." (Ibid.)

‡ Spotswood's misrepresentations of this affair are considered in Note B.

‖ He was at first a schoolmaster in Montrose, and had been minister in several parishes before his settlement in Arbirlot. (Wodrow's Life of Gladstanes, p. 1. MSS. Bibl. Col. Glasg. vol. iv.) It would seem, from a letter of Melville, that Gladstanes married a daughter of John Dury, and consequently was brother-in-law to Jas. Melville. For, writing of the archbishop's death, he says: "I have pitie on his wyfe and children, if it were but for good Johnne Duries memory, whose simplicity and sincerity in his lyfe tyme condemned the worldy wisdom in all without exception." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.)

§ Melville's Diary, p. 316.

¶ See under Note B.

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 130, 131.

† History of the Reformation, by Mr. John Forbes, minister of Alford, MS. *penes me*, p. 19.

‡ Printed Cald. 413, 414.

‖ The only evidence (so far as I can recollect) of the ministers having proposed that some of their number should have

might be the views of the Estates, the evident object of the King was, by means of the ministers' vote in Parliament, to introduce episcopacy into the church; and it requires the utmost stretch of charity to believe that the commissioners were ignorant of his intentions.

The provincial synod of Fife met soon after the dissolution of Parliament. Sir Patrick Murray was sent to it with a letter from the King, in which all the arguments which the commissioners had used in favour of the vote in Parliament were repeated and enforced. The impression at first made by their joint representations was speedily effaced by the speeches of the more judicious members of synod. The subject was discussed with that unshackled and bold spirit which becomes the deliberations of a presbyterian judicatory. In the course of the debate which ensued, James Melville, to the great displeasure of the King's commissioner, exposed the real nature of the proposed measure, and warned his brethren of the snare which was laid for them. They could not, he contended, accept the proffered grant without giving their sanction to episcopacy: for the ministers whom they sent to Parliament could be admitted to sit and vote there in no other character than that of bishops, according to the very terms of the late act; and what was this but to rebuild what they had taken so much pains and time to pull down? His uncle followed on the same side. As he was proceeding in his usual style of vehement oratory, he was interrupted by Thomas Buchanan, who told him, that he was prohibited from attending church courts, and had no right to take part in the discussion. "It was my province (replied Melville) to resolve questions from the word of God, and to reason, vote, and moderate in the assemblies of the church, when yours was to teach grammar rules;" a retort which was much relished by the members of synod, who were offended at the late tergiversation of Buchanan, and at his rude interruption on the present occasion. A disposition to defend their constitution against the danger to which it was exposed now pervaded the whole assembly. The venerable Ferguson adverted to the early period at which the evils of episcopacy had been discovered in Scotland; he narrated the means which had been used, from pulpits and in assemblies, to expel it completely from the church; and comparing the project now on foot to the artifice by which the Greeks, after a fruitless siege of many years, succeeded in at last taking Troy, he concluded with the warning words of the Dardan prophetess, "*Equo ne credite, Teucri.*" Davidson, whose zeal had prompted him to attend the meeting, shewed that the parliamentary voter was a bishop in disguise, and catching enthusiasm from the speech of his aged brother, exclaimed, "*Busk,* busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre.*"†

I should not give a faithful picture of the sentiments of the age and of the state of public feeling, if I passed over altogether the impression made on the public mind by two extraordinary phenomena which occurred at this time. In the month of July, 1597, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt in the north of Scotland, which extended through the shires of Perth, Inverness, and Ross; and in February following there was a great eclipse of the sun. Both of these occurrences were deemed portentous, and viewed as prognosticating a disastrous revolution which should shake the constitution of the church and obscure her glory. James Melville gives the following account of the last of these appearances: "In the month of February (1598,) upon the 25th day, being the Saturday, betwixt nine and ten hours before noon, a most fearful and conspicuous eclipse of the sun began, which continued about two hours space. The whole face of the sun seemed to be darkness and covered about half a quarter of an hour, so that none could see to read upon a book; the stars appeared in the firmament; and the sea, land, and air, were so stilled and stricken dead, as it were, that, through astonishment, herds, families, men and women, were prostrate to the ground. Myself knew, out of the Ephemerides and Almanack, the day and hour thereof, and also, by natural philosophy, the cause, and set myself to note the proceedings thereof in a bason of water mixed with ink, thinking the matter but common. But when it came to the extremity of darkness, and my sight lost all the sun, I was stricken with such heaviness and fear that I had no refuge, but, prostrate on my knees, commended myself to God and cried, mercy. This was thought by all the wise and godly very prodigious; so that from pulpits and by writings both in prose and verse, admonitions were given to the ministers to beware that the changeable glistering shew of the world should not get in betwixt them and Christ."*

In the prospect of the ensuing General Assembly, Melville could not help feeling the awkward situation in which he was placed by the restriction imposed on him at the late visitation of the university. He did not, however, hesitate in resolving to make his appearance at Dundee, whatever it might cost him. Had he acted otherwise at such a crisis, he would have betrayed the rights of the church, and forfeited the honour which he had acquired by his exertions in the establishment of presbytery. When his name was mentioned, at the calling of the roll in the beginning of the assembly, his Majesty challenged it, and said that he could not agree to the admission of one whom he had prohibited from attending on church courts. Melville defended his right. His Majesty's prohibition, he said, might extend to his place and emoluments in the university, but could not affect his doctoral office, which was purely ecclesiastical: he had a commission from his presbytery, and was resolved, for his part, not to betray it. Davidson spoke to the same purpose, and reminded the King that he was present as a Christian, and not as president of the assembly. James attempted a reply to this distinction, but had recourse to the ultimate reason of Kings, by declaring that he would allow no business to be transacted until his will was complied with. Melville accordingly retired; but not until he had delivered his sentiments, briefly and nervously, on the leading business which was to engage the attention of the assembly. He was commanded at first to confine himself to his lodgings; but no sooner was it understood that his brethren repaired to him, than he and his colleague, Jonston, were charged to quit Dundee instantly, under the pain of rebellion.

votes in Parliament, is to be found in the Remarks which they made at Linlithgow on the acts of the Parliament 1584. But there was no meeting of the General Assembly at that time; and the clause in question was inserted at the instance of Pont, who had been a Lord of Session, in opposition to the opinion of other ministers, and particularly of Melville and his nephew. Even in that document an alternative is proposed: "Discreet commissioners of the most learned both in the law of God and of the country, *being of the function of the ministrie or elders of the kirk*, are to represent that estate, at whose mouth the law ought to be required, namely, in ecclesiastical matters." (Melville's Diary, p. 171.) Previously to this, in October, 1581, the assembly agreed "that tuiching voting in parliament [and] assisting in counsell, commissioners from the generall kirk sould supplie the place of bishops. And as to the exercising of the civill or criminall jurisdiction anent the office of Bishops, the heretabill baillies sould vse the same." (Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 113, b.)

* Dress. † Melville's Diary, p. 326, 327.

* History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 8. In his Diary he has given a similar account of the eclipse; and this coincidence forms one of the internal marks of the two histories having been written by the same author. "I was not ignorant," says he, "of the natural cause thairof, and yet when it cam to the amazfull uglie alriche darknes, I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled." The verses which he composed on this occasion are recorded in his Diary, p. 320. The more poetical description of his uncle may be seen in Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, ii. 120.

Davidson complained of this next day in the assembly; and another member* boldly asserted that the restriction laid on the university, and the interdiction now given, proceeded from the dread which the court had of Melville's learning. "I will not hear one word on that head," said his Majesty twice or thrice. "Then we must crave help of him that will hear us," replied Davidson.† The highest eulogium from the mouth of James could not have done half so much honour to Melville as his present treatment of him did. He had procured a parliamentary statute in favour of the measure which he wished to carry; he knew that a great part of the elders stood pledged to support it by the vote which they had given in Parliament; he had the commissioners of the church at his beck; and he had brought up a trained band of trusty voters from the extremities of the north. And yet, with all these advantages on his side, he dreaded to bring forward his motion, or to submit it to discussion, so long as Melville remained in the house, or even within the precincts of the town, in which the assembly was held.

After a week spent in secret and public management, during which the complaints given in from different quarters against the commissioners were got quashed, the main business was at last introduced by a speech from the throne. His Majesty dwelt on the important services which he had done for the church, by establishing her discipline, watching over her peace, and endeavouring to recover her patrimony, which would never be fully effected unless the measure which he was about to propose was adopted. He solemnly and repeatedly protested, (with what truth it is now unnecessary to say,) that he had no intention to introduce either Popish or Anglican bishops, but that his sole object was that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the General Assembly, should have a place in the Privy Council and Parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised. Bruce, Davidson, Aird, James Melville, and John Carmichael, were the chief speakers against the vote in Parliament; Pont, Buchanan, and Gladstanes, in support of it. The latter had a powerful auxiliary in the King, who was always ready to interfere in the debate. Gladstanes having pleaded the power which the priests had among the ancient Romans "*in rogandis et ferendis legibus*," Davidson replied, that at Rome the priests were consulted, but had no vote in making laws: "*præsentibus sacerdotibus et divina exponentibus, sed non suffragia habentibus*." "Where have ye that?" asked the King. "In Titus Livius," said Davidson. "Oh! are you going then from the Scriptures to Titus Livius?" exclaimed his Majesty. There were flatterers present who applauded this wretched witticism; and they were encouraged to laugh at the old man, who pursued his argument with equal disregard of the puerilities of James, and the rudeness of his minions. The question being called for, it was decided by a majority of ten votes,‡ "that it was necessary and expedient for the weal of the church, that the ministry, as the third estate of this realm, should in the name of the church have a vote in Parliament." The measure was carried chiefly by the votes of the elders, and it was urged by the minority that a number of them had no commission; but the demand of a scrutiny was resisted. Davidson, who had refused to take part in the vote, gave in a protest against this decision, and against the proceedings of this and the two preceding assemblies, so far as they derogated from the rights of the church; upon the ground of their not being free assemblies, but overawed by the King, and restricted in their due and wonted privileges. His protest was refused, and he was prosecuted for it before his presbytery at the King's instance.*

The Assembly farther agreed that fifty-one ministers should be chosen to represent the church, according to the ancient number of bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election should belong partly to the King and partly to the church. The court presented a series of resolutions respecting the manner of electing the voters, the duration of their commission, their name, their revenues, and the restrictions necessary to prevent them from abusing their powers. But the proposal of them excited so much dissatisfaction, that the King, dreading, from the feeling that began to be displayed, that he would lose the ground which he had already gained, deemed it prudent to put off the discussion. It was therefore appointed that the presbyteries should immediately take the subject under consideration; that they should report their opinions to the respective provincial synods; and that each synod should nominate three delegates, who, along with the theological professors, should hold a conference, in the presence of his Majesty, on the points which the Assembly had left undetermined. If they were unanimous, the resolutions to which they came were to be final; if not, the whole matter was to be referred to the next General Assembly.†

The resolutions in all the southern presbyteries and synods evinced the greatest jealousy of episcopacy, and a disposition to confine the powers of the voter in parliament within the narrowest possible bounds. Yet matters were so craftily conducted by the agents of the court, in concert with such of the ministers as were secretly in their interest, that the delegates chosen for the conference were, in several instances, of opposite views to those of their constituents.‡ Perceiving this, disapproving of the whole scheme, and convinced that no restrictions would prevent it from issuing in the establishment of episcopacy, there were individuals who thought it safest to stand aloof, and to take no part in the subordinate arrangements. Among these was James Melville. But his uncle was of a different mind. He was quite aware of the policy which permitted him to take part in private and extrajudicial conferences, while he was excluded from the public assemblies in which the points in debate were to be ultimately and authoritatively determined. But he deemed it of consequence to encourage his brethren by his presence, and to inter-

* This was John Knox, minister of Melrose, who was a son of William Knox minister of Cockpen, the brother of the Reformer.

† Melville's Diary, p. 329. Cald. v. 302, 303. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 73 MSS. vol. i. in Bibl. Col. Glasg.

‡ "Mr. Gilbert Body led the ring, a drunken Orknay ass, and the graittest number followit, all for the bodie but [without] respect of the spreit." (Melville's Diary, p. 329.)

* Spotswood, who embraces every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of Davidson, has advanced a number of assertions respecting his conduct on the present occasion, all of which it would be easy to refute. Among other things, he says: "He himself, as his custom was when he made any such trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made." (Hist. p. 452.) It is very easy for a time-serving priest, who, by his tame compliances, can always secure himself against falling into danger, to talk thus of a man, from whose rebuke he more than once shrunk, and to accuse him of cowardice merely because he fled from the lawless rage of a despot. But it is not true that Davidson either fled or concealed himself at this time. On the 22d of March, 1597, immediately after the rising of the General Assembly, Lord Tungland and David Macgill of Cranston Riddell appeared before the presbytery of Haddington, and, in his Majesty's name, gave in a complaint against him. Being summoned to attend next meeting, Davidson appeared before the presbytery at Haddington, on the 29th of March. On the 5th of April, it was attested to the presbytery, that he was "stayit be ane heavie fever," and on the 12th of that month, "the presbyteric wt consent of his Mat^ies commissioner continewit all farder dealing in this mater till y^e said Mr. Johne at the pleasor of God suld be restorit to his health." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington.)

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 188—192. Cald. v. 301—325. Melville's Diary, p. 329, 330. And his History of the Declining Age, p. 13—18. Spotswood, p. 450—452.

‡ Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, May 30, 1598. Rec. of Provincial Synod of Lothian, June, 1598. Melville's Diary, p. 330, 331.

pose every obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of a measure so injurious to the interests of the church. Accordingly, he gave faithful attendance on all the meetings of the conference.*

The result of the first meeting, held at Falkland, was so dissatisfactory to the King, that he prorogued the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July, 1599. Other meetings were held; but they were chiefly occupied in desultory conversation, or in attempts to lull asleep the most vigilant of the church's guardians by artful professions, and proposals for removing, what were called, unreasonable and unfounded jealousies.† Melville took a leading part in an interesting debate which occurred in November, 1599, at a meeting of the conference, assisted by ministers from the different quarters of the country, convened by royal missives in the palace of Holyrood-house. One design of calling this meeting appears to have been, to ascertain the arguments which were to be used in opposition to the vote in parliament, that so the court party might be prepared to meet them in the next General Assembly. In opening the conference the King signified, that all were at liberty to reason on the subject at large, including the points which had been determined, as well as those which had been left undecided, at last assembly; but that such as refused to state their objections at present should forfeit their right to bring them forward at a subsequent period. Accordingly, the lawfulness of ministers sitting in parliament came first under discussion. And here the debate turned chiefly on the following question—"Is it consistent with the nature of their office, its duties, and the directions of Scripture about it, for ministers of the gospel to undertake a civil function?"

By those who maintained the affirmative it was argued, That, as the gospel does not destroy civil policy, so it does not hinder any of those who profess it from discharging political duties: That when ministers are enjoined "not to entangle themselves with the affairs of this life," they are not prohibited from discharging civil offices any more than the duties of natural economy and domestic life: That there are approved examples in scripture of sacred and civil offices being united in the same person: That ministers were as much distracted from the duties of their office by the visitation of churches and waiting on meetings for fixing stipends, as they would be by sitting in parliaments and conventions of estates: That it was allowed by all that ministers might wait on his Majesty and give him their advice in matters of state: That as free men and citizens, ministers were entitled to be represented as well as the other orders in the state: That the General Assembly had often craved a vote in Parliament: And that ecclesiastical persons had sitten in that court ever since the Reformation.

In the negative it was argued, That, though the gospel by no means destroys civil policy, yet all political laws which are inconsistent with it, or which interfere with any of its institutions, are unlawful: That the duties of natural and domestic economy are altogether different from those which belong to public offices in society: That when the apostle prohibits ministers from "entangling themselves with the affairs of this life," he puts his meaning out of doubt, by referring, as an illustration, to the case of a soldier, who must renounce and avoid all worldly occupations, that he may devote himself to the military life and entirely please and obey his commander: That the duties of the ministerial office are so great and manifold, and the injunctions to constant and unremitting diligence in discharging them so numerous, so solemn, and so urgent, that no minister who is duly impressed with these considerations will accept of another function which must engross much of his time and attention; and that it is criminal to throw temptations to this in his way: That the union of sacred and civil offices in certain individuals mentioned in scripture was extraordinary and typical; and when the Jewish polity was established, these offices were separated, and could not be lawfully held by the same persons: That the occasional visitation of churches is a part of the ministerial function: That if ministers are diverted from their pastoral duty by commissions for fixing stipends, this is owing to a defect in the establishment which they had long complained of, and for which the magistrates and their flocks must answer: That ministers, as such, do not form an order in the state, and that as citizens they are represented along with others by the commissioners of shires and burghs: That if the King and estates entrust ministers with the care of their souls, the latter may surely give credit to the former in what relates to their bodies: That no General Assembly before the last one had ever craved a vote for ministers in parliament: And that ever since the church had condemned episcopacy, she had objected to bishops and other persons called ecclesiastical, sitting in the supreme court of the nation.

On this part of the debate, Melville deduced the history of the gradual blending of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction under the papacy, by means of which the Roman Pontiff became at last so formidable, armed himself with the two swords, trampled on princes, and transferred crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure. "Take heed," said he, addressing James, "that you do not set up those who shall cast you or your successors down."

The second question which was brought forward related to the duration of the office. The court party were anxious that the clerical voter should hold his place *ad vitam aut culpam*: their opponents insisted that the place should be filled by annual election. The former argued, that no man would submit to the trouble and expense that must be incurred, if his continuance in office was precarious, or limited to a single year or single parliament; and that within so short a period persons could neither acquire the knowledge of law, nor bring any business which the church might entrust to them to a termination. It was replied by the latter, that they were at present deliberating on what was for the good of the church and commonwealth, and not on what might be agreeable or profitable to individuals; that by continuing in the employment ministers would acquire more knowledge of the laws of men, but less of those of God, more acquaintance with the wiles of worldly policy, and less with the sincerity of the wisdom which is from above; and that the General Assembly was more capable of attending to the real interests of the church than a few men, who, if a judgment might be formed from experience, would be chiefly occupied in securing their own wealth and aggrandizement. The hurtful consequences of their continuing in office during life or good behaviour were insisted on at great length. It would secularize their minds; it would induce a habitual neglect of the duties of their spiritual function; it would, in spite of all checks which might be imposed, gradually raise them to superiority over their brethren, and make them independent of the ecclesiastical courts; although the church should depose them for improper conduct, yet if they happened to please his Majesty, he would maintain them in their place by his royal authority or by his influence in the General Assembly; and being secured in their lordships and livings they would seek to revenge their quarrel, by injuring the church, or such of their brethren as curbed their ambition and complained of their misconduct. "There is no fear," said the King, "but you will all prove true enough to your craft." "God make us all true enough to Christ," replied Melville. "There is nothing so good but it may be suspected, and thus you will be content with nothing." "We doubt the goodness of the thing,

* Melville's Diary, p. 331.

† Cald. v. 371. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 91.

and have but too much reason to suspect its evil." "His Majesty and the parliament will not admit the voters otherwise than for life; and if you do not agree to this, you will lose the benefit." "The loss will be small." "Ministers then will lie in contempt and poverty." "It was their Master's case before them: better poverty with sincerity, than promotion with corruption." "Others will be promoted to the place who will oppress and ruin the church; for his Majesty will not want his third estate." "Then let Christ, the King of the church, avenge her wrongs: he has done so before."

The title to be given to the voter in Parliament formed the next topic of debate. Those who spoke the language of the court insisted that he should have the name of *bishop*. "If we are agreed in the substance," said they, "the name is of little consequence; and as the parliament has restored the title of bishop, and may refuse to admit the representative of the church under any other designation, it would be a pity to lose a privilege which his Majesty has procured with such great pains and difficulty, through scrupulosity about a name, which, after all, is scriptural.'" To this Melville replied ironically: "No doubt the name *episcopos* or *bishop* is scriptural; and why should it not be given? But as something additional to the office of the scripture-bishop is to be allotted to our new parliament-men, I would propose to eke a little to the name, and this shall be scriptural also. Let us baptize them by the name which the apostle Peter gives to such officers, and call them *allotrio-episcopoi*, *busy-bishops*, who meddle with matters foreign to their calling." In earnest he replied, that the word bishop was applied in the scriptures indiscriminately to all ministers of the gospel; that in common speech it was now understood as the discriminative appellation of those who claimed a superiority of office and power, as in the churches of Rome and England; that for good reasons the use of it had been laid aside and prohibited in the church of Scotland; that those to whom it was now proposed to give it were to occupy the places to which ecclesiastical pre-eminence had been attached; the title was calculated to feed their vanity and lust of power; and being accustomed to be saluted as lords at court and in parliament, they would soon begin to look sour on such as refused to give them their honorary titles in the church.

Night put an end to the debate. Next morning Lindsay, who acted as moderator, recapitulated what had been done on the preceding day in such a way as to insinuate that the heads which had been under consideration were settled agreeably to the wishes of the court. A murmur of disapprobation spread through the assembly; and several members rose and declared that their scruples against the main proposal, so far from being weakened, were greatly strengthened by the discussion of yesterday. Melville make an earnest and solemn appeal to the moderator. He reminded him, that he was one of the oldest ministers of the church, and had been present at many assemblies in which these very points had, after the most grave and deliberate discussion, been unanimously decided. And he asked him, how he could for a moment imagine, that any one who was settled in his judgment could be moved to alter it by so slight a conference as the present, in which scripture might be said to have been profaned rather than solidly and reverently handled. His Majesty took offence at this last expression, and courteously gave the speaker the lie. Melville replied, that he had included himself in the censure, and did not mean to confine it to one side of the house. Finding that he had gained nothing, James broke off the conference in a fret. In dismissing the members, he said he had been induced by the commissioners of the church to call this meeting for the satisfaction of such as had scruples, in the hopes that matters would proceed peaceably and harmoniously; but he perceived men to be so full of their own conceits, and so pre-occupied in their judgments, as not to yield to reason, and would therefore leave the matter to be determined by the General Assembly. If they received the favour offered them, he would ratify their conclusions with his civil sanction, and none should be allowed to speak against them: if they refused it, they would have themselves to blame for sinking still deeper and deeper into poverty. As for himself, he could not want one of his estates, but would use his authority in putting into the vacant bishoprics persons who would accept of them, and who would do their duty to him and to his kingdom.*

The General Assembly which met at Montrose on the 28th of March, 1600, excited greater interest than had been felt at any meeting of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory for many years.† All were convinced that upon its decision it depended whether the presbyterian constitution should stand, or should yield to the gradual encroachments of prelacy under the protection of the royal supremacy. The attendance of members was full, and sanguine hopes of success were entertained by both parties. The defenders of the establishment confided in the goodness of their cause, and in the evident superiority in point of argument which they had maintained at the last conference. Their opponents were equally confident that they would prevail by address and the powerful interest of the crown.

The presbytery of St. Andrews having chosen him as one of their representatives, Melville determined again to assert his right to a seat in the General Assembly. It was no sooner known that he had come to Montrose than he was sent for by the King. His Majesty asked him why he was so troublesome, by persisting to attend on assemblies after he had prohibited him. He replied, that he had a commission from the church, and behoved to discharge it under the pain of incurring the displeasure of one who was greater than any earthly monarch. Recourse was then had to menaces, but they served only to rouse Melville's spirit. On quitting the royal apartment, he put his hand to his throat, and said, "Sir, is it *this* you would have? You shall have it before I betray the cause of Christ." He was not allowed to take his seat in the judicatory; but it was judged unadvisable to order him out of the town, as had been done on a former occasion. He accordingly remained, and assisted his brethren with his advice during the sitting of the assembly.‡

The debate on the propriety of ministers voting in Parliament was resumed; and a formidable train of arguments including those which had been used in the conference at Holyroodhouse, was brought forward against the measure. In support of these a paper was given in, consisting of extracts from the writings of reformed divines and of the fathers, with the decisions of the most ancient and renowned General Councils. Unable to reply to these arguments and authorities, the advocates of the measure were forced to abandon the ground which they had taken up during the late conferences. They granted the force of the general reasoning used by their opponents, but insisted that it was not applicable to the case. They

* Melville's Diary, p. 333—344. James Melville committed the reasonings at this conference to writing while his recollection of them was fresh. The whole of his account is copied into Calderwood's MS. and large extracts from it may be seen in Printed Calderwood, p. 428—434.

† Row mentions, that this assembly was "notified only be sound of trumpet att the crosse of Edr and other neidful places wherent many good Christians wondered att, seing yr was never the lyke before." (Hist. p. 78.)—It was appointed at this time that the beginning of the year should henceforth be reckoned from the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March. (Record of Privy Council, Dec. 17, 1599.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 362. Hist. of the Declining State of the church, p. 24, 25.

affected now to condemn the union of sacred and civil offices; and pleaded that the ministers who were to sit in Parliament would have no civil charge, but were merely to be present in that high court to watch over the interests of the church, and give their advice in matters of importance. When it was urged by their opponents that the ecclesiastical voter must be employed in making laws for the whole kingdom, they took refuge under one of the weakest and worst of James's political maxims, that it is the King alone who makes laws, and the estates merely give him their advice. In answer to the appeal which the defenders of Presbytery made to the words of the act of parliament restoring the "office, estate, and dignity of bishops," they asserted that the objectionable language had been purposely introduced into the act by those who wished to keep the church in poverty, in the hopes that it would induce the ministers to reject the favour which his Majesty had procured for them. This plea could not bear examination; and therefore a stop was put to the dangerous discussion by a message from the king, stating that the last General Assembly had already decided this point, and its decision behoved to stand. Had it been allowed to put the general question to the vote, there is reason to think that the whole scheme would have been negatived. For on the question, whether the parliamentary voters should retain their place for life or be annually elected, it was carried, in spite of all the influence of the court, by a majority of three in favour of annual election. Yet, by collusion between the clerk and the King, the minute was so drawn up as to express a resolution materially eversive of that which had passed, and in this altered form an approbation of it was procured at the close of the assembly.

To induce the members to acquiesce in the unpopular measure, the court party agreed to the ratification of all the articles and cautions which had been proposed in conference at Falkland, with the view of protecting the liberties of the church, and guarding against the introduction of episcopacy. They did not even object to the addition of others still more strict. The voters were to have the name, not of Bishops, but Commissioners of the church in Parliament. As to their election, it was agreed, that the General Assembly, with the advice of synods and presbyteries, should nominate six individuals in each province, from which number his Majesty should choose one as the ecclesiastical representative of that province. For his emoluments he was to be allowed the rents of the benefice to which he should be presented, after the churches, colleges, and schools, had been provided for out of them. The following cautions, or "caveats," as they were called, were enacted to prevent him from abusing his power: That he should not presume to propose any thing to parliament, convention, or council, in the name of the church, without her express warrant and direction; nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to the church, under the pain of deposition from his office: That, at each General Assembly he should give an account of the manner in which he had discharged his commission, and submit, without appeal, to the censure of the assembly, under the pain of infamy and excommunication: That he should rest satisfied with the part of the benefice allotted to him, without encroaching upon what was assigned to other ministers within his province: That he should not dilapidate his benefice, nor dispose of any part of its rents without the consent of the General Assembly: That he should perform all the duties of the pastoral office within his own particular congregation, subject to the censure of the presbytery and provincial synod to which he belonged: That in the exercise of discipline, the collation of benefices, the visitation of churches, and all other parts of ecclesiastical government, he should claim no more power or jurisdiction than what belonged to other ministers, under the pain of deprivation: That in meetings of presbytery and of other church courts, he should behave himself in all things, and be subject to censure, in the same manner as his brethren: That he should have no right to sit in the General Assembly without a commission from his presbytery: That, if deposed from the office of the ministry, he should lose his vote in parliament, and his benefice should become vacant: And that he should incur the same loss upon being convicted of having solicited the office. It was ordained, that these "caveats" should be inserted, "as most necessary and substantial points," in the body of an act of parliament to be made for confirming the church's vote; and that every commissioner should subscribe and swear to observe them when he was admitted to his function.*

It is scarcely possible to conceive regulations better adapted to prevent the evils which were dreaded. But the strictest cautions, sanctioned by the most sacred promises, were feeble ties on an unprincipled court, and perfidious churchmen, who were ready to sacrifice both honour and conscience to the gratification of their avarice and ambition.

Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

An early proof of this was given. A meeting of the commissioners of the General Assembly, and delegates from synods, was held in the month of October following, in consequence of a letter from the King desiring their advice respecting the settlement of ministers in Edinburgh, and "such other things as shall be thought good to be proposed in the name of the church for the weal of our and their estate at our first parliament." Dreading the opposition of James Melville and two other ministers, his Majesty got them appointed on a committee to transact some business; and during their absence, he, with the consent of those present, summarily nominated David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn, and George Gladstanes, to the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. This transaction was carefully concealed from the absent members until the meeting was dissolved. And the bishops appointed in this clandestine manner sat and voted in the ensuing parliament, in direct violation of the cautions to which they had so lately given their consent.†

Archbishop Spotswood was under the necessity of inserting the cautions in his History, and he was forced to acknowledge, what was then notorious to all the world, that "it was neither the King's intention, nor the mind of the wiser sort, to have these cautions stand in force; but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy" (that is, the introduction of episcopacy) "made without any noise, the King gave way to these conceits."‡ The archbishop calls the ministers who acted this part "the wiser sort;" forgetting, perhaps, that this species of wisdom, however much it may be "esteemed among men, is abomination with God." They were suffered to triumph for a while in the success of their knavery; but he who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness," visited them at length with merited retribution; and the violation of these very cautions, which had been ratified by the King, sworn to by the bishops,‖ and never repealed by

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 193, 194. Cald. v. 414—440. Melville's Diary, p. 349—362. Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 19—25. Forbes's History, p. 23—26. Spotswood, 453, 457, 458.

† Their presentations were dated the 5th Nov. 1600. (Reg. of Present. to Benef. vol. iii. f. 30.) On the 30th Dec. 1600, David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, was admitted to be "ane of the counsail;" and on the 24th Nov. 1602, Mr. George Gladstanes, bishop of Caithness, was admitted, "be his Maiestie's direction and command." (Record of Privy Council.)

‡ Hist. p. 454.

‖ "It was layed to the charge of Mr. John Spottiswood, appointed Bishop of Glasgow thereafter in Anno 1605, before his Maj. be the lord Balmerinoch. President, that he had sworn to observe the Caveats, and had obliged himself to subscryve them. Neither could his Maj. be well satisfied with him in that matter

any ecclesiastical authority, formed one of the chief grounds upon which the archbishop and his colleagues were afterwards deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly.*

His Majesty was present at all the assemblies in which this affair was discussed, and gave the most religious attendance on every session. He did not even miss a single meeting of the privy conference. During the sitting of the General Assembly, affairs of state were entirely neglected, and the court was converted into a clerical levee. The privy counsellors complained, that they could not have access to their master on account of the crowd of preachers which continually thronged his cabinet. In the public deliberations and debates he directed and decided every thing in his double capacity of disputant and umpire. Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign must carefully attend to this part of its history. It was at this time that he found a stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and "stick the doctor's chair into the throne." It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the English bishops with both "admiration and shame," and made them cry out that they verily thought he was "inspired." Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage, as when, surrounded with "his own northern men," he canvassed for votes with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a borough; or when, presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he kept the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another, "a liar;" saying to one speaker, "that's witch-like," and to another, "that's anabaptistical," instructed the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helped him to correct the minutes.†

During these transactions several occurrences of a subordinate kind took place, to which it may be proper to advert. The church suffered a severe loss by the death of a number of her distinguished ministers. The end of the year 1598 proved fatal to David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, whose integrity, united with an uncommon vein of good-humoured wit, made him a favourite with all classes.‡ Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkheuch, and minister of Ceres, died suddenly in the course of the following year, lamented by those who knew his worth and talents, though they disapproved of his public conduct during the last two years of his life.* But the death most deeply deplored was that of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who was prematurely cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of extensive usefulness. His piety, his suavity of temper, his benevolence, and his talents as a writer and teacher of youth, were universally admired by his countrymen; and those who were offended at some parts of his public conduct traced them to his guileless simplicity and constitutional aversion to every thing that wore the appearance of strife or might lead to confusion.† About the same time the country was deprived of one of its ablest statesmen, John Lindsay of Balcarras, "for natural judgement and learning the greatest light of the policy and council of Scotland."‡ In the beginning of the year 1600, the zealous and upright John Dury, minister of Montrose, died in a manner becoming the life which he had spent. Having held an interview with the magistrates of the town and the elders of his session, and left advices to be imparted to the King and ministers at the approaching General Assembly, he inquired after the day of the month, and being told that it was the last of February, "O! then," exclaimed he, "the last day of my wretched pilgrimage! and the morrow the first of my rest and glory!" And, laying his head on his eldest son's breast, placidly expired. Melville, who entertained a high esteem of Dury's honesty and goodness of heart, honoured the memory of his friend by his verses.‖ In the end of the same year, the celebrated John Craig, who had been for a considerable time incapacitated for any public service, terminated his days at the advanced age of eighty-eight.§

untill he had procured an Act of the Presbyterie of Glasgow testifying that he had not subscryved them, whilk he presented to his Maj. for his defence; as though his oath had been nothing as long as he did not subscryve." (Forbes's History, p. 27.)

* Acts of the General Assembly, Anno 1638, Sess. 20.

† Cald. v. 320, 399, 571. At the General Assembly in May, 1597, an ordinance was made, (says James Melville) "that at the penning of everie act ther sould be certean brether wt the clark, whereof I was an and Mr. James Nicolsone an uther. But whill as I cam till attend, thay war commandit to com to the king with the minutes: and sa I gat na access." (Diary, 312.) James Melville (Ib. p. 362.) subjoins the following verse, probably from an old poem, to his account of the proceedings at this time:

The Dron, the Doungeoun and the Draught
Did mak their cannon of the King:
Syn feirfully with ws they faught,
And doun to dirt they did ws ding.

‡ He died at "the age of 65." (Spotswood, p. 455.) John Jonston fixes his death on the 23d of August, 1598. (Life of Knox, p. 206.) To his works mentioned in the Life of Knox (note xli.) may be added the following: "An Answer to ane Epistle written by Renat Benedict, the French Doctor Professor of Gods word (as the Translator of the Epistle calleth him) to John Knox & the rest of his brethren ministers of the word of God made by David Feargussone minister of the same word at this present in Dunfermling—Imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik, 1563." Black letter, 12mo. 43 leaves. The running title is: "Ane answer to Renat Be. Epistle." In reply to the accusation that the object of the reforming ministers was to "get and gather riches," Ferguson says: "the greatest nomber of vs haue lived in great penurie, without all stiped some tuelf moneth, some eight, and some half a year, hauing nothing in the mean time to susteane our selues and our families, but hat which we haue borrowed of charitable persones vntil God send it to vs to repay them." Foll. 6, 7. This was written "the 26th April, 1562." The translation of Renat's Epistle was by Winzet, and at that time, probably, was only in MS.

* Melville's Diary, p. 328. Spotswood (Hist. p. 455.) fixes his death, incorrectly, in the year 1598.—"1599. Apr. 12. M. Thomas Buchquhanan diet." (The Laird of Carnbee's Diary. Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 383.) That this is the true date appears from his Testament. "Item, I grant and confess that the haill buiks quhilk are presentlie in my possessioun pertains to Mr. Rot Buchanan, (my brothers son) and that I borrowed the same fra him." He died rich. (Testament Testamentar of Mr. Thomas Buchanan, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.) On the 5th of May, 1599, "Euphame Hay relict of umqle Mr. Thomas Buchquhannane" revoked a deed which she had made during her husband's sickness, and in which she had renounced the "conjunct fie of sik lands or annual rents as belangit to him." On the 20th June, "Jo. Buchquhannan (of Ballecraquhie) & Mr. Rot Buchquhannan, provost of Kirkheuch," appeared as executors of his testament. (Book of Acts of the Commissariot of St. Andrews.)

† Spotswood, 455. Melville's Diary. 320. He had merely completed the 43d year of his age when he died, "6 Idus Febr. anno 1589." (1598.) Vitæ & mortis Roberti Rolloci Scoti narratio. Scripta per Georgium Robertsonum. Edinburgi 1589. (1598.) C in eights. Among the Epitaphs published by Robertson there is none by Melville, but an elegy by him is prefixed to a life of Rollock written in Latin by Henry Charteris, who succeeded him as Principal. (MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.)

‡ Melville's Diary, 328. Lindsay died Sept. 3, 1598. (Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 285.) He was Secretary of State, and, for several years before his death, Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews. Melville addressed a playful poem to him, in the form of a petition from the university. (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 121.) I have an original letter from Melville, "To my verie guid Lord my lord Secretar L. Chanceler of the Vniversitie of Sanctandrois." It has no date, but appears to have been written some years before Lindsay's death. Among other things, it contains observations on the best remedies for the stone, the disease which proved fatal to his lordship.

‖ One of his epitaphs on him is printed (Melvini Musæ, p. 11.:) others are preserved in MS. (Melville's Diary, p. 345—347.) The account which James Melville has given of his father-in-law's dying advice to the ministers, (Diary, 344, 345,) is completely at variance with that of Spotswood. (History 458.) He died on the 25th of Feb. 1600. Marion Majoribanks was his relict, and John and Simeon, his sons. (Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

§ Spotswood, 462—464. In May, 1594, the King caused it

The eager desire which James felt to secure his accession to the English throne induced him to adopt measures which gave much offence to his subjects. With the view of conciliating the Roman Catholics, he sent a secret embassy to the Pope. The odium of the letter addressed in his name to his Holiness, was afterwards thrown on his Secretary; but it has been suspected, not without some reason, that James acted the same part to Lord Balmerino in this affair, which Elizabeth did to Secretary Davidson respecting the execution of Queen Mary.* With the view of gratifying the Pope, and procuring his support to the King's title, a project was set on foot to grant a toleration to the Papists of Scotland.† And Archbishop Beaton was not only appointed ambassador at the court of France, but restored to the temporalities of the see of Glasgow.‡ These steps, though taken with great secrecy and caution, did not escape the vigilance of the ministers.‖

The literary works which James produced at this time contributed to strengthen the opposition to his administration. In 1598 he published his *True Law of Free Monarchies*. We must not imagine that by a "free monarchy" was meant any thing like what the expression suggests to us. It meant a government exercised by a monarch who is free from all restraint or control, or, as the author fitly denominates him, "a free and absolute monarch." The treatise is, in fact, an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the people, without any exception or reservation whatever. The royal politician graciously allows, that princes owe a duty to their subjects, but he thinks it "not needing to be long" in the declaration of it. He grants, that a king should consider himself as ordained for the good of his people; but then, if he shall think and act otherwise, and choose, as too many kings have chosen, to run the risk of divine punishment, the people are not permitted to "make any resistance but by flight," as we may see by "the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures," among whom "we never read or heard of any resistance" to their parents, "except among the vipers." A free monarch can make statutes as he thinks meet without asking the advice of parliaments or states, and can suspend parliamentary laws for reasons known to himself only. "A good king will frame all his actions according to the law, yet is he not bound thereto but of his good will: although he be above the law, he will subject and frame his actions thereto for example's sake to his subjects, and of his own free will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In confirmation of this doctrine, James appeals to Samuel's description of a king, and quotes and expounds, with the utmost confidence and complacency, the account which that prophet gave the Israelites of the oppressions which they would suffer under a form of government on which they fondly doted.

Such was "the true pattern of divinity" which James found himself constrained in duty to publish, for the correction of "our so long disordered commonwealth," and for the instruction of his future subjects in that which it was most necessary for them to know, "next to the knowledge of their God." He at least dealt honestly with the people of England, who had already begun to worship the rising sun; and in welcoming him so cordially and unconditionally, as they afterwards did, when he had plainly told them beforehand that they were to be governed as a conquered kingdom, they might fairly be considered as addressing him in the language which he puts into the mouths of the Hebrews: "All your speeches and hard conditions will not skarre us, but we will take the good and evil of it upon us; and we will be content to bear whatsomever burden it shall please our King to lay upon us, as well as other nations do." If they were disappointed of the benefit which they expected to "get of him in fighting their battles," they had themselves to blame, as he never gave large promises on that head. But he performed for them services of a more valuable kind, as "the great schoolmaster of the whole land," according to his own description of his office. He taught them a "style utterly unknown to the ancients;" banished the writings of Calvin, Buchanan, Ponet, and such like "apologies for rebellions and treasons," which had obtained too great authority among them;* and furnished orthodox text-books, from which the orators of "Cam and Isis" might "preach the right divine of kings to govern wrong."†

The presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal their disapprobation of the political principles of the Law of Free Monarchies.‡ This was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, or Instructions of the King to his son Prince Henry, which came to light in the course of the following year. Fond of seeing this work in print, and yet conscious that it would give great offence, James was anxious to keep it from the knowledge of his native subjects, until circumstances should enable him to publish it with safety. With this view "the printer being first sworn to secrecy," says he, "I only permitted seven of them to be printed, and these seven I dispersed among some of my trustiest

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to be intimated to the General Assembly that "Mr. Jon Crag is awaiting wt houre it sall please God to call him and is altogether vnable to serve any longer." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, a.) He died on the 12th of Dec. 1600; and left Marion Smail, his spouse, and Mr. William Craig, his son, executors, who were appointed to take the advice of Mr. Thomas Craig, advocate. He requested "his haill bairnes to remain in household with thair mother while thair marriage with parties honest." (Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.) I do not know whether the work referred to in the following minute of Assembly, (August 12, 1590,) was published: "Ordaines ye brether of the pbrie of Edr to peruse ye ansr sett out be Mr. Craig against a pernicious wrytting put out against the confessioun of faith, together with the preface made be Mr. Jon davidsone, and if they find meitt the samen be published that they may be committit to prent." (Ibid. f. 161.) On the "penult Maij" 1592, Craig's Catechism, "quhilk now is allowit and imprintit," was ordained to be "read in families," and "red and learnit in lecture schooles in place of the litle catechisme." (Ibid. f. 163, b.)

* Printed Cald. p. 426, 427, 604. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. iv. p. 66.

† Cald. v. 548. It would seem that James had a work on this subject ready for the press. "The king at this time (June 1601) promised to Mr. John Hall, that the book called a declaration of the King's minde toward the catholicks sould never be sett furth." (Ibid. p. 591.)

‡ The act of convention, penult. Junij. 1593, was ratified by Parliament in 1600. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 169, 256.) Keith says, that, in 1583, the King did, by Act of Parliament, "restore the old exauctorate and forfeited bishop Beaton to the temporality of the see of Glasgow, which he did enjoy until his death on the — April, 1603." (Scottish Bishops, p. 156.) This is a mistake. It is true, that Beaton was not excepted from the benefit of the act of Parliament 1587, rescinding all forfeitures from 1561. But this "restitutioun remainit not lang effectuall in his persoun, be reasone he failzeit in geving the confessioun of his faith and acknawlegeing of or souerane lordis auctie, as was ordainit be ye said restitutioun." (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 624.) When James was threatening to revenge his mother's death, he proposed to make Beaton his ambassador. (Courcelles's Dispatches, March 8, and 14, 1587.)

‖ The Presbytery of Edinburgh applied for a copy of the act respecting Beaton; but were referred from the clerk of council to the clerk of register, and from the latter to Mr. Alexander Hay. (Record of Presb. Julij 4, 11, and 18, 1598.)

* King James's Works, p. 204, 205.

† "Mr. George Herbert, being Prelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridg anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which these noted demagogi were but hirelings and triobolary rhetoricians." (Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, Part I. p. 175.)

‡ Cald. v. 365.

servants to be kept closely by them."* Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, shewed his copy to Melville, with whom he was on a footing of intimacy. Having extracted some of the principal propositions in the work, Melville sent them to his nephew, whose colleague, John Dykes, laid them before the provincial synod of Fife. The synod judged them to be of the most pernicious tendency, and not believing, or affecting not to believe, that they could proceed from the high authority to which they were attributed, sent them to his Majesty. An order was immediately issued for the apprehension of Dykes, who absconded.† The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: That it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: That no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: That parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion: That puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the King because he was a king: That the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: in fine, That parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing episcopacy. It is easy to conceive what effect this discovery must have produced on the minds of the presbyterian ministers. And were it not that we know that a sense of shame has but a feeble influence on princes and statesmen, and that they never want apologists for their worst actions, it would be confounding to think that either the King or his agents should have been so barefaced as after this to repeat their protestations.

Finding that the work gave great offence, James afterwards published an edition of the *Doron*, accompanied with an apologetical preface. His apology, as might be expected, is extremely awkward and unsatisfactory. Too timid to avow his real meaning, and too obstinate to retract what he had advanced, he has recourse to equivocation, and to explanations glaringly at variance with the text. The opprobrious name of *puritans*, he allows, was properly applicable only to those called the *Family of Love*, who arrogated to themselves an exclusive and sinless purity. To gain credit to his assertion that he alluded chiefly to such persons, he alleges that Brown, Penry, and other Englishmen had, when in Scotland, "sown their popple," and that certain "brainsick and heady preachers" had imbibed their spirit; although he could not but know that these rigid sectaries were unanimously opposed by the Scottish ministers, and that the only countenance which they received was from himself and his courtiers.‡ The following acknowledgment deserves particular notice, as it ascertains an important fact, and enables us to judge of the policy of the course which James was at present pursuing. Speaking of the ministers, he says, "There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English church." And again, speaking of the charge of puritanism, he says, "I protest upon mine honour that I mean it not generally of all preachers, or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our church than of the many ceremonies of the church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things, (which for my own part I ever esteemed indifferent) as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy. We all (God be praised) do agree in the grounds, and the bitterness of men upon such questions doth but trouble the peace of the church, and gives advantage and entry to the papists by our division."* Such is the language of one who spent a great part of his life in agitating these very questions, who was at that time employed in imposing these very forms upon a church, which, according to his own acknowledgment, was decidedly and unanimously averse to them, and who, in this very publication, lays injunctions on his son to prosecute the scheme after his death!

It has been said, that this work contributed more to smoothen his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory.† Though an impartial examination of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it,‡ yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry than any other of James's writings, and contains many good advices, mingled, however, with not a few silly prejudices.

A careful comparison of the *Law of Free Monarchies* and the *Basilicon Doron* throws no small light on the history of the time. It points out the true ground of the strong antipathies which James felt to the presbyterian ministers, and ascertains the meaning of his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, *No Bishop, no King*.

The affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which occurred in the first year of the seventeenth century, proved injurious to the church, as well as vexatious to individual ministers. For not giving thanks for his Majesty's deliverance in the very words which the court dictated on the first intimation of the occurrence, the ministers of Edinburgh were called before the Privy Council;‖ and having acknowledged, in answer to the inquisitorial demands put to them, that they were not completely convinced of the treason of Gowrie, although they reverenced the King's narrative, five of them were removed from the capital, and prohibited from preaching in Scotland. Four of these soon after submitted, and each was enjoined to profess his belief of the conspiracy, and his sorrow for his error and incredulity, in several churches, according to the penance imposed upon persons who were chargeable with the most hei-

* See Note C.
† Melville's Diary, 331. Cald. 337, 338. Spotswood, 457.
‡ See before, p. 259.

* Basilicon Doron, *To the Reader*, A. 5, 6. Lond. 1603, King James's Works, p. 144. What truth there was in all this, James has himself told us in another of his writings: "That Bishops ought to be in the church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God;—so was I ever an enemie to the confused anarchie or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth in my *Basilicon Doron*.—I that in my said book to my son do speak tenn times more bitterly of them (the puritans) nor of papists—I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depresse their paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe." (Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegeance, p. 44, 45.)
† See Note C.
‡ Bishop of Winton's Preface to King James's Works, sig. d. Spotswood, p. 475. Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 296.
‖ Spotswood says that the council told the ministers, when they were first sent for, "that they were only to signifie how the king had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thanksgiving;" but "by no persuasion they could be moved to perform that duty." (Hist. p. 461.) According to every other statement which I have examined, the ministers declared their readiness to do this, and merely declined to testify that his Majesty had been delivered "from a vile treason."

nous offences.* Bruce alone refused, and was banished.† Being subsequently recalled from France, he signified that his doubts were in a great measure removed, but still refused to make a public profession of his faith in the words of the court, or to submit to the humiliating penance which it enjoined. As a subject, he said, he had never refused to do the duty of a subject; but he did not feel himself at liberty to utter in the pulpit, under the authority of his office, any thing of which he was not fully persuaded. "I have a body and some goods," continued he, "let his Majesty use them as God shall direct him. But as to my inward peace, I would pray his Majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the magistrate as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery; and in so doing I should raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words but grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy."‡

The truth is, that from the moment that Bruce was removed from Edinburgh, it was determined that he should never be allowed to return. He was tantalized for years with the hopes of being restored to his place. The terms proposed to him were either such as it was known he would reject, or they were evaded and withdrawn when he was ready to accede to them. And he was afterwards persecuted till his death by the mean jealousy of the bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time, and to drag him from one corner of the kingdom to another. The whole treatment which this independent minister received was disgraceful to the government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—that he required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which was not necessary to justify the part which he was required to take in announcing it—that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, and that he stood too much on the point of honour, (concessions that some will not be disposed to make) —still the nice and high sense of integrity which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to church and state, not to speak of his birth and connexions, ought to have secured him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. There was another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless. James was conscious that he had deeply injured Bruce.‖ There is one proof of this which I shall state, as it affords a striking illustration of the deplorable state in which the administration of justice was at that time in the nation.

Bruce, when in favour with the court, had obtained a gift for life out of the lands of the abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years.§ In the year 1598, the King privately disposed of this to Lord Hamilton. He first stirred up the tenants of the abbey to resist payment,* and when this expedient failed, he avowed the deed by which he had alienated the annuity. Bruce signified his willingness to renounce the grant, provided the King retained it in his own hands or applied it to the use of the church; but learning that it was to be bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His Majesty called down some of the Lords of Session to the palace, and sent his ring to others, and by threats and persuasions endeavoured to induce them to give a decision in favour of the crown. Their lordships, however, much to their credit, found Bruce's title to be valid and complete.† On this occasion James exhibited all the violence of an imbecile and undisciplined mind. Being in court when the cause was heard, and perceiving that it was likely to be decided contrary to his wishes, he interrupted the judges while they were delivering their opinions, and challenged them, in a passionate manner, for daring to give an opinion against him. Several of the lords rose, and said, that, with all reverence to his Majesty, unless he removed them from their office, they both durst and would deliver their sentiments according to justice; and, with the exception of one judge, the whole bench voted against the party who had the royal support. James threatened the advocates who pleaded for Bruce.‡ He spoke of him on all occasions with the utmost asperity; charging him with stealing the hearts of his subjects, and saying, that, were it not for shame, he would "throw a whinger in his face." Determined to obtain his object, he "wakened the process," by means of two ministers in Angus to whom he transferred a part of the annuity. At a private interview, in the presence of Sir George Elphingston, his Majesty requested Bruce to "save his honour and he would not hurt him;" upon which a compromise was made, and sanctioned by the Lords of Session. But the King afterwards set this aside by his sole authority, altered the minute of the court, and threatened to hang the clerk if he gave an extract of it in its original and authentic form. Finding that he was to be deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and that the remainder was to be given him only during the royal pleasure, Bruce threw up the gift in disdain.‖

The eagerness which James shewed to have the conspiracy of Gowrie believed, increased instead of removing the public incredulity. He issued a mandate to change the weekly sermon in all towns to Tuesday, the day on which the event happened.§ Not contented with the observance of a national thanksgiving on the occasion, he procured an act of parliament, ordaining, that the fifth day of August should be kept yearly "in all times and ages to come," by all his subjects, as a "perpetual monument of their most humble, hearty, and unfeigned thanks to God" for his "miraculous and extraordinary deliverance from the horrible and detestable murder and parricide attempted against his Majes-

* James Balfour was appointed to make his confession within the towns of Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 11, 1600.)

† Record of Privy Council, August 12, 31, Sept. 10, 11, 1600. Cald. v. 475, 492—495, 527—542. The minute of Council bears, that Bruce "still continewit doubtfull and nocht throwghlie resoluit of the treasonabill and unnatural conspiracie;" and that "it can nawyse stand with his hienes suirtie and honour that ony sic distrustfull personis salbe sufferit to remane within the cuntrey."

‡ Cald. v. 599, 600. Crawfurd, i. 242.

‖ "*Chi offende non pardonna;* et si jamais Prince a été de cette humeur, celui-ci l'est;" says the French ambassador, in representing the hopelessness of an application to James in behalf of the son of the Earl of Gowrie. (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. iii. p. 108.)

§ The grant itself, which passed the seals on the 15th of October, 1589, speaks in the highest terms of the services which Bruce had done to the King, and to the whole church, "be informing of his Matie and counsall of sic thingis as concerns the weill therof and advancing and furthsetting the same baith in counsell and sessioun." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. ix. fol. 68.) The money and victual contained in the gift are regularly entered as his stipend in the Books of Assignation and Modification. One chalder of wheat and one of bear were given from it. with Bruce's express consent, to his colleague, Balcanquhal. (Book of Assignation for the year 1591.)

* Register of Decreets and Acts of the Commissariot of St. Andrews, Aug. 21, 1598, compared with Nov. 6, 1595.

† Action: Gilbert Auchterlonie in Bonitoun, &c. against Lord Hamilton and Mr. Robert Bruce; June 16, 1599. (Register of Acts and Decreets of the Court of Session, vol. clxxxiii. fol. 198.)

‡ Bruce's counsel were Thomas Craig, John Russel, and James Donaldson.

‖ Cald. v. 363—367, 403—413.

§ Record of Privy Council, Aug. 21, 1600. Record of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Aug. 24. Extracts from Record of Kirk Session of Glasgow, Sept. 25.

ty's most noble person.* This appointment was offensive on different grounds. It was an assumption on the part of the parliament, of the right of the church-courts to judge in what related to public worship. It was at variance with the principles of the church of Scotland, which, ever since the Reformation, had condemned and laid aside the observance of religious anniversaries, and of all recurring holidays, with the exception of the weekly rest. The appointment in question was liable to peculiar objections, as doubts were very generally entertained of the reality of the conspiracy to which it related; on which account ministers and people were annually forced either to offer mock thanks to the Almighty or to incur the resentment of the government. On this last ground, the English, accustomed as they were to submit to such encroachments on their natural and religious liberty, murmured at the introduction of this new holiday.† Yet such influence had the King now obtained over the church-courts, that the General Assembly, held at Holyrood-house in the year 1602, gave its sanction to the appointment; and thus exposed the church of Scotland to just reproach from her adversaries, as agreeing to keep an annual festival in commemoration of the deliverance of an earthly prince, while she refused this honour to the birth and death of her divine Saviour, and to some of the most interesting events in the history of Christianity.‡

James Melville was one of those who refused to obey this act of parliament and assembly. He had concurred with the commissioners of the church and the synod of Fife in appointing a public thanksgiving immediately after the conspiracy.‖ But he refused to keep the anniversary. The King summoned him and several of his brethren to answer for their disobedience, and threatened to proceed against them capitally if they declined the privy council; but having ascertained that they were determined to run all hazards, he satisfied himself with giving them a royal admonition in the presence of the commissioners of the General Assembly. It does not appear that the ministers were afterwards put to trouble on this head.§

It would seem that Melville was permitted to sit in the General Assembly which met at Burntisland in May, 1601.¶ It was on this occasion that the King became again a covenanter, by publicly renewing his former vows. His embassy to the court of Rome had not been well received, and the Roman Catholics in England had shown themselves unfavourable to his right of succession to the crown. At home he had incurred great odium by the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie, as to whose guilt the body of the people were invincibly incredulous. After the assembly had been occupied for a considerable time in deliberating on the "causes of the general defections from the purity, zeal, and practice of the true religion in all estates of the country, and how the same may be most effectually remedied," his Majesty rose and addressed them with great appearance of sincerity and pious feeling. He confessed his offences and mismanagements in the government of the kingdom; and, lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against all its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, discountenance those who attempted to hinder him in this good work, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and Christian king better than he had hitherto performed them. At his request the members of assembly gave a similar pledge for the faithful discharge of their duty; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of his Majesty's good dispositions, and of the cordiality which subsisted between him and the church.*

It was at this assembly that a motion was made to revise the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. The former of these was the only piece of reform which James exerted himself in effecting after his accession to the English throne. On the present occasion, we are told, he made a long speech, in the course of which he dwelt on the honour which such a work would reflect on the church of Scotland. "He did mention (says Archbishop Spotswood) sundry escapes in the common translation, and made it seem that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures than they whose profession it was; and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre and the discrepance from the text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole assembly."† But ravished as they were, and proud as they might be, of having for a king so great a divine, linguist, and poet, the Assembly did not think it fit to gratify his Majesty by naming him on the committee; but recommended the translation of the Bible to such of their own number as were best acquainted with the original languages, and the correction of the Psalmody to Pont.‡ This did not, however, prevent James from employing his poetical talents on a new version of the Psalms, intended to be sung in churches. If he had given encouragement to the ministers to prosecute such works as these, instead of irritating them, and embarrassing himself, by the agitation of questions respecting forms of ecclesiastical government, James would have acted like a wise prince. He would have gained their esteem, diverted them from those political discussions of which he was so jealous, and essentially promoted the interests of religion and letters in his native kingdom.

The preposterous and baleful policy of the court distracted the ministers from other undertakings of great moment and utility. Among these was the introduction of the means of religious knowledge into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In the year 1597, the General Assembly appointed some of their number to visit the North Highlands. In passing through the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Murray, the visitors found an unexpected avidity for religious instruction in the people, and great readiness on the part of the principal proprietors to make provision for it. The chief of the clan Mackintosh subscribed obligations for the payment of stipends in the different parishes on his estate; and observing that the visitors were surprised at his alacrity, he said to them, "You

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 213, 214.

† "Amongst a number of other novelties, he (James) brought a new holy-day into the church of England, wherein God had public thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Gourie: and this fell out upon the fifth of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the quire of St. Pauls church or the Long Walk: For no Scotch man you would meet beyond the sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetique politicians said the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit." (Osborne's Hist. Memoirs: Secret History of the Court of James the First, vol. i. p. 276.) "The English (says Sir Anthony Welldon) believe as little the truth of that story as the Scots themselves did." (Ibid. p. 320.)

‡ Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 204, b.

‖ Melville's Diary, p. 363. "At that tyme, (the end of August 1600,) being in Falkland, I saw a fuscambulus frenchman play strang and incredible pratticks upon stented takell in the palace clos, befor the king, quein, and haill court. *This was politicklie done to mitigat the Quein and peiple for Gowries slauchter.* Even then was Heudersone tryed befor ws, and Gowries pedagog wha haid bein buted." (Ibid.)

§ Record of Privy Council, Aug. 12, 1602. Cald. iv. 617.

¶ At least, Calderwood (v. 570) mentions him as voting, in the privy conference, against the translation of the ministers of Edinburgh.

* Cald. v. 577, 578. Melville's Diary, p. 366. Hist. of the Decl. Age. p. 25, 26. Row's Hist. p. 62.

† Spotswood, p. 466.

‡ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 197, b.

may think that I am liberal, because no minister will venture to come among us. But get me the men, and I will find sufficient caution for safety of their persons, obedience to their doctrine and discipline, and good payment of their stipends, either in St. Johnston, Dundee, or Aberdeen."—"Indeed," says James Melville, who was one of the visitors, "I have ever since regretted the estate of our Highlands, and am sure if Christ were preached among them, they would shame many Lowland professors. And if pains were taken but as willingly by prince and pastors to plant their kirks as there is for wracking and displanting the best constituted, Christ might be preached and believed both in Highlands and Borders."*—About the same time a scheme was planned for civilizing the inhabitants of the Western Isles, who were in a state of complete barbarism, and scarcely owned even a nominal subjection to the crown. A number of private gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife, undertook to plant a colony in Lewis, and the adjacent places, which formed the lordship of the Isles. They obtained a charter, confirmed by Parliament, which conferred on them various privileges, and among other things authorized them to erect ten parish churches, which were to be endowed from the revenues of the bishopric of the Isles.† The presbytery of St. Andrews took a warm interest in this undertaking; and at their appointment, Robert Dury, minister of Anstruther, sailed to Lewis in the year 1601, to assist the gentlemen of the society in the plantation of their churches.‡ The next account we have of Dury is as a prisoner in Blackness, for holding a meeting of the General Assembly.‖

While James remained in Scotland, the scheme of introducing episcopacy, though never lost sight of, was cautiously prosecuted. After the dissolution of the Assembly held at Bruntisland, the commissioners of the church addressed a circular letter to the ministers, intimating that the Spanish monarch had hostile intentions against Britain, and requesting them to impress their people with a sense of their danger, and to assure them that his Majesty was resolved to hazard his life and crown in the defence of the gospel.§ Melville wrote upon his copy of the letter, *Hannibal ad portas!* He was convinced that the fears of the commissioners were affected, and that their object was to raise a false alarm, with the view of turning the public attention from their own operations. Accordingly, he neglected no opportunity of rousing his brethren to a due sense of the real danger to which they were exposed. In a discourse which he delivered at the weekly exercise in the month of June, 1602, he condemned the unfaithfulness and secular spirit which were become common among ministers of the gospel. Gladstanes, feeling himself galled with this rebuke, sent informations against him to court; and the King having come to St. Andrews, issued a *lettre de cachet* without any authority from the Privy Council, confining him within the precincts of his college.* The design of this arbitrary mandate was in part counteracted by a plan which was adopted by the members of presbytery, the greater part of whom had been pupils of Melville. They set on foot an exercise in the New College, in which they alternately treated a theological question. This was attended by the whole university. The questions selected were chiefly such as related to the papal supremacy and hierarchy, and the discussion was managed in such a way as to make it bear on the points in dispute between presbyterians and episcopalians. By this means both ministers and students were confirmed in their attachment to presbytery, and qualified for defending it against its adversaries. As the exercise was performed in the Latin language, as it was agreeable to the directions of the General Assembly, and as the papists were the only opponents who were named, the court could find no plausible pretext for suppressing it.†

During the confinement of his uncle, James Melville exerted himself with unusual zeal, and displayed a resolution and conrage of which he had been supposed incapable. Perceiving that his good nature had been imposed on by designing and faithless brethren, that his silence was construed into consent, and that the compliances which he made, with a view to peace and harmony, were uniformly followed by farther encroachments on the rights of the church, he determined, henceforward, inflexibly to maintain his ground, to act invariably according to the dictates of his own judgment, and to lend a deaf ear to the fair professions of men who meant only to deceive and overreach.‡ He attended the assemblies of the church at the risk of his life, and when confined by a lingering disease he wrote them from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advices and the most powerful exhortations to constancy. With the view of preventing his opposition to the court measures at a meeting of the synod of Fife, intimation was sent him that the King had given one of his letters to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of commencing a criminal prosecution against him; but he paid so little regard to this threatening, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of the synod, informed his Majesty, that James Melville was become more fiery and intractable than his uncle.‖

At length the death of Elizabeth put James in possession of the new kingdom for which he had so ardently longed. In the speech which he made in the High Church of Edinburgh before setting out for Eng-

* Melville's Diary, p. 325.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 248—250. Spotswood, p. 468.

‡ Record of Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester, April 30, 1601.

‖ Among the means used for the reformation of the Highlands, it is proper to mention the translation of Knox's Liturgy, as it is called, into Gaelic, by John Carswell, Superintendent of the West, and Bishop of the Isles. It was entitled "FOIRM NA NURRNUIDHEADH," i. e. *Forms of Prayer;* and was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevick, 24th April, 1567. An account of this very curious and rare work, and interesting extracts from it, accompanied with an English translation, may be seen in Leyden's Notes to Descriptive Poems, p. 214—227. See also Martin's description of the Western Islands, p. 127. I have but little doubt that the Highlanders had the Psalms in their own language during the 16th century. A Gaelic translation of the first fifty Psalms was published by the synod of Argyle in the year 1650; most probably made from the newly authorized version in English.

§ The death of Philip II. in the year 1598, was fatal to the hopes which had for so many years instigated the Roman Catholics of Scotland to disturb the peace of their native country.

* "Apud S. Andrews undecimo die mensis Julij, anno domini 1602. The kings Ma. for certaine causes and considerations moving his H. ordaines a macer or oyr officer of armes, to passe & in his name and authoritie command and charge Mr Andrew Melvill principall of the new Colledge of S. Andrewes to remaine and containe himself in waird within the precint of said Colledge, and in noe wise to resort or repaire without the said precincts while he be lawfully and orderly releeved, and freed be his Ma: under the paine of rebellion and putting of him to the horne, with certification to him, if he faile and doe in the contrare that he shall be incontinent therafter denounced rebell and putt to the horne, and all his moveables goods escheat to his H. use, for his contemption.

(Cald. vi. 615.) Thomas Fentenn messinger."

† Melville's History of the Declining Age, p. 27. 28.

‡ During the sitting of the General Assembly in the year 1602, he was sent for to the palace. As he came out of the cabinet, William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who was waiting for access, overheard the King saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth: I'll warrant you he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row communicated to James Melville what he had heard, and the latter having next day given his vote against the proposal of the court, his Majesty would not believe it, and made the clerk call his name a second time. (Livingston's Characteristicks, art. *William Row.*)

‖ Wodrow's Life of Mr. James Melvil, p. 96, 102: vol. xii. MSS. in Bibl. Col. Glasg. Being told that the King hated him more than any man in Scotland for crossing his plans, he coolly replied,

Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram.

land, he professed his satisfaction that he left the church in a state of peace, and declared that he had no intention of making any farther alteration of its government. He repeated this assurance to the deputies of the synod of Lothian, who waited on him as he passed through Haddington. In answer to a petition which they presented in behalf of their confined brethren, he said, that he had parted on the best terms with Bruce, that he had expected that Davidson would wait on him as he came through Prestonpans, and that he had given Melville the liberty of going six miles round St. Andrews.* All the ministers offered their cordial congratulations to James on this occasion, although they could not but be aware that one of the first uses which he would make of his increased power would be to overthrow their liberties.† The severity with which Melville had been treated did not prevent him from employing his muse in celebrating the peaceable accession of his sovereign to the throne of England:

Scotangle Princeps, optime principum,
Scotangle Princeps, maxime principum,
Scotobritan-biberne Princeps:
Orte polo, nate, sate princeps,
In regna concors te vocat Anglia;
Te Vallia omnis; te omnis Iernia;
Et fata Romæ; et Gallicani
Per veteres titulos triumphi
Addunt avitis imperiis novos
Sceptri decores; Orcadum et insulis
Hetlandicisque, et plus trecentis
Hebridibus nemorosa Tempe:
Quâ belluosus cautibus obstrepit
Nereus Britannis, quâ Notus imbrifer,
Quâ Circius, Vulturnus, Eurus
Quadrijuga vehitur procella:
Cujus ruentis nauifrago impetu
Vim sensit atram classis Iberica,
Allisa flictu confraginosis
Rupibus, et scopulis tremendis.
* * * *
Tui videndi incensa cupidine
Plebs flagrat immenso, Eripe te mora
Scotobritan-biberne Princeps.
Vive diu populoque fœlix,
Gratusque. Votis et prece supplice
Rerum parentem concilia: et refer
Exorsa regni læta, sanctum
Christus imperium ut gubernet,
Frænans proteruæ regna licentiæ,
Laxans modestæ fræna decentiæ,
Vt vera virtus verticem mox
Conspicuum super astra tollat.‡

CHAPTER VIII.

MELVILLE'S Correspondence with Learned Foreigners—His Apology for the Nonconformist Ministers of England—Hampton-Court Conference—Proposed Union of the two Kingdoms—Death of John Davidson—Plan of the Court for Superseding the General Assembly—Ministers imprisoned for Holding an Assembly at Aberdeen—Convicted of High Treason—Melville Protests in Parliament against Episcopacy—Extract from Reasons of Protest—He is called to London with Seven of his Brethren—Their Appearances before the Scottish Privy Council—Sermons Preached for their Conversion—They are Prohibited from Returning to Scotland—Melville's Epigram on the Royal Altar—He is called before the Privy Council of England for it—Confined to the House of the Dean of St. Paul's—Convention of Ministers at Linlithgow—Constant Moderators Appointed—The Ministers at London Ordered to Lodge with English Bishops—Interview between them and Archbishop Bancroft—Melville called a Second Time before the Council of England—Imprisoned in the Tower—Reflections on his Treatment—His Brethren Confined—Their Dignified Behaviour.

WHILE the jealousy of the government led them to circumscribe the usefulness of Melville in every way that was within their power, his reputation continued to spread on the Continent. Some of the most distinguished of the foreign literati courted his friendship, and corresponded with him by letters. Among these was Isaac Casaubon, who, after teaching in the academies of Geneva and Montpellier, had taken up his residence, and was prosecuting his critical studies at Paris, where he enjoyed an honorary salary as Reader to Henry IV. and Keeper of the Royal Library. The correspondence between them began in the year 1601, when Casaubon addressed a letter to Melville couched in the most flattering terms. "The present epistle, learned Melville, is dictated by the purest and most sincere affection. Your piety and erudition are universally known, and have endeared your name to every good man and lover of letters. I became first acquainted with your character at Geneva, through the conversation of those great men, Beza, the deceased Stephanus,* and the learned Lectius, all of whom with many others, as often as your name was introduced, were accustomed to speak in the highest terms of your worth, probity, and genius. You know the effect of splendid virtues on the minds of the ingenuous; and I have always admired the saying of the ancients, that all good men are linked together by a sacred friendship, although often separated 'by many a mountain and many a town.' Having long loved and silently revered your piety and learning, (two things in which I have always been ambitious to excel,) I have at length resolved to send this letter to you as an expression of my feelings. Accept of it, learned Sir, as a small but sincere testimony of that regard which your reputation has excited in the breast of a stranger. Permit me at the same time to make a complaint, which is common to me with all the lovers of learning who are acquainted with your rare erudition. We are satisfied that you have beside you a number of writings, especially on subjects connected with sacred literature, which, if communicated to the studious, would be of the greatest benefit to the church of God. Why do you suppress them, and deny us the fruits of your wakeful hours? There are already too many, you will say, who burn with a desire to appear before the public. True, my learned Sir; we have many authors, but we have few or no Melvilles. Let me entreat you to make your appearance, and to act the part which providence has assigned you in such a manner as that we also may share the benefit of your labours. Farewell, learned Melville; and henceforward reckon me in the number of your friends."†

Another of Melville's foreign correspondents was Mornay du Plessis, a nobleman who united in his character the best qualities of the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and the Christian. The correspondence between them appears to have commenced on the occasion of a controversy excited among the Protestants of France, by a peculiar opinion respecting the doctrine of justification, which Piscator, a celebrated theologian at Herborn in the Palatinate, had started. The National Synod of the French churches, which met at Gap in the year 1603, passed a severe censure on the novel tenet, and wrote to other reformed churches and universities requesting them to assist in its suppression.‡ Melville and his colleague Johnston conveyed their sentiments on the subject in a letter to Du Plessis. They did not presume to judge of the sentence of the Synod of Gap, but begged leave to express

* Cald. vi. 699—701. Melville's History of the Declining Age, p. 36. The Rising and Usurpatione of our pretendit Bishopes, MS. p. 21. The relaxation of Melville's confinement was procured by the Queen's mediation. (Cald. vi. 615.)

† Row's History, p. 191, 192.

‡ Melvini Musæ, p. 12—15. There are three poems by him on the accession of James, and one on the sickness of Elizabeth.

* Henry Stephens, the learned printer, was the father-in-law of Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 129, edit. Almeloveen. There is only another letter to Melville in that collection. (Ib. p. 254.) It appears from this that he had received letters from Melville. (Comp. p. 143.)

† of Casaubon.

‡ Quick's Synodicon, i. 227. Piscator was accused of holding that the sufferings only of Christ, and not the actions of his life, are imputed to believers in justification.

their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that the farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them, that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy.† In his reply to this letter, Du Plessis expressed his approbation of the prudent advice which they had given, and informed them of the happy effects which it had produced.† The King of Great Britain reckoned it incumbent on him, in his new character of *Defender of the Faith*, to interfere in this dispute, as he afterwards did very warmly in the controversies excited in Holland by Arminius and Vorstius. The synod of Gap had given him umbrage by a declaration which he considered as derogating from the due authority of bishops.‡

The ministers of Scotland waited with anxiety to see how James would act towards that numerous and respectable body of his new subjects who had all along pleaded for a farther reformation in the English church. From this they could form a pretty correct estimate of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue with themselves. Before the death of Elizabeth he had sounded the dispositions of the puritans. They were universally in favour of his title; and there is no reason to doubt that he gave them hopes in the event of his accession.‖ When he was on his way to London they presented to him a petition, commonly called, from the number of names affixed to it, the *Millenary Petition*; stating their grievances, and requesting that measures might be adopted for redressing them, and for removing corruptions which had long been complained of by the soundest Protestants. No sooner was this petition presented than the two universities took the alarm. The university of Cambridge passed *a grace*, "that whosoever opposed, by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, or any part of it, should be suspended, *ipso facto*, from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." The university of Oxford published a formal answer to the petition, in which they accused those who subscribed it of a spirit of faction and hostility to monarchy, abused the Scottish reformation, lauded the government of the church of England as the great support of the crown, and concluded with this very modest declaration, "there are at this day more learned men in this kingdom than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in all Europe besides."† These proceedings were not only injurious to several respectable members of both universities, who were known to have taken part in the petition, but disrespectful to the King, who had received it and promised to inquire into the abuses of which it complained. Melville felt indignant at this prostitution of academical authority, and attacked the resolutions of the English universities in a satirical poem which he wrote in defence of the petitioners.* The poem was extensively circulated in England, and galled the ruling party in the church no less than it gratified their opponents. Several of the English academics drew their pens against it, but their productions were confessedly very inferior to Melville's in elegance and pungency.†

The proceedings and issue of the mock conference at Hampton Court are well known. On that occasion care was not taken to preserve even the appearances of impartiality. Every thing was previously settled in private between the King and the bishops. The individuals who were allowed to plead for reform were few; they were not chosen by those in whose name they appeared, nor did they express their sentiments; and, although men of talents and learning, they did not possess the firmness and courage which the situation required. The moderation of their demands was converted into a proof of the weakness of their cause, and the unreasonableness of nonconformity. The modesty with which they urged them served only to draw down upon them the most intemperate and insolent abuse. They were browbeaten, threatened, taunted, insulted, by persons who were every way their inferiors except in rank. The Puritans complained of the unfairness of the account of the conference which was published by Barlow; but whatever injustice the bishop may have done to their arguments, and whatever intention he may have had to injure their reputation, they ought to have applauded his performance. Nothing, in fact, can be more pitiable than the disclosure which it makes of the bigotry and servile adulation of the bishops, and of the intolerable conceit and grotesque ribaldry of the King. To quote it is to expose them to ridicule. No modern Episcopalian can read it without reddening with shame at the figure in which the head and dignified members of his church are represented.‡ There

* Epistola ad Morneium, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 46. & Rob. III. 2. 18. num. 10.

† Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 307. Quick's Synodicon, i. 265, 266.

‡ The synod declared that the title *Superintendent*, in their Confession, did not imply "any superiority of one Pastor above another." (Quick, i. 227.) Against this explication James sent a remonstrance. (Laval, Hist. vol. v. p. 415.) Du Plessis, in a letter to M. de la Fontaine, apologizes for the declaration of the synod. (Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 50.)—James published his *Epicrisis de controversia mota de Justificatione*, anno 1612. It begins with a quotation from *Solomon*, and ends with *Jacobus*.

‖ See his letter to Mr. Wilcock in Cald. vi. 698, 699, and Jacob's Attestation of learned, godly, and famous Divines, p. 14, 313.

§ Who were the individuals at this time in the church of England, (those inclined to nonconformity excepted,) who were known in the republic of letters? To the names eulogized by Melville, Herbert opposes the apostles Peter and Paul, the emperor Constantine, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Duns Scotus, and King James! (Musæ Resp. Epigr. 33. De Authorum Enumeratione.)

† Pro supplici Euangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia ad Serenissimum Regem, contra larvatam geminæ Academiæ Gorgonem Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an edition of this poem in 1620. (De Scriptoribus Scoticis, MS. p. 13.) It was reprinted in Calderwood's *Altare Damascenum*.

† One of these was George Herbert, who, in forty epigrams, analyzed Melville's poem, and answered it piece-meal. His epigrams were added by Dr. Duport to a collection of Latin poems by himself and others, entitled "Ecclesiastes Solomonis &c. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Musæ Responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam. Cantab. 1662."—Isaac Walton says, "If Andrew Melville died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy." Upon which Walton's editor remarks: "We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr. Herbert; whose verses have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed." (Walton's Lives, Dr. Zouch's edit. p. 342.)—Thomas Atkinson, B. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, wrote an answer, under the title of "Melvinus Delirans, sive Satyra edentula contra ejusdem Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam—per Thomam Atkinson. Poema versibus Iambicis scriptum." (Harl. MSS. num. 3496. 2.) It was dedicated to William Laud, when Dean of Gloucester and President of St. John's College. The MS. is not now to be found in the British Museum.

‡ The Summe and Substance of the Conference—at Hampton Court, January 14, 1603. Contracted by William Barlow, Doctour of Divinitie, &c. Lond. 1605. It is reprinted in Phœnix, vol. i. Besides Barlow, and the other authorities referred to by Neal, in his History of the Puritans, those who wish full information of the conference may also consult Wilkins's Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. ii. p. 373—375.

Barlow's Account of the Conference, with the Canons agreed on by the Convocation in the course of the same year, was published at Paris in French by the Roman Catholics. Such notes as the following were added on the margin: *King James abjures the Scottish church—King James a semi-catholic*, &c. (Ad Sereniss. Jacobum Primvm—Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ libellus

was not the most distant idea of giving relief to the complainers by this conference. The object of it was to afford James an opportunity of displaying his talents for theological controversy before his new subjects, to give him a plausible excuse for evading his promises to the non-conformists, and to smooth the way for the introduction of the forms of the English church into Scotland.* The liturgy was published with a few trifling alterations, and conformity to it was enjoined upon all ministers under the severest penalties.† In his speech to the parliament which met soon after at Westminster, James acknowledged the church of Rome to be his "mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions"—spoke with the greatest tenderness of her adherents, and declared his readiness to "meet them in the mid-way:" but "the puritans or novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and parity," were pronounced by his Majesty to be a "sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."‡

Warned by these facts, the ministers of Scotland were awake to their danger when the union of the kingdoms was proposed; a measure of which James was extremely fond, and which he set on foot immediately after he went to England. Melville was friendly to a legislative union, and joined with several of his learned countrymen in setting forth the advantages which would accrue from it to both kingdoms.‖ But he was convinced at the same time, from the disposition of the court, that there was the greatest reason to fear that the presbyterian establishment would be sacrificed to accomplish it. When the parliament of Scotland was called to deliberate on this important business, the synod of Fife, under his influence, applied for liberty to hold a meeting of the General Assembly. They were told by the agents of the court that this was altogether unnecessary, as the commissioners to be appointed by parliament were merely to advise on the terms of union, and to report to their constituents; to which the deputies of the synod replied, that in ordinary cases the resolutions of committees were adopted by the Estates, and, consequently, the selection of the commissioners and the instructions given to them were of the very greatest importance. Having failed in obtaining this object, the synod addressed a spirited admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly. After expressing their fervent wishes for the success of the proposed union, as conducive to the temporal prosperity of both kingdoms, and to the security of the protestant religion in them, they admonished the commissioners to crave of the parliament that the laws formerly made in favour of the church should be confirmed, and that nothing should be done tending to hurt, alter, or innovate her discipline and government, which was founded on the word of God, established by the laws of the land, and sanctioned by solemn promises and oaths. They required them to protest, that, if any step was taken to its prejudice, it should be null and void; and to charge those who voted in the name of the church, to confine themselves within the bounds of their commission, and to defend the ecclesiastical constitution, as they should answer to Christ and his church. And in fine they adjured them, before God and his elect angels, to inform the commissioners for the union, and, through them, his Majesty, that the members of synod were fully persuaded that the essential grounds of the government established in the church of Scotland were not indifferent or alterable, but rested on divine authority, equally as the other articles of religion did, and that they would part with their lives sooner than renounce them. The King was very desirous that the commissioners for the union should be invested with unlimited powers; but the parliament, jealous of the designs of the court, passed an act, declaring, in conformity with the request of the synod of Fife, that they should have no power to treat of any thing that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland.*

In the course of the year 1604, John Davidson, who had taken an active part in the public transactions of his time, departed this life.† On his return from banishment after the death of the Regent Morton, he became minister of the parish of Libberton. The tyranny of Arran drove him a second time into England. Upon the fall of Arran, he declined returning to Libberton, and was chosen to deliver a morning lecture in one of the churches of Edinburgh. In this situation he remained until he was called to Prestonpans, where he officiated till his death.‡ Davidson was a man of sincere and warm piety, and of no inconsiderable portion of learning, united with a large share of that blunt and fearless honesty which characterized the first reformers. The bodily distress under which he laboured during the last years of his life was aggravated by the persecution which he suffered from the government.‖ He left behind him collections relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, with other writings, which the court was eager to suppress.§

Some time before this, Gladstanes was nominated

supplex. Auctore Jacobo Melvino. P. 30. Lond. 1645.) The French Protestants complained that their adversaries endeavoured to render them odious by quoting what James had said of the Puritans in his Basilicon Doron. (Lord Hailes's Memorials and Letters, i. 73.)

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 8, 20, Toulm. edit. Compleat Hist. of England, ii. 665.

† Wilkins's Concilia, tom. iii. p. 377, 406, 408.

‡ Journals of the Commons, vol. i. p. 142.

‖ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 118. There is a letter of Melville's prefixed to a treatise on the Union by Hume of Godscroft. (MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 274. Forbes's MS. History, p. 34, 35. James Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 37—41. Printed Cald. p. 479—481. Calderwood represents the admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly as given by the synod of Fife: James Melville ascribes it to the commissioners of synods. Forbes states that the King sent down a list of such persons as he wished to be chosen commissioners for the union, consisting chiefly of bishops and newly-created noblemen; that the ancient nobility, offended at this, refused to bear their expenses; that the persons nominated by the King offered to go at their own charge; and that, upon this, the nobility made the act exempting ecclesiastical matters from their cognizance.

† Four individuals "having comissione of the haill parish of Saltprestoun, bot especially of ye laird of Prestone, compeirit lamenting ye death of or father Mr. Jon Davidsone yr last pastor." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Sept. 5, 1604.)

‡ "Mr. John Davidsoun refusit to reenter to the kirk of Libbertoun." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 5. 1588.) "The transportation of Mr. Ard Symsoun from Dalkeith till Cranstoun, and Mr. John Davidsoun's planting at Dalkeith," are remitted to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Sept. 17, 1589.) "Mr. John Davidsoun's preiching in Edinburgh quarrellit and approved." (Ibid. Oct. 3, 1589. Comp. April 1, 1595.) A proposal was made for having him settled in the West Kirk. (Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Oct. 29, 1594, March 18, 1595.)

‖ Cald. v. 579, 608.

§ His papers, after his death, came into the hands of John Jonston, Melville's colleague. "Item, I leave the trunk that lyes under the bwirde wt Mr. Johne Davidsones papers thairin to Mr. Robt Wallace & Mr. Alexr Hoome at Prestounepannes." (Jonston's Testament.) At Jonston's death, an order was issued by the lords of privy council, (Nov. 21, 1611,) to the rector of the university and provost and bailies of St. Andrews, to "cause his coffers to be closed"—as it was understood "that he had sundrie paperis writtis and books, pairtlie written be himselfe, and pairtlie be utheris,—q^lk contenis sum purposs and mater whairin his Ma^tie may have verry just caus of offens, gif the same be sufferit to come to licht." (Collection of Letters in the possession of the Earl of Haddington.) An account of the progress which Davidson had made in his historical collections is given in a letter which he wrote to the King, April 1, 1603. (Cald. vi. 686—688.) "A little before his death he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesiæ Christi*, wherein he affirmes yt the erecting of bishops in this kirk is the most subtile thinge to destroy religione y^t ever could be devised." (Row's Hist. p. 293.) His catechism, entitled, "Some Helpes for young Scholers in Christianity, Edinburgh 1602," was reprinted in 1708, with a very curious preface by Mr. William Jameson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, in which he exposes the forgery of Mr. Robert Calder, who, by a pretended quotation from this catechism, attempted to persuade the public that Davidson had recanted presbyterian principles before his death.

to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and Spotswood to that of Glasgow, as a reward for their services in forwarding the schemes of the court, and an encouragement to them to persevere in their exertions for the overthrow of presbytery.

During the years 1604 and 1605, Melville bore an active part in the struggle for maintaining the General Assembly, the great bulwark of the liberties of the church of Scotland. By the parliamentary establishment of Presbytery in the year 1592, it was secured that the supreme judicatory should be held at least once a year, and a rule was laid down for fixing the particular day and place of every meeting. Under various pretexts James had infringed this rule; and, with the assistance of the commissioners of the church, had altered the times and places of assembling. In consequence of a complaint from the synod of Fife, the Assembly held at Holyroodhouse in 1602 came to the resolution, that General Assemblies should hereafter be regularly kept according to the act of parliament.* His Majesty was present and agreed to this resolution; yet when the time approached for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July, 1604, he prorogued it until the conferences respecting the union were over. As all classes in the nation were eager in securing their rights, the presbytery of St. Andrews judged it incumbent on them to be careful of the rights of the church. They enjoined their representatives to repair to Aberdeen; who, finding none present to join with them in constituting the Assembly, took a formal protest, in the presence of witnesses, that they had done their duty, and that whatever injury might arise to the liberties of the church from the desertion of that diet should not be imputed to them or to their constituents.

This faithful step aroused the zeal of the other presbyteries. At the ensuing meeting of the synod of Fife, delegates from all parts of the church attended to consult on the course which should be taken to assert their rights. At this meeting, and at an extraordinary one subsequently held at Perth, the parliamentary bishops and commissioners of the church were severely taken to task, and accused of clandestinely hindering the meeting of the General Assembly, for the purpose of prolonging their own delegated powers, and evading the censures which they had incurred by transgressing the cautions. It was at the same time resolved to send petitions from all the synods, requesting his Majesty to allow the supreme ecclesiastical judiciary to meet for the transacting of important and urgent business. Gladstanes conveyed information to the King of the activity with which Melville and his nephew promoted these measures; in consequence of which an order came from London to incarcerate them. But the council, either offended at the bishop's officiousness, or afraid of the spirit which then pervaded the nation, excused themselves from carrying the order into execution.†

Notwithstanding the numerous petitions transmitted to court from presbyteries and synods,‡ the General Assembly was again prorogued in 1605; and, as if to declare that the King had assumed the whole power of calling it into his own hands, no time was fixed for its meeting. It now behoved the ministers to make a determined stand, unless they meant to surrender their rights without a struggle to the crown.

The election of the members of Assembly had taken place in many parts of the country before its prorogation was known. After such mutual consultation as the shortness of the time permitted, nine presbyteries resolved to send their representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the Assembly, and adjourn it to a particular day, without proceeding to transact any business. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who had lately had an interview with his Majesty at London, and received assurances of his disposition to maintain the jurisdiction of the church, was employed to communicate this resolution to the Chancellor. That statesman professed himself satisfied with the moderation of the proposal, and promised to refrain from interdicting the Assembly, and merely to address a letter to the ministers who should meet, desiring them to separate. On the 2nd of July, nineteen ministers* having met, after sermon, in the session-house of Aberdeen, Straiton of Lauriston, the King's Commissioner, presented to them a letter from the Lords of Privy Council. As it was addressed "To the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen," it was agreed, before reading it, to constitute the Assembly, and choose a moderator and clerk. While they were employed in reading the letter, a messenger at arms entered, and, in the King's name, charged them to dismiss on the pain of rebellion. The Assembly declared their readiness to comply with this order, and only requested his Majesty's Commissioner to name a day and place for next meeting. Upon his refusal, the moderator oppointed the Assembly to meet again in the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and then dissolved the meeting with prayer. Lauriston afterwards gave out that he had discharged the Assembly by open proclamation at the market-cross of Aberdeen on the day before it met; but no person heard this, and it was universally believed that he antedated his proclamation, to conciliate the King and the court ministers, who were highly offended at him for the countenance which he had given to the meeting.†

This is a summary account of the assembly at Aberdeen, which afterwards made so much noise, and which the King resented so highly. The conduct of the ministers who kept it, instead of meriting punishment, is entitled to warm and unqualified approbation. It was marked at once by firmness and moderation, by zeal for the rights of the church and respect for the authority of their sovereign. Had they done less than they did, they would have forfeited the honourable character which the ministers of Scotland had acquired —disgraced themselves, and discredited those to whose places they had succeeded. They would have crouched to the usurped claims of a regal supremacy, which

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 201, b; 203, a. At the Assembly in May, 1597, his Majesty declared the act of parliament regulating the meetings of the church courts to be "the most authentick forme of consent that any king can give." (Ibid. f. 187, a.)

† Apologetical Narration by W. S. (William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife,) p. 133—138: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Printed Calderwood, p. 482—484.

‡ On the 25th September, 1604, the presbytery of Haddington appointed commissioners to go to St. Johnston "to regrait the delay of the generall assemblie." Oct. 17, 1604, they agreed that a petition should be presented to his Majesty on this subject. Sept. 11, 1605, they appointed the following clause to be inserted in a supplication: "That seing we understand his Ma^tie hes bein abused in respect no sute hath bene delyverit (as ane letter direct fro his Ma^tie bearis) craving ane generall assemblie: q^ras the Sinod of lawthiane and tueddell, convenit at tranent, direct ane letter to his Ma^tie craving maist humblie ane generall assemblie, *and sent* [it] *to his Ma^tie be Mr. Jho. Spottiswood.*" (Record of Presbytery.)

* Ten other ministers came to Aberdeen after the Assembly was dissolved, and by their subscriptions approved of what their brethren had done.—The presbytery of Haddington severely reprimanded their representative for not repairing to Aberdeen, and approved of the procedure of the Assembly. (Record, July 17 and 24, 1605.)

† Melville's History of the Declining Age, p. 52—55. Simsoni Annal. p. 90. Rising and Usurpation of the Pretendit Bishopes, p. 22—24. History by Mr. John Forbes, p. 42—62. The two last MSS. are in my possession. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly at Aberdeen, was a brother of Patrick Forbes of Corse, who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen. Spotswood's account is entirely taken from the official *Declaration of the just Causes of his Maj. Proceedings against the Ministers who are now lying in Prison;* printed both at Edinburgh and London in 1605. A counter-statement was published by the ministers under the title of *Faithful Report of the Proceedings anent the Assembly of Ministers at Aberdeen:* printed in England in 1606.

they and their predecessors had uniformly and steadily resisted, which were not more inconsistent with presbyterian principles than contrary to the laws of the country, and which, if yielded to, would have converted the free and independent General Assembly of the church of Scotland into a Parisian parliament or an English convocation. They are entitled to the gratitude of the friends of civil liberty. The question at issue between the court and them amounted to this, whether they were to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary will of the prince—whether royal proclamations were to be obeyed when they suspended statutes enacted by the joint authority of King and Parliament. This question came afterwards to be debated in England, and was ultimately decided by the establishment of the constitutional doctrine which confines the exercise of royal authority within the boundaries of law. But it cannot be denied, and it ought not to be forgotten, that the ministers of Scotland were the first to avow this rational doctrine, at the expense of being denounced and punished as traitors; and that their pleadings and sufferings in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty set an example to the friends of civil liberty in England. In this respect complete justice has not yet been done to their memory; nor has expiation been made for the injuries done to the cause which they maintained, by the slanderous libels against these patriots which continue to stain the pages of English history.

The Privy Council did not resent the proceedings at Aberdeen. But no sooner was his Majesty informed of them than he transmitted orders to the law-officers in Scotland to proceed with the utmost rigour against the ministers who had presumed to contravene his command.* They were accordingly called before the privy council, and fourteen of them having stood to the defence of their conduct, were committed to different prisons. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly, and John Welch, being considered as leaders, were treated with greater severity than the rest; being confined within separate cells in the castle of Blackness, and secluded from all intercourse with their friends. An anecdote, authenticated by the records of the council, affords a striking illustration of the spirit with which the ministers were actuated. Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt, had been induced to make an acknowledgment before the privy council, and was dismissed. But on the day when the cause of his brethren came to be tried he voluntarily presented himself along with them, professed his deep sorrow for the acknowledgment which he had formerly made, avowed the lawfulness of the late assembly, and, having obtained the permission of the council, took his place at the bar.† Having declined the authority of the privy council as incompetent to judge in a cause which was purely ecclesiastical, six of the ministers‡ were served with an indictment to stand trial for high treason before the Court of Justiciary at Linlithgow. They were indicted solely for the fact of their having declined the privy council; and the charge of treason was founded on a law enacted during the infamous administration of Arran, which, so far as it respected ecclesiastical matters, was disabled by a posterior statute. The defence of their counsel was able and conclusive, and the speeches of Forbes and Welch were of the most impressive kind. But of what avail are innocence and eloquence against the arts of corruption and terror? The Earl of Dunbar, now the King's favourite, was sent down to Scotland for the express purpose of securing the condemnation of the ministers. Such of the privy counsellors as the court could depend on were appointed assessors to the judges; the jury were packed; after they had retired, the most illegal intercourse took place between them and the crown officers; and by such disgraceful methods a verdict was at last obtained, finding, by a majority of three, the prisoners guilty of treason. The pronouncing of the sentence was deferred until his Majesty's pleasure should be known.*

The conduct of the ministers, during their imprisonment and on their trial, gained them the highest esteem. Those who had pronounced them guilty were ashamed of their own conduct. The glaring and scandalous perversion of justice struck the minds of all men with horror. In vain did the court issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the pain of death, any to pray, "either generally or particularly," for the convicted ministers, or to call in question the verdict pronounced against them, or to arraign any of the proceedings of government. The proclamations were disregarded and disobeyed. Insensible to the feelings of the nation, the King refused to exert his right to pardon. He would not even impart to his counsellors his resolution as to "the punishment of the traitors, which behoved," he said, "to remain for some time in his own breast as an *arcanum imperii*." And he ordered them to proceed without delay with the trial of the ministers who were still in prison, and whose conviction he anticipated as a matter of course after the decision which had been given against their brethren, especially if "more wary election was made of the next assisors."† Had this insane mandate been carried into execution, it must have spread dissatisfaction and discontent through the nation, and might have hastened on those confusions which broke out during the succeeding reign. Fortunately for James his counsellors were endued with more wisdom than he possessed. They wrote him in plain terms, that it was impossible for them to procure the conviction of the remaining prisoners; that those who sat on the former jury would not consent to re-act the same part; that, even if they were willing, it would disgrace the government to employ them; and that no others could be found to undertake a task which would expose them to universal odium and execration.‡ James reluctantly yielded; but "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The eight ministers were re-

* His Majesty's letter to Secretary Balmerino is dated "at Hauering in the boure the xix of Julii 1605." (Collection of Letters in possession of the Earl of Haddington.) The ministers were first called before the Privy Council on the 25th of July. (Collection of Acts of Secret Council, by Sir John Hay, Knight, Clerk of Register.) James marked with his own hand such parts of the proceedings of the Ministers as in his opinion brought them "within the compass of the law." Among these the following merits notice: "In the said lre [the letter of the Assembly to the Privy Council] thereafter at this signe ÷, they wald mak this thair appollogie for thair proceeding, *that they sould not be the first oppenaris of ane gap to the oppin breache and violatioun of the lawis and statutis of this realme;* willing the counsell to wey and considder thairof; as gif they wald mak ane plane accusatioun of sum tyrannie intendit be ws to the prejudice of the lawis of our kingdome, an speiche altogidder smelling of treasoun and lese majestie." (Collection of Letters, ut supra.)

† Act of Secret Council, Oct. 24, 1605. (Sir John Hay's Col.)

‡ John Forbes, minister at Alford, John Welch at Ayr, Robert Dury at Anstruther, Andrew Duncan at Crail, John Sharp at Kilmany, and Alexander Strachan at Creigh.

* Forbes's Hist. p. 62—151. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 61—92. Spotswood, p. 487—489. Scot's Apolog. Narration, p. 143—163. Of the illegalities of the process no other proof is required than the account of it which the Lord Advocate transmitted to the King. (Lord Hailes's Memorials, vol. i. p. 1—4.) In the same strain is the letter written which Secretary Balmerino addressed to his Majesty "by direction of the counsell." "To dissemble nothing," says he, "gif the Erle of Dunbar had nót bene with ws, and pairtlie by his dexteritie in aduising quhat wes fittest to be done in eurie thing, and pairtlie by the au^tie he had over his friends, of quhome a greit many passed upoun the assise, and pairtlie for that sume stood aw of his presens, knawing that he wald mak fidell relatioun to your ma^tie of eurie mans pairt, the turne had not framed so well as, *blessit be God*, it has." (Col. of Letters belonging to Lord Haddington.)

† His Majesty's letter to the Lords of Secret Council, Jan. 22, 1606: Col. of Letters, ut sup.

‡ The Counsellis Ans^r to his Majesty's Letter, Januar—1606: Col. of Letters, ut sup.

leased from prison; but they were banished singly to the extremities of the Highlands, to the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland; and in these inclement and then barbarous abodes, several of them contracted diseases which hurried them to a premature grave. The dread which was entertained of the talents of the six convicted ministers procured for them a milder fate. After being imprisoned fourteen months in the castle of Blackness, they were banished into France.*

These severities increased the nation's aversion to episcopacy, and its dislike of the bishops, who were universally believed to have incensed his Majesty against the men who opposed their elevation. If the first introduction of episcopacy had produced such persecution, what might be looked for when it obtained a complete ascendancy and establishment?† The people contrasted the harsh treatment of their ministers with the suspicious lenity shown to Roman Catholics. It was observed, that, at this very time, Gilbert Brown, abbot of Newabbey, who had for many years been a busy trafficker for Rome and Spain, and a chief instrument of keeping the south of Scotland under ignorance and superstition, was released from the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been liberally entertained at the public expense, and was allowed to leave the kingdom, after all his crucifixes, agnus deis, relics, chalices, and sacred vestments, had been religiously restored to him: while John Welch, who had converted multitudes from the errors of popery by his pastoral labours, and had published, at his Majesty's particular request, a learned confutation of the abbot's tenets, was detained in vile durance, and obliged to support himself in prison on his own charges.‡ "Barabbas (says a writer of that time) was released, and the faithful preachers of the word of God were retained in loathsome dungeons."‖ Nor did it escape notice, that James continued unrelentingly to prosecute the imprisoned ministers after his almost miraculous escape from the Gunpowder Plot, and rejected all intercessions in their favour, though embodied in congratulatory addresses which were transmitted to him from his native kingdom on that memorable occasion.§

Melville took a warm interest in the fate of his persecuted brethren. He avowed his approbation of their conduct in holding the assembly at Aberdeen and in declining the judgment of the privy council. He zealously promoted petitions to the government in their favour. He was present in Linlithgow on the day of their trial to give them his advice, and to make a final attempt for accommodation with the privy council. And, after their conviction, he accompanied them to the place of their confinement.* It was not long till he was called to make a more open appearance in behalf of the cause for which they suffered, and to share in the hardships which he now sought to alleviate.

Presuming that these severe proceedings must have intimidated and subdued the spirit of the ministers, the court deemed the present a favourable time for taking another step in the introduction of episcopacy. The provincial synods were assembled, and deputies from his Majesty required their consent to five articles, intended to secure the bishops from being called to account for their late violations of the cautions, and to recognize the power which the King claimed over the General Assembly. But these articles were decisively rejected by the synod of Fife; and the other synods, with the exception of that of Angus, referred the determination of them to the General Assembly.†

Melville was deputed by the presbytery of St. Andrews to wait on the parliament which met at Perth in August, 1606; and was instructed to co-operate with his brethren of other presbyteries in seeing that the church suffered no injury at that assembly of the Estates. Understanding that it was intended to repeal the statute which had annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown, and to restore the episcopal order to their ancient privileges, they gave in to the Lords of Articles a representation; stating, that the episcopal office stood condemned by the laws of the church, and that the bishops were restored to a place in parliament without prejudice to the established ecclesiastical government; and craving that, if any act were to be passed in their favour, the cautions enacted by the General Assembly, with the concurrence of his Majesty, should be embodied in it. In reply to this they were explicitly told by the Chancellor, that the bishops would be restored to the state in which they were a hundred years ago. Upon this they prepared a protest, which being refused by the Lords of Articles, they gave in to each of the Estates. Forty-two names, of which Melville's was the first, were affixed to this protest. The commissioners of shires and burghs at first promised to support it, but most of them were in the issue gained over by the agents of the court. The chief nobility were averse to the restoration of episcopacy;‡ but since James's advancement to the throne of England, it was become a matter of greater consequence than it had formerly been to preserve the royal favour; and he employed an argument with them which proved irresistible. The gifts which they had obtained from church lands were confirmed to them, and a great many new temporal lordships were erected from the same fund. The bishops did not scruple to violate the "caveats" by consenting to this alienation of the property of the church, and to the reduction of the number of her voters in parliament from fifty-one to thirteen. This compromise being made, the parliament restored the bishops to all their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, and livings, and at the same time revived the chapters which had been suppressed by the General Assembly. The preamble to this act is perfectly appropriate. It recognizes his Majesty as "absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal." By another act the royal preroga-

* Act of Secret Council, Oct. 23, 1606: Sir John Hay's Collection. Simsoni Annales, p. 91. Cald. 549.

† Melville expressed the general feeling in these lines:

Talia si teneri producunt poma stolones?
Quid longæva arbos? qualia poma feret?
(Simsoni Annales, p. 91.)

‡ Forbes's Hist. p. 111. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 82, 83. Welch's book is entitled, "A Reply against M. Gilbert Browne Priest. Wherein is handled many of the Greatest and weightiest pointes of controversie between vs and the Papistes, &c. By M. John Welche, Preacher of Christ's Gospell at Aire. Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-grave, 1602." P. 363. Dedicated to James VI. It was reprinted in 1672, by Matthew Crawford, under the title of "Popery Anatomized."

It would appear that some of the ministers received pecuniary aid from their presbyteries during their imprisonment. "The haill bretheren of the presbyterie agreis to ane cotributioune of fourtie marks for support of yr bretheren in ward." (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Nov. 15, 1605.)

‖ Simsoni Annal. p. 93.

§ Printed Calderwood, p. 507. A poem by Melville on the Gunpowder Plot is printed in Delit. Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 100. In the speech which James made to the parliament of England after the discovery of the plot, while he shewed great anxiety to distinguish between the different kinds of papists, he went out of his way to declare his detestation of "the cruelty of the Puritanes, worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist." (Works, p. 504.) In answer to the petitions in behalf of the Scottish ministers, he said, that "the papists were seeking his life indeed, but the ministers were seeking his crown, dearer to him nor his life." (Melville's Decl. Age, p. 83.) The truth is, James abused the puritans because he dreaded no harm from them, and he endeavoured to keep fair with the papists, because, as he sometimes phrased it, "they were dexterous king-killers;" just as some Indians are said to worship the devil, for fear he should do them a mischief. (Toplady's Historic Proof, ii. 215.)

* Printed Calderwood, p. 508, 516.

† Simsoni Annal. p. 98. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 92. Forbes, p. 165, 166.

‡ "En Ecosse la plupart des Seigneurs sont non-seulement Puritains, mais mal-contens: de sorte que je ne scais s'il se pourra faire obeïr." (Lettre à M. de Villeroy, 31 May, 1606: Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 63.)

tive was raised to the highest pitch, accompanied with the most extravagant and fulsome adulation of the reigning sovereign.* The greatest precautions were taken to prevent the ministers from protesting against these deeds. Melville had been appointed by his brethren to perform this task. On the day on which the acts were to be ratified, he gained admission into the House; but no sooner did he stand up than an order was given to remove him. Though thus prevented from taking a protest according to legal forms, he did not retire until he had made his errand sufficiently known.†

The protest was conceived in language respectful to the legislature, but expressive of the most determined opposition to the measure under their consideration. It reminded the members of parliament that they were not lords over the church, but nursing fathers to her; and that, instead of assuming a power to mould her government according to their pleasure, it was their duty to preserve and maintain that which had been given her by her divine head. It warned them that the measure under their consideration would, if adopted, overthrow that discipline under which religion had flourished for so many years in Scotland. It conjured them not to undo all that they had done in behalf of the church; nor for the sake of gratifying a few aspiring individuals, to erect anew a hierarchy which had been abjured by the nation, and which had uniformly proved the source of "great idleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shameless ambition." And it concluded with declaring, that the protesters were ready to produce reasons at large to shew that the power and dignity which it was proposed to confer on bishops were contrary to Scripture, the opinions of the fathers, the canons of the ancient church, the writings of the most learned and godly divines of modern times, the doctrine and constitution of the church of Scotland since the beginning of the Reformation, the laws of the realm, and the welfare and honour of the King, parliament, and subjects.‡ The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simpson, minister of Stirling; the reasons of protest were composed by James Melville, with the assistance of his uncle.‖ The following extracts from the last-mentioned paper will serve as a proof of the spirit with which it was written, and of the enlightened zeal for civil liberty, and the temporal welfare of the nation, with which the ministers were at this time actuated.

"Set mee up these Bishops once, (called long since the Prince's led-horse) things, if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly and pernitious to kirk and realme, if they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care and endeavour of the King, (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renouned Sovereign; for to the best hath oftentimes succeeded the worst,) they shall be carried through by his Bishops, set up and entertained by him for that effect; and the rest of the estates not only be indeed as ciphers, but also beare the blame thereof to their great evill and dishonour. If one will aske, How shall these Bishops be more subject to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince then the rest of the estates? The answer and and reason is, because they have their lordship and living, their honour, estimation, profit and commoditie of the King. The King may set them up and cast them down, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleasure; and therefore they must bee at his direction to doe what liketh him: and in a word, he may doe with them by law, because they are set up against law. But with other estates hee cannot doe so, they having either heritable standing in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then but a commission from the estate that send them, as from the burgesses or barons. Deprave me once the Ecclesiastical Estate, which have the gift of knowledge and learning beyond others, and are supposed (because they should bee) of best conscience, the rest will easily be miscarried. And that so much the more, that the officers of Estate, Lords of Session, Judges, Lawyers that have their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the court's affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Treasurer, President, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that these new Prelates of the Kirk, (as covetous and ambitious as ever they were of old,) insinuating themselves by flatterie and obsequence into the Prince's favour, attaine to the bearing of all these offices of estate and crowne, and to the exercising thereof, as craftily, avaritiously, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papisticall Prelates did. For as the holiest, best and wisest angels of light, being depraved, became most wicked, craftie and cruell divells, so the learnedest and best pastor, perverted and poysoned by that old serpent with avarice and ambition, becomes the falsest, worst, and most cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved.

"If any succeeding Prince please to play the tyrant, and governe all, not by lawes, but by his will and pleasure, signified by missives, articles, and directions, these Bishops shall never admonish him as faithful pastors and messengers of God: but as they are made up by man, they must and will flatter, pleasure and obey men. And as they stand by affection of the Prince, so will they by no means jeopard their standing, but be the readiest of all to put the King's will and pleasure in execution; though it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the best, and such namely as would stand for the lawes and freedome of the realme, and to cast them into dark and stinking prisons, put them in exile from their native land, &c. The pitifull experience in times past makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been seen and felt, and yet dayly is, in this Island. And finally, if the Prince be prodigall, or would inrich his courtiers by taxations, imposts, subsidies and exactions, layd upon the subjects of the realme, who have been or shall bee so ready to conclude and impose that by parliament, as these who are made and set up for that and the like service?"*

These were not the representations of alarmists, who wished to excite prejudices against the bishops from mere antipathy to their spiritual power. Nor were they the offspring of imaginations disordered by unreasonable jealousy. In the course of a few years the strongest of these predictions were fully and literally verified, to the conviction of those who had treated them as visionary. The bishops, who owed their restitution solely to the favour of the King, and who depended on him as "the breath of their nostrils," did not blush to acknowledge themselves to be his "Majesty's creatures," and devoted themselves in all things to the pleasure of their "earthly creator;"†

* Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 281, 282. The last-mentioned act was concealed at the time. The oath of supremacy was ordained by act of Privy Council only. (Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1607.) Calderwood (MS. vi. 1112) says, it was "printed at Edinburgh be Robert Charters, anno dom. 1607."

† Printed Cald. p. 521. Simsoni Annal. p. 100. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 105.

‡ Informations, or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland. Imprinted 1608. P. 94. 12mo. It appears from the epistle to the reader, that this treatise was printed abroad by an Englishman who had fled from Bancroft's persecutions. The Protestation may be seen in the printed History of Calderwood, p. 527—531.

‖ Printed Cald. p. 527, 536. The Reasons of Protest are inserted at length in a well-written tract by Calderwood, entitled, The Course of Conformity—Printed in the yeare 1622; (p. 20—48.)

* Cald. vi. 1158—1162. Course of Conformity, p. 44—47.

† "Most Gratious Souernigne, May it please zour most excellent Majestie, As of all vyces Ingratitude is most detestable, I findand my self not only as first of that dead estait quhilk zour M. hath recreate, but also in my priuate conditione so ouerquhelmed with your M. princely and magnifick benignitie

they exerted all their influence to lay the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the different orders in it, at his feet; while he, in return for their services, loaded them with honours, and advanced them to the highest offices of state. Owing to different causes these effects were more sensibly felt in Scotland, where, if episcopacy had been suffered to remain much longer, the government would have settled into a pure and confirmed despotism. But they were also felt in England. From the time that Henry VIII. caused himself to be declared Head of the English Church, and forced the bishops to take out licenses from him, and to acknowledge that all the jurisdiction which they exercised flowed from the royal authority, the episcopal bench and clergy became dependent on the crown. When the spirit of liberty pervades a nation it will exert an influence upon all orders of men; and there have been instances of English (I cannot say Scottish) prelates, who have nobly withstood the encroachments of arbitrary power, and defended the rights of the people. But still it is reasonable to suppose, (and experience justifies the supposition,) that as a body they will be devoted to the will of the prince, to whom they owe their places, from whom they look for preferment, and by whose authority they perform all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Candour demands the acknowledgment, that a presbyterian church must also fall into state-subserviency in proportion to the power which the crown obtains in the appointment of its ministers; although this patronage is necessarily limited by the want of preferments in such an establishment, and checked by the freedom of discussion which takes place in its several assemblies.*

In giving an account of the parliamentary restoration of prelacy, it would be unjust to omit mentioning William Douglas, Earl of Morton, a nobleman who inherited the magnanimity of the Douglasses, tempered by the milder virtues of his illustrious relative the Regent Murray. While he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his morals, and the strict regard which he uniformly shewed to the duties of religion. The public conduct of this peer was marked by independence, and he shewed himself a warm and steady friend to the presbyterian church. It was chiefly through his exertions that the parliament had formerly passed an act exempting the government of the church from the cognizance of the commissioners appointed on the union. The sickness which soon after put an end to his days prevented him from attending in his place at Perth; but he expressed his strong disapprobation of the act restoring episcopacy, and with his dying breath predicted the evils which it would entail on the country.*

Melville's appearance before the parliament at Perth was the last which he was permitted to make in his native country. His removal from Scotland had been determined on as a necessary preparative to the execution of the projects of the court. Episcopacy still stood condemned by the church, and the bishops remained destitute of all spiritual power. Such was the state of public sentiment and feeling in the country, that any attempt to confer this upon them by the mere exercise of civil authority would have been nugatory, and might have proved dangerous. The only way in which they could hope to succeed was by obtaining the consent of the church-courts to their assuming one degree of episcopal power after another, under false names and deceitful pretexts. Notwithstanding the number of ministers already in confinement, they judged it necessary to get rid of others, before they durst face an ecclesiastical assembly, or bring forward their proposal in its most modified shape. This was accomplished by one of those politic stratagems which James was so fond of employing. In the end of May, 1606, a letter from the King was delivered to Melville, commanding him, "all excuses set aside," to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his Majesty might treat with him and others, his brethren, of good learning, judgment, and experience, concerning such things as would tend to settle the peace of the church, and to justify to the world the measures which his Majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for repressing the obstinate and turbulent. Letters expressed in the same terms were addressed to his nephew James Melville, to William Scot, minister of Cupar, John Carmichael of Kilconquhar, William Watson of Burntisland, James Balfour of Edinburgh, Adam Colt of Musselburgh, and Robert Wallace of Tranent.†

Having met to consult on the course which they should take, the eight ministers deputed one of their number to converse with the Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish premier, and to request him to deal with his Majesty to excuse them from a journey which they were afraid would prove fruitless, and which would be oppressive to them, on account of the ill health of some of their number and the engagements of all. Under the mask of great friendship, Dunbar urged them to comply with his Majesty's desire; assuring them, that it would turn out the best journey that ever they undertook, that he had advised the measure out of regard to the church, and that the bishops, when made acquainted with the design, were very far from being pleased with it.‡ Although they placed little confidence in

could not bot repaire to your M. most gratious face, that so unworthie an *creature* micht both see, blisse and thanke *my earthly Creator*." (Original Letter of Archbishop Gladstanes to the King, Sept. 11, 1609: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 62.) "We will not be idle in the meantime (says he, in a letter to his Majesty, Aug. 31, 1612) to prepare such as have vote to incline the right way. All men do follow us and hunt for our favour, upon the report of your Maj. good acceptance of me and the Bishop of Cathness, and sending for my Lord of Glasgow, and the procurement of this parliament without the advice of the Chancellor. No Estate may say that they are *your Maj. creatures*, as we may say, so there is none whose standing is so slippery, when your Maj. shall frown, as we: for at your Maj. nod we must either stand or fall." (Printed Cald. p. 645.) The same servility, though not expressed in such gross terms, runs through a letter to the King by the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Orkney; and a separate letter addressed to him by Archbishop Spotswood. (MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. nums. 65 and 67.)

* "The bishops," says Lord Kames, "were universally in the interest of the crown, *as they have been at all times, and upon all occasions;* and as the whole bishops were for the crown, it was indifferent which eight were chosen." (Essays concerning British Antiquities, p. 53.) This remark unquestionably requires some qualification. But the instance to which Lord Hailes refers disproves it in part only. (Memorials, vol. i. p. 41.) Though all the bishops were "for the crown," they might not all be equally able to maintain its "interests;" and in this respect certainly it was not "indifferent which eight were chosen" as Lords of the Articles. But the reason why the King in 1612 sent a list of bishops was, not that he doubted of the attachment of any of them, but that he might assert his prerogative to nominate them. And the reason why Lord Burlie wished to change "one or two" on the court-list was, not that he objected particularly to any of the individuals named, but that he might maintain the privilege of the nobility in election; as he distinctly states in his defence. (Ibid. p. 42.)

* Simsoni Annales, p. 53, 112. Printed Cald. p. 482.

† Printed Calderwood, p. 518, 519.

"June 1606. Item to ane boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Matie To Mr. James Balfoure, Mr. Robert Wallace, and Mr. Adame Colt. xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.

"Item, To ane other boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Matie To Mr. Andro Melvill, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. Wm Scot, Mr. Wm Watson, Mr. Joa Carmichell and Mr. Henry Philp, xl^{s}."

(Compot. Thesaur. in Register House, Edinburgh.)

‡ There can be little doubt that the bishops both knew and had advised the calling of the ministers to London. In a letter addressed to his Majesty, "19th Junii," (A. 1606,) Gladstanes testifies his impatience for Melville's removal, and insinuates his hopes that he would not be allowed to return to St. Andrews. "Mr. Andrew Melvin hath begun to raise new storms

these assurances, the ministers resolved to go to London, after they had waited on the approaching parliament. Indeed, they were shut up to this course; for had they acted otherwise, they would have incurred the charge of disobeying the royal authority, and an order for their incarceration would have been instantly issued. Melville acquainted the presbytery of St. Andrews with the resolution which he had formed. They declined giving him any commission to act in their name, judging it safer that he and his brethren should appear in their individual character, and not doubting that they would prove faithful to the interest of the church. But they authorized him to receive an extract from their records, containing the subscription of Gladstanes to the presbyterian polity, to be used as he should find necessary. Having put the affairs of the college in the best order he could, Melville sailed from Anstruther, in company with his nephew, Scot, and Carmichael, on the 15th of August, and reached London on the 25th of that month. A few days after they were joined by their four brethren, who travelled by land.*

As soon as it was known that they were come to town, they were visited by a number of the ministers and citizens of London who favoured their cause. The archbishops of Canterbury and York sent to inquire for them, and invited them to their houses; but they excused themselves, on the ground that they could pay no visits until they had seen his Majesty.† James, who was absent on a progress through the kingdom, had left his directions for them with Alexander Hay, one of his secretaries for Scotland, and Dr. John Gordon, dean of Salisbury. Gordon was one of their countrymen, a son of the bishop of Galloway, and had himself been at one period presented to that bishopric. Soon after the Reformation, he had gone to France for the sake of his education, and remained in that country until the accession of James to the English throne. On the continent he had attained no inconsiderable degree of literary celebrity, particularly for his skill in the oriental languages.‡ This talent would have made him an agreeable companion to Melville, had they met on another occasion, and had not the task allotted to Gordon, along with the dean of Westminster, rendered them a kind of honorary guard on the ministers, and polite spies on their conduct. Notwithstanding this, Melville and Gordon had their literary hours, in which the stiffness and reserve of their more formal interviews were banished.*

The two Scottish archbishops, Gladstanes and Spotswood, with others of the court-party, came to London, to be present at the intended conferences. A rumour prevailed that the King purposed to have the questions at issue publicly disputed, and to renew the scene in which he had himself acted so conspicuous a part at Hampton Court three years before. Melville and his fellows resolved not to engage in any such foolish contest. They had no authority to appear as champions for the Church of Scotland, and were not so arrogant as to take this character upon them. The English divines had no right to interfere with their controversies; and if they chose to dispute, were in no want of antagonists among their own countrymen. And as for those who had come from Scotland, they were not entitled to reason against a government which they had so recently approved by their subscriptions, and sworn to maintain. The ministers were not, however, urged with any proposal of this nature. They received at this time a letter from their brethren who were prisoners in Blackness, expressing the confidence which they reposed in their wisdom and constancy; and charging them not to yield up any part of the liberties of the church of Scotland, with the view of purchasing for *them* either a pardon or a mitigation of punishment.†

The King shortened his progress, and returned to London sooner than was expected, to meet with the ministers.‡ They were introduced to him at Hampton Court on the 20th of September, and were allowed to kiss his hand. His Majesty conversed with them familiarly for a considerable time; inquired after the news of the country; and jocularly rallied Balfour on the length of his beard, which, he alleged, had grown prodigiously since he had the pleasure of seeing it in Scotland, and would give him, he was afraid, rather a Turk-like look in London.‖

Two days after, they were sent for to Hampton Court. On their arrival from their lodgings at Kingston, they were courteously received by Archbishop Bancroft, who left the room as soon as the King entered with the members of the Scottish privy council. His Majesty stated at large the reasons which had induced him to send for the ministers, and concluded by intimating that there were two points on which he demanded an explicit declaration of their judgment: the one was, the late pretended assembly at Aberdeen, including the behaviour of those who had held it; and the other was, the best means of obtaining a peaceable meeting of that judicatory for establishing good order and tranquillity in the church. James Melville, after offering the compliments and congratulations which were suited to the occasion, requested, in the name of his brethren, that they might have time allowed them to deliberate on the answer which they should return to his Majesty's questions. They were required to be ready with their answers on the following day.

On entering the presence-chamber next day, they found it crowded with the principal persons about court. Melville suggested to the Earl of Dunbar the impropriety of their being brought before such a promiscuous assembly; as his Majesty might be offended

with his Eolick blasts. Sir, you are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highness, Neptune. I must say,

Non illi imperium pelagi, sacrumque tridentem,
Sed mihi sorte datum ———

Your Majesty will relegate him to some Æolia,

——— ut illic vacua se jactet in aula."

(Lord Hailes's Memorials, i. 95.)

* "1606, Aug. 15, M. Andro Melvil, &c. departit fra Anstruther towart Lundon." (Laird of Carnbee's Diary, in Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 283. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 109—111. Cald. vi. 1089, 1190.)

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 111.

‡ On the 4th of January 1567, "Magister Joannes Gordon" obtained a gift under the Great Seal, of the bishopric of Galloway and abbacy of Tungland, vacant by the resignation of Alexander, the last bishop. "Et nos informati existentes de qualificatione singulari dicti Magistri Joannis Et q' in hebraica, caldaica, syriaca, græca et latina linguis bene eruditus est—pro subditorum nostrorum instructione," &c. In the title of the charter he is said to be "tunc temporis in Gallia studiis theologicis incumbente." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14. num. 92.) I must leave it to others to unravel the confusion as to the titles of John, Roger, and George Gordons to the bishopric of Galloway. (Consult Register of Presentation to Benefices for Sept. 16, 1578, and July 8, 1586. Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, p. 181, 290—293. Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 166. Printed Cald. p. 425, 426.) There is a letter from John Gordon to the Regent Murray, containing political intelligence. (Cotton MSS. Calig. C. i. 70.) And another to John Fox, on literary topics. (Harl. MSS. 416.) A poem by him is prefixed to "Plaidoye pour M. Jean Hamilton." And a poem in praise of him is inserted in Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 174. A list of his works may be formed from Wood's Fasti, Bliss's edit. p. 131. and Charters's Account of Scots Divines, p. 3. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 120. Melvini Musæ, p. 24.

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 113, 114.

‡ Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 348.

‖ I have taken my account of the transactions at London and Hampton Court chiefly from the narratives of two of the ministers, James Melville and William Scot, who kept registers of every thing that happened. Calderwood borrows from James Melville. Some important particulars are supplied by the despatches of the French ambassador, M. de la Boderie, who appears to have taken an interest in the affair, and had access to good information by his residence at court, and by means of M. de la Fontaine, one of the ministers of the French Church at London, and a great intelligencer. Spotswood's account is general.

at their uttering their sentiments, before the English nobility, according to the free manner to which they were accustomed in Scotland. But he was told that the arrangements were already made, and cautioned to be on his guard against saying any thing that was indiscreet or disrespectful in the presence of such honourable strangers. The King took his seat, with the Prince on his one hand, and the archbishop of Canterbury on the other. Around him were placed the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Worcester, Nottingham, and Northampton, Lords Stanhope and Knolles, with other Englishmen of rank; besides all the Scottish nobility who were at court. Behind the tapestry and at the doors of the apartment stood several English bishops and deans, who discovered themselves when the conversation became animated. The ministers had previously agreed to return a common answer by the mouth of James Melville. But his Majesty intimated that it behoved each individual to speak for himself; and beginning with the Scottish bishops and commissioners, he asked them what their opinion was concerning the assembly at Aberdeen. They all answered briefly, in their turn, that they condemned it as turbulent, factious, and unlawful. Then addressing Melville, his Majesty said: "You hear that your brethren cannot justify these men nor their assembly. What say you, Mr. Andrew? Think you that a small number of eight or nine, met without any warrant, wanting the chief members, the moderator and scribe, convening unmannerly without a sermon, being also discharged by open proclamation; can these make an Assembly, or not?" To this Melville replied in a speech of nearly an hour's length, delivered with much freedom and spirit, and at the same time with much respect. As for himself, he said, he had for a number of years been debarred from attending on general assemblies and all public meetings; but, as it was his Majesty's will, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction on the different objections which he had stated. With respect to the paucity of members, there was no rule fixing the precise number; two or three met in the name of Christ had the promise of his presence; an ordinary meeting of a court established by law could not be declared unlawful on account of its thinness; and those who met at Aberdeen were sufficiently numerous for proroguing the assembly to a future day, which was all that they did, and all that they had proposed to do. As to their warrant, it was founded on Scripture, his Majesty's laws, and the commissions which they received from their presbyteries. The presence of the former moderator and clerk was not essential to the validity of the assembly, which, in case these office-bearers were either necessarily or wilfully absent, might according to reason and the practice of the church, choose others in their room. His Majesty must have been misinformed when he said there was no sermon; for one of the ministers of Aberdeen preached at the opening of the meeting. As to the alleged discharge of the assembly on the day before it met, (turning to Lauriston, who was the King's Commissioner on that occasion,) he said, in a tone of solemn fervour, "I charge you, Sir, in the name of the Church of Scotland, as you will answer before the great God at the appearance of Jesus Christ to judge the quick and the dead, to testify the truth, and tell whether there was any such discharge given or not."—He paused for a reply; but Lauriston remained mute, and the King, fain to break the painful silence which ensued, requested Melville to go on to state his reasons for not condemning the conduct of the ministers. "If it please your Majesty to hear me, I have these reasons. First, I am but a private man, come here upon your Majesty's letter, without any commission from the church of Scotland; and as no body has made me a judge, I cannot take upon me to condemn them. Secondly, your Majesty hath, by your proclamation at Hampton-Court," (here he produced and read the proclamation,) "remitted their trial to a General Assembly; expecting there a reparation of wrongs, if any have been done. I cannot prejudge the church and assembly of my vote, which if I give now, I shall be sure to have my mouth shut then, as by experience I and others, my brethren, have found before. Thirdly, *Res non est integra, sed hactenus judicata* by your Majesty's council; whether rightly or not I remit to God, before whom one day they must appear and answer for that sentence. I think your Majesty will not be content that I should now contradict your council and their proceedings. Fourthly, how can I condemn my brethren *indicta causa*, not hearing their accusers objecting against them, and themselves answering?"

The speeches of the other ministers agreed with that of Melville; and what was omitted by one was recollected and supplied by another. The King exhibited evident symptoms of uneasiness, and an anxiety to bring the conference to a close. James Melville, at the conclusion of his speech, presented a supplication which had been transmitted to him from the condemned ministers. His Majesty glanced over it, and said with an angry smile, "I am glad that this has been given in." An interruption by Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, led to a legal argument between him and Scot on the trial of the ministers for treason, in the course of which, the lawyer was thought by all to be worsted at his own weapons.* Indignant at hearing that most flagrant scene of iniquity vindicated in the presence of his Majesty and such an honourable audience, Melville fell on his knees, and requested permission to speak a second time. Having obtained it, he gave himself up to all his native fire and vehemence, and astonished the English nobility and clergy with a torrent of bold, impassioned, impetuous eloquence, to which they were altogether strangers. Throwing aside the reserve which he had studied in his former speech, he avowed his belief of the complete innocence of his brethren, and justified their proceedings. He recounted the wrongs which had been done them on their trial, of which he was an eye and ear witness. Addressing the Lord Advocate, he charged him with having favoured trafficking priests, and screened from punishment his uncle, John Hamilton, who had been banished from France, and branded as an incendiary by the parliaments of that kingdom; while he employed all his craft and eloquence to convict the unoffending and righteous servants of Christ. The arch-enemy himself, he said, could not have done more against the saints of God, than he had done against these good men at Linlithgow; and not contented with the part which he had then acted, he behoved still to shew himself 'Ο Κατηγορος των Αδελφων.† At this expression the King, turning to the archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "What's that he said? I think he calls him Antichrist. Nay, by God; it is the devil's name in the Revelation of the well-beloved John." Then rising hastily, he said, "God be with you, Sirs." But, recollecting himself, he turned round to the ministers, and asked them, what advice they had to give him for pacifying the dissensions raised in the church; to which they replied with one voice, *A free General Assembly.*

The ministers were dismissed with unequivocal marks of approbation on the part of those who were present. The English nobility, who had not been accustomed to see the King addressed with such free-

* Several of the English nobility made handsome offers to William Scot, provided he would consent to remain in England. (Life of Scot. p. 7: Wodrow's MSS. vol. iv.)

† "Il y en a un entr'autres," says the French Ambassador to Marquis de Sillery, "qui lui a parlé avec un etrange liberté en toutes les occasions; & sur ce que l'Avocat Général d'Ecosse voulut prendre la parole dernierement contre icelui en la présence du Roi même, il en eut la tête lavée de telle facon, que le Roi & lui demeurerent sans réplique." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.)

dom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience, at the harmony of views which appeared in all their speeches, and the readiness and pertinency of the replies which they made to every objection with which they were urged. The reports of the conference which were circulated through the city made a strong impression in their favour. They had the effect of dispelling the cloud of prejudice which had been raised against them and their brethren; and convinced the impartial, that, instead of being the turbulent, discontented, and unreasonable men they had been represented to be, they were only claiming their undoubted rights, and standing up for the ecclesiastical liberties of their country against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power.*

They had scarcely reached Kingston when they were overtaken by Secretary Hay, who read to them, in the court before their lodging, a charge not to return to Scotland, near to approach the court of the King, Queen, or Prince, without special license. On the 28th of September, they were sent for to the Scottish council assembled in the Earl of Dunbar's lodgings. James Melville was first called in, and was urged by the Lord Advocate with certain ensnaring questions relating to his opinions and conduct. He refused to answer them. "I am a free subject (said he) of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of its own as free as any kingdom in the world: to them I will stand. There hath been no summonds executed against me. The noblemen here sitting and I are not in our own country. The charge *super inquirendis* was abolished and declared long since to be iniquitous and unjust. I am bound by no law or reason to accuse myself." He besought the noblemen present to remember who they were, and to deal with him (though a mean man yet a free-born Scotchman) as they would themselves wish to be used, according to the laws of Scotland. He told the Lord Advocate, who endeavoured to entangle him with legal quibbling, that, though no lawyer, he was endued with some portion of natural wit, and had in his time both learned and taught logic. "Mr. James, (said Dunbar) will ye not deign to give an answer for his Majesty's satisfaction?" "With all reverence, my lord, I will (replied he;) provided the questions be set down, and I may have time to advise on the answers." Melville was called in last. He told the members of the council, "that they knew not what they were doing; and that they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lands and lives for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which their sons were now betraying and seeking to overthrow."† If they were at all capable of serious reflection, the Scottish nobility must have blushed at their conduct on the present occasion, in forgetting so far what was due to their rank and place as to consent to become the instruments of the court, and of a few ambitious churchmen, to circumvent men who had been insidiously drawn from their homes, and entrap them into declarations which were afterwards to be used against them as criminal charges. They ought plainly to have told their master, that it was neither for his own honour nor that of his native kingdom, (which his new subjects were but too much disposed to contemn,) to have men of such character detained there as suspected persons, and his differences with them exposed to the observation of English peers and prelates; and that, if they were to be held as criminals, they should be sent home to be tried by their own laws and before their proper judges. If true nobility consists in that high and independent spirit, which, whether produced by the recollection of the deeds of ancestry or by other causes, spurns every thing which is dishonourable to the individual or to his country, then Melville and his companions shewed themselves to be, at this time, the nobles of Scotland.

The ministers received in writing the following questions, to which they were required to return answers. *First*, whether they had not transgressed their duty by praying for their condemned brethren, and whether they were willing to crave his Majesty's pardon for this offence. *Second*, whether they acknowledged that his Majesty, in virtue of his royal prerogative, had full power to convocate, prorogue, and dismiss all ecclesiastical assemblies within his dominions. And, *third*, whether he had not a lawful right, by his royal authority, to call before him and his council all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, for whatsoever faults; and whether all the subjects are not bound to appear, answer, and obey, in the premises. Each of the eight ministers, as directed by the council, gave in answers to the questions. They expressed themselves guardedly, so as not to give the court any advantage against them, but without sacrificing their own convictions or compromising the principles of the church of Scotland. Along with the answers they presented a joint paper, containing their advice as to the best mode of putting an end to the ecclesiastical feuds with which their native country was agitated.*

They were now entitled to expect that they should obtain liberty to return to their homes. They had testified their obedience to his Majesty by coming to London. They had attended all the conferences which he had been pleased to appoint. They had returned answers to the questions which he had proposed to them. They had given him their best advice for re-establishing the peace of the church. If this was not acceptable to his Majesty, and if he chose to act in a different manner, it was at least incumbent on him, in point of justice and of good faith, to dismiss men whom he had called to his presence in the character of advisers, and not of criminals or suspected persons. But nothing was less intended than this. Their stay was arbitrarily and indefinitely prolonged; and all the arts of the court were put in practice to corrupt and disunite them. Salisbury and Bancroft held interviews with such of them as were thought most complying, and endeavoured to detach them from their brethren.† When this method failed, spies were set on their conduct;‡ and they were brought into situations in which they might be tempted to say or do something which would afford a pretext for committing them to prison.

His Majesty had selected such of the English dignitaries as were most eminent for their pulpit talents, and appointed them to preach in the Royal Chapel, during the conferences, on the leading points of difference between the episcopalian and presbyterian churches. The Scottish ministers received orders to attend these sermons, and were regularly conducted, like penitentiaries, to a seat prepared for them, in which they might devoutly listen to the instructions of their titled converters. Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, began with a sermon in defence of the antiquity and superiority of bishops, which the ministers characterized as "a confutation of his text."‖ Dr. Buckridge, Pres-

* Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 121—124, 141. Scot's Apolog. Narration, p. 177—180. Spotswood, p. 497, 498.

† Melville, 132—134. Scot, 180, 181. Report of the Conferences Sept. 1606. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 49.

* Melville, 136, 142. Scot. 180—187.

† Melville, p. 140. Row, p. 101. Livingston, Charact. art. *William Scot.* "Je n'eusse jamais crus (says the French ambassador) qu'ils eussent résisté de la sorte; car il n'y a eu voie que l'on n'ait tenue pour les gagner. Les disputes y ont été employees, ou ledit Roi a deploye tout ce qu'il a scu. L'on en est venu aux offres & aux promesses, et depuis aux menaces à bon escient; mais tout a été en vain, n'ayant jamais iceux Ministres voulu consentir à aucune des propositions que ledit Roi leur a fait; tellement qu'il est constraint de les laisser là." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.)

‡ Melville's Decl. Age, p. 146.

‖ His text was Acts xx. 28. The sermon was "written and fynely compacted in a little book, whilk he had alwayes in his

ident of St. John's College, preached the second sermon, which was intended to prove the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It was chiefly borrowed from Bilson's book on that subject, with this addition, that the preacher confounded the doctrine of the presbyterians with that of the papists. The third sermon was preached by Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, on the *silver trumpets* which were blown by the priests at the Jewish convocations, from which his lordship, to the amazement of the ministers, undertook to prove that the convocating of ecclesiastical councils and synods belongs properly to Christian emperors and kings.* Dr. King, Dean of Christ's Church, closed this pulpit-show by an attack upon the lay elders of the Church of Scotland. Collier says that the sermon, "tho' somewhat remote from the words" of his text, was "suitable to the occasion." But the truth is, that the text was as suitable to the occasion as the sermon was. It was very ingeniously taken from the Canticles—"*Solomon had a vineyard at Baalhamon; he let out the vineyard unto keepers*;"† and it afforded the preacher an excellent opportunity of paying due compliments to the modern Solomon, the grand *Lay Elder* of the Church of England, who, in virtue of his royal unction, possessed more ecclesiastical authority than all the mitred and cassocked clergy in his kingdom. If this "king of preachers" (as his Majesty used wittily to call him) had at this time an eye to that rich spot of "the vineyard" which was afterwards "let out" to him, he could not have forwarded his object better than by railing, as he did in this sermon, against presbyteries, and crying to his Majesty, *Down, down with them.*‡ Lest the court-preachers should have failed in setting forth all the virtues of an English monarch, the ministers, on leaving the chapel, were conducted, by the Dean of Sarum, into the royal closet, where they had the gratification of seeing James touch a number of children for the cure of the king's evil.‖

Though the episcopal orations had been more able and more convincing than they really were, it was not to be expected that they would make a favourable impression on those for whom they were immediately intended. The circumstances in which they were delivered were calculated to awaken prejudices which are neither weak nor dishonourable. If ever the Church of England had her days of chivalry, they had then passed by; else her champions would have deemed it foul scorn to attack antagonists who were not at liberty to defend themselves or to return the blows which they received; and day after day to crow like cravens over men who sat bound and shackled before them. Considering that the ministers were constrained to attend, who could have blamed them greatly, if, forgetting the sacredness, not of the place, (for they had no such silly scruples,) but of the service for which they were professedly met, they had at the moment given expression to what they felt at hearing the church to which they belonged so indecently assailed? They listened, however, with the most respectful attention: they even took down notes from the mouth of the preacher. But they did not scruple to declare, after the service was over, that they thought the sermons were lame in point of argument; and insisted that they should be printed, that they might have an opportunity of answering them.* They were all printed; but when the ministers were preparing to reply, they were ordered to separate, and to take up their lodgings with the bishops.†

On the 28th of September, they were required by a message from his Majesty to be in the Royal Chapel early next day; and Melville and his nephew received a particular charge not to be absent. It was the festival of St. Michael, one of the *Dii minorum gentium* of the English, and was celebrated with much superstitious pomp. Several foreigners of distinction were present, among whom was the Prince de Vaudemont, son to the Duke of Lorrain, and commander of the Venetian army. On entering the chapel, James Melville whispered to his uncle, that he suspected a design to ensnare them and put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. And the King and Queen approached it with great ceremony, and presented their offerings. When the service was over the Prince de Vaudemont said, he did not see what should hinder the churches of Rome and England to unite; and one of his attendants exclaimed, "There is nothing of the mass wanting here but the adoration of the host."‡ On returning to his lodgings, Melville composed the following verses on the scene which he had just witnessed:

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam?‖

By means of some of the court-spies, who frequented the house in which the ministers lodged, a copy of these verses was conveyed to his Majesty, who was, or affected to be, highly incensed at them. And it was immediately resolved to proceed against their author.

On the 30th of November, he was summoned to Whitehall, and brought before the Privy Council of England. His Majesty did not attend, but one or two Scottish noblemen were present. Melville frankly ac-

hand for help of his memorie." (Melville's Decl. Age, p. 120.) Melville composed a satirical epigram on it. (Musæ, p. 23.) And Barlow retaliated by a versified pun upon his satirist's name. (Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 353.)

* Melvini Musæ, p. 23.

† Song viii. 11, 12. No body can doubt that the author of *Vitis Palatina* was capable of making a very amusing sermon on this text, and one very gratifying to his royal master.

‡ Melville's Decl. Age, p. 135.

‖ Melville. 134. One of the panegyrists of James has very seriously alluded to this royal virtue in the following lines:

O happy Britaines, that thus have in One
A just, wise Prince, a prompt Philosopher,
A pregnant Poet, a Phisition,
A deepe Divine, a sweet tongued Orator;
A curer both of Kings and poore mans Evill:
What would ye more? a chaser of the Devill.

(The Laudable Life and Deplorable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry—By J. M. [James Maxwell] Master of Artes. Lond. 1612.)

* The First of the Foure Sermons preached—at Hampton-Court in September last—by William Lord Bishop of Rochester. Lond. 1607. In the prefatory address, "To the Ministers of Scotland, my Fellow Dispensers of Gods Misteries," Barlow mentions the facts stated in the text.

† Melville's Hist. p. 147.

† Melville, 131, 132. Scot, 180. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 82.

‖ For the sake of the English reader, who may be desirous to know the treason included in these lines, the following old translation of them, which, though flat, conveys the sense, may be added:

Why stand there on the Royal Altar ble
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship closs,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross?
Doth she, with Chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express?

Melvini Musæ, p. 24. In this work there are, besides the verses given in the text, a poem by John Gordon, and two by John Barclay, author of Argenis, in defence of the *Royal Altar;* and five by Melville in reply. It may admit of a doubt whether the poems which bear the names of Gordon and Barclay were really written by them, or whether the whole were composed by Melville in the form of a poetical *just* or mock encounter. The noted Poetical Duellist, Dr. Eglisham, attacked Melville's Epigram on the Altar. The edition of his *Duellum Poeticum*, printed in 1618, bears on the title, "Adjectis prophilacticis adversus Andreæ Melvini Cavillum in Aram Regiam, aliisque Epigrammatis."

knowledged that he had made an epigram of which that which was now shewn him was an inaccurate copy. He had composed it, he said, under feelings of indignation and grief at seeing such superstitious vanity in a reformed church, under a King who had been brought up in the pure light of the Gospel, and before strangers who could not but be confirmed in their idolatry by what they witnessed at Hampton Court on the occasion referred to. It was his intention to embrace the first opportunity of speaking to his Majesty on the subject, and to shew him the verses. He had given out no copy of them, and he could not conceive how they had been conveyed to his Majesty. He was not conscious of any crime in what he had done. But if he had committed an offence, he ought to be tried for it in his own country: as a Scotchman, he was not bound to answer before the council of England, particularly as the King, his sovereign, was not present. The Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing him, began to aggravate the offence, arguing that such a libel on the worship of the church of England was a high misdemeanour, and even brought the offender within the laws of treason. This was too much for Melville to bear from a man of whom he had so unfavourable an opinion as Bancroft. He interrupted the primate. "My lords," exclaimed he, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor. But, my lords, there was one Richard Bancroft, (let him be sought for,) who, during the life of the late Queen, wrote a treatise against his Majesty's title to the crown of England; and *here*, (pulling the *corpus delicti* from his pocket,) *here* is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson."* Bancroft was thrown into the utmost confusion by this bold and unexpected attack. In the mean time, Melville went on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies. He accused him of profaning the Sabbath, of maintaining an antichristian hierarchy, and vain, foppish, superstitious ceremonies; and of silencing and imprisoning the true preachers of the Gospel for scrupling to conform to these. Advancing gradually, as he spoke, to the head of the table, where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn-sleeves of the primate, and shaking them, and calling them *Romish rags*, he said, "If you are the author of the book called 'English Scottizing for Geneva Discipline,' then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood: and it grieves me that such a man should have his Majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was a considerable time before any of the council recovered from their astonishment so far as to think of interposing between the poor primate and his incensed accuser. Bishop Barlow at last stepped in; but he was handled in the same unceremonious way. Melville attacked his narrative of the Hampton-Court Conference, and accused him of representing the King as of no religion, by making him say that, "though he was *in* the church of Scotland he was not *of* it."† He then proceeded to make strictures on the sermon which he had heard Barlow preach in the Royal Chapel. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my lord," (replied Melville,) "and am sorry that your lordship, by sitting here and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may yet be used against yourself or your posterity."

He was at last removed, and his brethren were called in. The Lord Chancellor, apprehending that all the Scottish ministers might be equally fiery as the individual who had just been before them, addressed James Melville and Wallace in the mildest and most complimentary style,* and took the task of interrogating them from the primate, that he might conduct it himself in a less offensive manner. They confirmed the testimony of Melville, that no copy of the verses had, so far as they knew, been given out. After the council had deliberated for some time, Melville was again called in; and, having been admonished by the Chancellor to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years, was told that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and was to be committed to the custody of the dean of St. Paul's, until the pleasure of the King, as to his farther punishment, should be known. A warrant was immediately issued to the dean, Dr. Overall, to receive the prisoner into his house, to suffer none to have access to him, and to confer with him at convenient times on those points on which he differed from the church established by law, for his better satisfaction and conformity.†

Having got the man of whom they chiefly stood in awe confined, and received assurances that his brethren would be detained at London, the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed assembly. After all their preparations they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were addressed by the King to the several presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th of December, to consult with certain noblemen and members of the Privy Council on the means of preventing the increase of popery and curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according as each had a smaller or greater number of members favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow, whether they received a commission from their constituents or not. Feeling this to be an insult on them, as well as an invasion of their rights, some presbyteries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, while others positively interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question.‡ The powers of a General Assembly were, however, assumed by this illegitimate body. The commissioners who acted on the part of his Majesty presented a letter from him, in which he declared it to be "his advice and pleasure," that "one of the most godly and grave and meetest for government" should presently be nominated as moderator of each presbytery, to continue in that office until the jars among the ministers were removed, and the popish noblemen reclaimed; and that the bishops should be moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Inclined as most of the members were to gratify the King, this proposal met at first with considerable opposition. It was seen that the new office was a mere

* Row repeatedly refers to this treatise of Bancroft, and Davidson's answer to it. (Hist. p. 85, 347.) Bancroft's work is also mentioned by John Forbes. (Hist. of the Ref. p. 33.)

† An English writer has used much stronger language in animadverting on this expression. (Toplady's Hist. Proof, ii. 233.)

* "Fearing," says James Melville, "as it appeared in using such charming, that force of spirit, whilk he needed not."

† Melville's History of Declining Age, p. 147—151. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 188, 189. Row's History, p. 103—105, 346—348. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 456, 458. The warrant to Dr. Overall may be seen in Dr. Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives, p. 351, note.

‡ "We the presb^re of hadingtou vnderstanding that our brethren Mr James Carmichael Mr David Ogill and James reid are to repair at his hienes comaund upon the tenth of this instant to ane meting of the nobilitie in linlithgow, and considering *quod omnes tangit debet ab omibus curarj, ut quod culpa non careat, qui rei se miscet ad se non pertinenti*; Be thir presents dischargis y^e said brethren to vote conclude or determine of onie things the decision q^rof pertenis to ane generall assemblie, and comand thame in our name w^t all humilitie to requeist the nobilitie thair convenit to be suteris to his ma^lie That ane frie generall assemblie may be convocatt as y^e only remeid of all these evillis mentioned in his hienes letter." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 8, 1606.)

stalking-horse to enable the bishops to gain that pre-eminence which they durst not directly assume; or, in the language of some of those who opposed the measure, "the *constant moderators* were the little thieves entering at the narrow windows to open the doors to the great thieves."* To silence these objections his Majesty's commissioners assured the Assembly that he had no intention to subvert the established church-government. The bishops repeated their deceitful protestations, that "it was not their intention to usurp any tyrannous and unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren," and that they would "submit to the censure of the church."† A variety of cautions, similar to those which had formerly been imposed on the voters in parliament, and brought forward with the same fraudulent design, were agreed to. The zeal of his Majesty against popery was loudly proclaimed; and hopes were given that he would listen to the intercessions which the Assembly had agreed to make in behalf of the ministers who were in confinement. By these means the strength of the opposition was broken, and the measure carried by an overwhelming majority. When the act of Assembly was afterwards published, it bore that the bishops were to be moderators of provincial synods as well as of presbyteries; and there is great probability in the allegation, that this clause was interpolated after the minutes were sent to London and submitted to his Majesty's revision.‡

This Assembly was opened by Law, bishop of Orkney, with a sermon on these words, *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem*; and it was closed with the warmest expressions of thanksgiving and gratulation on account of the uncommon spirit of union and harmony which had been displayed in all its deliberations. None are so loud in their praises of peace as those who are pursuing courses which directly tend to violate it; and in their dialect those are the men of peace who yield a tame submission to all the impositions of authority, or who obsequiously follow in the train of a ruling faction, at the expense of abandoning principle and sacrificing the public good. No sooner was the Assembly over than the different synods and presbyteries received legal charges to admit the constant moderators. All the synods but one, whose name I need not repeat, refused; and their refusal was imitated by a number of presbyteries. Ministers in all parts of the country were thrown into prison, or declared rebels and forced to abscond for a time; and in some places the most disgraceful scenes were exhibited, in consequence of the firmness of the church-courts and the violence of the agents of government."‖

There is not a more pitiable situation than that of a good man who has suffered himself to become the tool of an unprincipled faction, and who has not courage to break through the toils in which he has been unwarily caught; whose character is used to sanctify actions which he reprobates, and whose services are demanded to carry into execution schemes of which he never cordially approved, and which he every day sees more and more reason to condemn. Such was the unhappy situation of James Nicolson. The way in which he was led to desert his early friends has been already stated.§ From that time he had taken a leading part in forwarding the designs of the court against the liberties of the church, although his behaviour occasionally gave symptoms that "all was not at peace within." After long hesitation he had lately been prevailed on to accept a bishopric. In imposing the acts of the assembly of Linlithgow, of which he was moderator, he had to brook mortifications which caused him to be pitied even by those who were most offended at his defection from the Presbyterian cause. Soon after this he sickened, and on his death-bed expressed the keenest regret for the course he had taken. When his friends proposed sending for a physician, he exclaimed, "Send for King James: it is the digesting of the bishopric that has racked my stomach." He would not allow his episcopal titles to be put into his testament; and earnestly exhorted his brother-in-law to keep aloof from the court, and not to become a bishop; "for if you do," said he, "you must resolve to take the will of your sovereign for the law of your conscience." *

Melville remained under the *surveillance* of the dean of St. Paul's until the 9th of March, 1607, when he received an order from the privy council to remove to the house of the bishop of Winchester. The messenger having retired without insisting on accompanying him immediately to the dwelling of his new overseer, he took the liberty of visiting his brethren; and, as the court was then entirely occupied in managing the House of Commons, which had shown symptoms of refractoriness, he was allowed to remain with them for several weeks.† They had found means to excuse themselves from taking up their residence in the houses of the bishops, but the order formerly issued to that effect was now renewed. For the confinement of Melville some pretext had been found in the charge brought against him, and the legal proceedings founded on it. In the case of the other ministers nothing of this kind could be alleged. Accordingly, they highly resented this unprovoked encroachment on their liberty. They wrote to Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of council, desiring to know the grounds on which it proceeded; but he could assign no cause. They waited on the bishop of Durham, who received them in such a manner as was not calculated to give them high ideas of the welcome which they might expect from their episcopal hosts.‡ They then addressed a spirited remonstrance to the privy council of England. They complained of being detained in that country, to the impairing of their health, the wasting of their substance, and the heavy injury of their families and flocks. They protested against the late order of council as a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of their native country, and of the principles of justice, which forbid any man to be deprived of his freedom as long as he is unaccused and uncondemned. It could be considered in no other light, they said, than as a punishment, and for their part they would sooner submit to banishment or imprisonment in a common jail. They were pastors of the church of Scotland, long renowned among the churches of the Reformation; they had houses and incomes of their own with which they were contented; and it was repugnant to their personal feelings, discreditable to their function and the church to which they belonged, and not very honourable to their sovereign and native country, for them to "feed like belly-gods at the table of strangers," exchange the character of masters and teachers for that of bondmen and scholars, and appear to the world to approve of what they and their religious connexions had always condemned. Wherein had

* Course of Conformity, p. 50.

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 219.

‡ Ibid. 218, b,—221. Cald. vi. 1239—1266; vii. 45—60. Melville, Decl. Age, p. 151—154. Scot, p. 189—196. Row, p. 105—110. Spotswood, p. 500—502.

‖ Printed Calderwood, p. 565—569.

§ See above, p. 297.

* Scot, p. 205. Simson, 116. Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 776. Wodrow's Life of Nicolson, p. 3, 4: MSS. vol. ii. His Testament runs thus: "I Mr James Nicolson Minister at Megill &c." without any mention of his episcopal office. "He deceased in the moneth of August 1607," and left a widow, Jane Ramsay, and three children, James, Margaret, and Bessie. (Commissary Record of Edinburgh.)

† Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 171.

‡ His lordship told James Melville, who was appointed to be his guest, that, in order to receive him, it would be necessary to put a gentleman out of his chamber, and two servants into one bed. He invited two of the ministers to dine with him, but before the day came sent a message, saying, that it was not convenient for him to receive them. Melville, ut supra, p. 161—164.)

they offended? Was it expected that they should do violence to their judgment and conscience to give his majesty satisfaction? They knew of no principles held by them which were not sanctioned by the ecclesiastical and civil laws of Scotland. But if it were otherwise, they craved that they might be sent home to be admonished of their errors by their own church, without putting the lord bishops of England to trouble with them.*

The council referred them to the Archbishop of Canterbury for an answer to their petition; in consequence of which two of them went to Lambeth. His Grace received them with all the affability of a courtier, and conversed on the subjects which gave them so much pain with the ease and *sang froid* of a politician who knows that his power is firmly established, and that all his measures will be carried into execution. Judging from the exterior of his conduct on this occasion, one could scarcely suppose that he was the same individual who had persecuted the English puritans, and thrown so much abuse on the principles and proceedings of the presbyterian church in Scotland. When the ministers were introduced, he ordered his attendants to withdraw. He apologized for the order of council of which they complained, by alleging that it was intended to provide them with accommodation suitable to their station, seeing it was not the King's pleasure that they should yet return to their own country. James Melville having stated their reasons for declining this compelled courtesy, the primate acknowledged their force, and said, that the bishops themselves did not relish the proposal, though they acquiesced in it to please his Majesty: "for (added he) our custom is, after serious matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with cards or other games;† but ye are more precise." Changing the subject, he asked them if it would not be desirable to have the two churches united under the same government. They replied that it certainly would, provided the union was accomplished on sound and scriptural grounds; but there was great danger of widening the breach by injudicious attempts to close it. "We will not reason upon that matter now," said the archbishop; "but I am sure we both hold the grounds of true religion, and are brethren in Christ, and so should behave ourselves toward each other. We differ only in forms of government in the church and some ceremonies; and, as I understand, since ye came from Scotland, your church is brought almost to be one with ours in that also; for I am certified there are constant moderators appointed in your assemblies, synods and presbyteries." His Grace went on for a long time in this strain of affected moderation, but real insolence; not neglecting to say that he was in a better state when he was but Richard Bancroft than now when he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Scot thought it necessary to reply; and began with saying, that they could not relinquish their ecclesiastical discipline with a *good conscience*. But the primate interrupted him with a gracious smile; and, tapping him kindly on the shoulder, said, "Tush, man; here, take a cup of *good sack*." And filling the cup, and "holding the napkin himself," he made them drink.‡ So, with many flattering expressions, and courtly promises to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, his Grace dismissed them.‖

The unjust judge in the parable was induced to do the widow an act of justice, to be rid of her troublesome importunities. The privy council of England adopted an opposite course; and, as the Scottish ministers persisted in demanding that they should either be proved criminal or treated as innocent, they resolved to terminate the affair by one act of summary injustice.

On the morning of the 26th of April, a servant of the Earl of Salisbury came to the house in the Bow where the ministers were lodged, and delivered a message, requesting Melville to speak with his master at his chambers in Whitehall. Viewing the message in a friendly light, Melville made himself ready and set out with all expedition. His nephew, who was more suspicious, followed him, as soon as he had dressed himself, to the palace, accompanied by Scot and Wallace. Melville came to the inn when he understood of their arrival, and told them that he had waited two hours without being able to see the premier. By this time he had been informed that he was to appear before the English council, but did not wish to alarm his friends. "Why do you ask the reason of his lordship's message?" said he: "no doubt, he wishes me to dine with him. But I shall disappoint him; for I mean to take my repast with you." At table he exerted himself to cheer their spirits; acquainted them with the meditations on the second psalm which he had indulged during his walk in the gallery of the palace; and recited the verses which he had made on St. George, the tutelary saint of England, whose festival had lately been celebrated with much foolish pageantry. James Melville, who at that moment could have wished that his uncle had never composed a couplet, addressed him in the words of Ovid:

Si saperem doctas odissem jure sorores,
Numina cultori perniciosa suo:

To which he replied, with his usual promptitude, in the next words of the poet:

Sed nunc (tanta meo comes est insania morbo)
Saxa (malum!) refero rursus ad icta pedem.*

"Well," said his nephew, "eat your dinner, and be of good courage; for I have no doubt you are to be called before the council for your altar-verses."—"My heart is full and swells," replied he; "and I would be glad to have that occasion to disburden it, and to speak all my mind plainly to them, for their dishonouring of Christ and ruining of so many souls by bearing down the purity of the gospel and maintaining popish superstition and corruptions."—"I warrand you," said James Melville, who was anxious to repress his fervour, "they know you will speak your mind freely; and therefore have sent for you that they may find a pretext to keep you from going home to Scotland."—"If God have any service for me there, he will bring me home: if not, let me glorify him wherever I be. I have often said to you, cousin, He hath some part to play with us on this theatre." As he said this, a messenger entered, and acquainted him that the Earl of Salisbury wished to see him. "I have waited long upon my lord's dinner, (said Melville) pray him to suffer me now to take a little of my own." Within a short time two expresses were sent to inform him that the council was sitting and waited for him; upon which he rose, and, having joined with his brethren in a short prayer, repaired to the council-room.†

His Majesty did not make his appearance; but he had placed himself in a closet adjoining to the room in which the council was met. A low trick, and disgraceful to royalty, by which the prisoner was encouraged to use liberties which he might not otherwise have taken, and which were overheard by the person who was ultimately to decide upon his fate. The only charge which the council had to bring against him was the *epigram* for which he had formerly been question-

* The order of Privy Council warranting the bishops to receive the ministers, the letter of the ministers to Sir Anthony Ashley, with his answer, and their petition to the Council, are all inserted in Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 157—167.

† It seems the bishops avowedly violated those canons, the transgression of which, in the most unimportant circumstances, they punished so severely in the puritans. See the Canons of 1603, in Wilkins's Concilia, tom. ii. p. 393.

‡ Osborne says, Bancroft was "characterized for a *jovial doctor*." (Secret History of the court of James I. vol. i. p. 65.) Warner taxes him with want of hospitality. (Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 496.)

‖ Melville, 168—170. Row, 101, 102. Cald. vii. 14—16.

* Ovidii Tristia, lib. ii. od. 1.

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 178—181.

ed. Irritated as he was by what he had suffered and by what he had seen, he was not prepared to make apologies or retractions. "The Earl of Salisbury (says the French ambassador, to whom we owe the account of this interview) took up the subject, and began to reprove him for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge the primacy, and for the verses which he had made in derision of the royal chapel. Melville was so severe in his reply, both in what related to the King, and to the Earl personally, that his lordship was completely put to silence. To his assistance came the Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Earl of Northampton, then the Lord Treasurer; all of whom he rated in such a manner, sparing none of the vices, public or private, with which they are respectively taxed, (and none of them are angels) that they would have been glad that he had been in Scotland. In the end, not being able to induce him to swear to the primacy, and not knowing any other way to revenge themselves on him, they agreed to send him prisoner to the Tower. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed: "To this comes the boasted pride of England! A month ago you put to death a priest, and to-morrow you will do the same to a minister."* Then addressing the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were in the council, he said, "I am a Scotchman, my lords, a true Scotchman; and if you are such, take heed that they do not end with you as they have begun with me." The King was more irritated at this last saying than at all which had passed."†

Being prohibited from approaching the palace, the other ministers had employed one of their servants to watch the issue, who, returning at the end of three hours, informed them that Melville was conveyed by water to the Tower. They hastened thither, but were refused access to him.‡

It is difficult to say which is most glaring, the injustice or the ridiculousness of the proceedings of the council, first and last, against Melville. He was no subject of England, and no member of the English church: he owed no fealty or subjection to the authorities of either. Called into that country by the letter, and detained in it by the will of his sovereign, he was placed under the protection of the royal authority; and he was entitled to claim the benefit of this, especially at a time when conferences were holding for uniting the two kingdoms.‖ What had he done to forfeit this protection? Had he published a libel against the constitution of England? Had he intruded into her temples, or publicly insulted her worship? Had he attacked or even written a single line against one of her *established* rites? He had been forced to listen to discourses which he disliked, and to witness religious ceremonies which he detested. Was he also to be restrained from relieving his mind in private, by indulging in a literary recreation to which he had been addicted from his youth? Or, was it a crime to communicate the effusions of his muse to his brethren who sympathised with all his feelings, and shared in all his secrets? The only copy of the epigram which had been seen was taken by a court-spy who haunted his lodgings for the base purpose of informing against him. But though he had been industrious in circulating it, where was the mighty harm? Was the church of England in such a feeble and tottering condition as to be in danger from a few strokes of a quill? Did she, like the church of Rome, tremble at the report of a pasquinade? Were there none of all the learned sons whom she had brought up, and of whose achievements she was wont to boast, to rise up and defend her with the weapons with which she had been assailed, that she was obliged to call in the secular arm for her protection, and to silence the audacious satirist by immuring him in a dungeon? The council were, in fact, the authors and propagators of the scandal which they punished with such severity. If they had not interfered, the epigram would most probably have remained among the papers of the writer, or have shared the same fate with similar productions, which he amused himself with for the moment and then committed to the flames. But, by their injudicious interference, and in consequence of their having made it the ground of a criminal prosecution, it was circulated through Britain, was despatched by couriers to the different parts of the continent, formed a subject of merriment at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and even of the Vatican, and continues to this day to be read and relished as a merited castigation of a church, who, while she professed to have broken off all connexion with Rome, shewed a disposition to ape its manners, and to practise some of its silliest and most senseless ceremonies.

My Lord Chancellor Ellesmere was pleased to admonish Melville, at his first appearance, to join gravity and moderation to his learning; and the admonition was good. But really there are some actions so glaringly unjust as to provoke the meekest of men. And there are some scenes so truly ridiculous as to baffle the gravity of the most rigid moralist and the most demure precisian. What shall we think of the Chancellor of all England, with the principal peers and prelates of the realm, assembled in close conclave, spending two solemn sederunts on the demerits of an epigram, critically scanning six Latin lines, endeavouring, like school-boys, to construe them into treason, and in the end gravely finding them chargeable with the anomalous and barbarous fault of *scandalum magnatum?*

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

Those who approve of these proceedings, will be prepared to palliate their iniquity by quoting precedents and referring to examples equally arbitrary and unjust; and they will be loud in their censures of the deportment of the prisoner on this occasion, and in their declamations against the indiscretion and violence which he displayed in the course of his trial. Others, who are not disposed to join in this condemnation, may lament that, by his vehement and intemperate language, he should have detracted from the dignity of his defence, given his enemies an advantage against him, and subjected himself to a severer punishment than he would have suffered if he had acted with more moderation and prudence. I feel as little inclined to sympathize with the regrets of this last class of persons, as I do to enter into serious argument with the first. I know of no fixed and uniform standard of discretion by which the conduct of every individual is to be ruled on great and extraordinary occasions. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." It is the voice of the Deity that roars in the thunder and that whispers in the breeze. There are virtues whose mild influence is grateful and refreshing in the ordinary intercourse of life; and there are others which are salutary in purifying the social atmosphere, and in relieving it from those oppressive and noxious vapours by which it is apt at times to become impregnated. Some men are blessed with a placidity of mind and a command of temper which nothing can ruffle or discompose. Others are gifted with a keen and indignant sense of whatever is iniquitous and base, with the

* In the end of 1607, a minister in London was reprimanded for some freedoms which he had taken from the pulpit with the estate of bishops. Having afterwards given out some copies of his sermon, he was publicly whipped, made to stand four hours in the pillory, and had one of his ears cut off. Two days after he was again brought out, stood other four hours in the pillory, lost his remaining ear, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 489.)

† Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. ii. p. 207—209.

‡ Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 181. Row's Hist. p. 105.

‖ Dr. Zouch candidly allows that "the behaviour of Mr. Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England," and that he endured "much persecution;" adding, "it is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised." (Walton's Lives, p. 350—353.)

power of giving expression to what they feel, and with courage to exert that power. Let each use the gift which he has received, to the honour of Him who bestowed it, and to the benefit of mankind; subject only to those general laws which are common to both. "Quench not the spirit" of holy zeal for God and your country by the cold dictates of a selfish and timorous prudence, calculated to beget a temperance which gives smoothness to the passion of the hypocrite who plays his part on the world's theatre. "If my anger go *downward*," (said Melville to one of his prudent advisers,) "set your foot on it, and put it out; but if it go *upward*, suffer it to rise to its place."*

He was persecuted for what was no crime, and arraigned before a court which had no legal jurisdiction over him. He was under no obligation to defend himself; but he had a right to complain. In those who assumed the power to judge him he saw men of high rank and honourable station indeed, but men who were chargeable with many glaring offences and acts of injustice, and whose rank and station had precluded them from hitherto hearing the voice of faithful reproof. If, roused by the unworthy treatment which he met with, he felt it incumbent on him to discharge this dangerous duty, are we prepared to pronounce his reprehensions unwarranted, or to say that they were productive of no salutary and beneficial effect? It is a vulgar error to suppose that the decisions of an impassioned mind are necessarily blind and headlong. While selfishness contracts and cowardice clouds the understanding, the higher emotions impart a perspicacity and an expansion to the mind by which it perceives instantaneously and at one glance the course which it ought to take. Melville knew that his enemies sought an occasion against him, and that an advantage would be taken of the freedom of speech in which he chose to indulge. But he knew also that he could not regain his personal liberty without renouncing his principles and abjuring the cause to which he was resolved inviolably to adhere. Provided he was not permitted to return to his native country, and to resume his academical function, unfettered by sinful or dishonourable conditions, the degree of external restraint under which he might be laid was to him a matter of comparative indifference. Nay, the punishment to which he had for some time been subjected, was, in some respects, more galling than any which the council might be provoked to inflict. And as it was more revolting to his own feelings, so was it also less creditable to those public interests which in his breast were ever paramount to personal considerations. Had he been contented to "wait pinioned" at the court of England, or had he suffered himself to be quietly removed out of the way, and cooped up in some narrow and remote island,† his name and the reasons of his detention would have been little heard of or inquired after. But his being committed to the Tower as a state prisoner, with the circumstances which led to this, excited great speculation; and thus the cause for which he was imprisoned came to be talked of and generally known.† That the manner in which he conducted himself in the presence of the English council was not, as has been alleged by some of his enemies, disgracefully violent, may be inferred from the report of impartial persons, and from the irritation which was felt by those whom he attacked. But granting that he gave way to excess, who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetuous, independent, irascible spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantish, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft? Who would not have taken the place of the prisoner at the bar, with all his errors on his head, rather than have been detected as a crowned spy, listening at the door of a closet, or skulking behind its tapestry? The minute of council committing him to the Tower has, it seems, perished; but History has put the transaction on her record, more durable than those of cabinet-councils, and it will be remembered to the disgrace of its authors, and to the honour of the individual who was the victim of their violent but impotent revenge.

> Tell them the men that placed him here
> Are scandals to the times,
> Are at a loss to find his guilt,
> And can't commit his crimes.*

When Melville was thrown into the Tower, the fate of his brethren was also fixed. His nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go beyond ten miles from that town on the pain of rebellion. The rest of the ministers were confined in different parts of Scotland; and such of them as were allowed to reside within their own parishes were prohibited from attendance on church-courts, and bound to procure a certificate of their good behaviour from a bishop, or else to return to London within a limited time.† The allegation that Melville's restraint was owing to the violence of his behaviour is refuted by the treatment which his nephew received. He, at least, had given no offence during his residence in England. On the contrary, his conduct procured for him the approbation of the council, and drew the most flattering commendations from the lips of the Chancellor. Yet he was detained as a prisoner, and could not even obtain liberty to go to Scotland for the purpose of visiting his wife, when she was lying on her death-bed.‡

It would be highly improper to pass over one part of the conduct of the ministers. Their journey to England had subjected them to very considerable expense. They had been nine months absent from their own country. They had to support their families at home. Each of them was attended by a servant; and they had kept a hospitable table for such of their acquaintance as chose to visit them in their lodgings at Kingston and in London. Soon after they came to court, they received a sum of money to defray the expenses of their journey to England.‖ But when his Majesty found that there was no hope of their yielding

* Livingston's Charact. art. *Andrew Melville.*

† It appears from a letter of Welch to Boyd of Trochrig, that it was proposed that Melville should be sent to the Isle of Guernsey. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 14. num. 100.)

‡ The French ambassador, after giving an account of the affair, and desiring that it should be communicated to Henry, adds, that it formed the only topic of conversation in London: "Il ne se parle maintenant ici d'autre chose, et en sont ceux de la Nation en grande rumeur." (Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 209.) Along with Melville's epigram, the ambassador transmitted a copy of verses in answer to it, by one of the Royal Secretaries, "from which (says he) you will see the good intelligence that is between the Puritans and those who are about this King." (Ib. i. 458.)

* Defoe's Hymn to the Pillory.

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 181—183. Scot's Apolog. Nar. p. 205. Report of the Conferences: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 49. In the last mentioned MS. are two forms of licence to Balfour, who, it would appear, had objected to the first. After being allowed to remain for some time at Cockburnspath, he was ordered to remove to Frazerburgh in the north of Scotland; but the infirmities of old age forced him to stop on the road, and he was released from his confinement by the hand of death. (Cald. vii. 49.)

‡ After her death he was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family affairs in order; but he was prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of presbytery or synod, during his stay, and was bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month. (Cald. vii. 49.)

‖ "Upon Wednesday the 15th of October the erle of Dunbar sent Robert Jowsie to their lodging, with eight sheets of gray paper full of English money knit up in form of sugar loaves, containing five hundreth merks apeace to every one of them forr their charges and expences in coming to court." (Cald. vi. 1227.) The following extract is a proof of Calderwood's accuracy, and shews at the same time that the money did not come from the English Exchequer. "July, 1606. Item be comandemet of the lordis of counsall: To Mr. James Balfoure, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. Adam Colt, Mr. Andro Melvill, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. Wm Watsone, Mr. Wm Scot, and Mr Jo^{n} Carmichaell, ministers, for thair charges & expensis in thair journay toward his Majestie, ij^{m} vi^{c} lxvii^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}." (Com pot. Thesaur. in Register House, Edinburgh.)

to his wishes, he withheld all further supplies, and directed them to take up their residence with the bishops. Rather than submit to this, they chose to live at their own cost. When they were preparing to leave London, Bamford and Snape, two nonconformist ministers, and Croslay, a respectable apothecary, waited on them with a considerable sum which they had collected among their friends, and begged them to accept of it, to assist in defraying their expenses and supporting their friend whom they were to leave behind them as a prisoner. The Scottish ministers thanked them for their kindness, but declined receiving the gift. They could not accept of it, they said, either in conscience or in honour. They could not conscientiously take it, knowing that there were a great many ministers in England imprisoned or silenced for nonconformity, who stood in need of more relief than their friends could afford. Nor could they receive it without dishonouring their sovereign, at whose desire they had undertaken this journey, and who would doubtless reimburse what they had expended; and without disgracing their country, which had already suffered in its reputation, in consequence of the common talk of the people of England, that the Scots came among them to beg and "purse up the money of the land."* Those who are minutely acquainted with the history of these times are aware that the complaints of the English on this head were loud, and uttered in the most contumelious language. Jealousy and national prejudice might lead them to exaggerate; but it cannot be denied that the mean and mercenary behaviour of many of our countrymen, both of the higher and lower orders, who flocked to England after the accession of James, gave too much occasion for fixing this disgraceful stigma on the nation.† On this ground the ministers are entitled to the highest praise for their considerate and dignified conduct.

On the day after his uncle's incarceration James Melville received a note from him, marked by the hand of the Lieutenant of the Tower, requesting that furniture for a room might be sent him, along with his clothes and books. The strictest injunctions had been laid on the Lieutenant to allow none to have access to him; but his nephew contrived, by means of one of the keepers, to obtain an interview with him at the window of his apartment once a-day as long as he remained in London. Nothing which could contribute to his comfort (for his liberation was at that time entirely hopeless) was neglected by this amiable man and affectionate friend. All recollection of his own hardships, and of the afflicted state of his family, was for the time absorbed in the deep and distressing concern which he felt for his captive uncle. It rent his tender heart to think of leaving him in his old age, without a friend to relieve the tedious hours of captivity, and with none to perform the common offices of humanity to him but a rude and unfeeling gaoler. He exposed himself to the risk of being personally apprehended by prolonging his stay for a fortnight after the time fixed for his departure; and employed all his influence with his friends at court to have the place of his confinement changed from Newcastle to London, that he might be near his uncle, and ready to embrace any opportunity of being serviceable to him. But he was advised to desist from his applications, and to give immediate obedience to the royal injunction, unless he wished orders of a more rigorous kind to be issued. The only favour that could be obtained was a permission to Melville's servant to incarcerate himself along with his master.

Having secured this arrangement for his uncle's comfort, and supplied him with all the money he could spare, James Melville embarked for Newcastle, on the 2nd of July, 1607, from the stairs leading to the Tower; and continued, as the vessel sailed down the river, to fix his eyes, streaming with tears, on the Bastile which enclosed the friend for whom he had long felt an enthusiastic attachment, and whose face he was not again to behold.*

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 183, 184. Row's Hist. p. 106. Simsoni Annal. p. 111.

† Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. i. p. 143, 172, 217, 369—371. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 217. De la Boderie, tom. ii. p. 302, 492, iii. 162.

CHAPTER IX.—1607—1611.

MELVILLE deprived of the Office of Principal at St. Andrews —Succeeded by Robert Howie—Rigour of his Imprisonment in the Tower—Relaxed—College of Rochelle in France applies for him—He is Consulted on the Arminian Controversy —Fruitless Negociation for his Liberty—His Fortitude and Cheerfulness—Encourages his Brethren in Scotland by his Letters—His Majesty's Literary Employments—New Attempts for Melville's Liberation—His Design of going to America—His Literary Recreations in the Tower—His pecuniary Misfortune—Death of his Friends—Matrimonial Affair—Ecclesiastical Proceedings in Scotland—Episcopacy approved by General Assembly at Glasgow—Reflections on this —Melville's fellow-prisoners—He is Visited by Cameron and Casaubon—Duke of Bouillon's Application for Him—Opposed by the Court of France—He seeks Admission into the Family of Prince Henry—His Friends at Court—His pecuniary Embarrassments—Sickness—Release from the Tower, and Departure to France.

No time was lost in depriving Melville of his situation in the university. For this purpose a royal commission was given to four laymen and four bishops, who met at St. Andrews on the 16th of June, 1607. They found Melville's place, as principal of the New College, vacant, simply upon his Majesty's letter, declaring that the privy council of England had committed him to the Tower for a high trespass, and that he was not to be allowed to return to St. Andrews.† The university did not act with the spirit which they had displayed on a former occasion of a similar kind. Instead of remonstrating against the infringement of their rights by the act of a foreign jurisdiction, they did not even intercede with his Majesty in behalf of an individual who reflected so much honour on their body. To deter the members of the New College from opposition, the commissioners instituted a strict inquiry into the management of their revenues; and so eager were the professors to escape from censure, that they not only acquiesced in the removal of their principal, but were willing to impute to him, in his absence, the blame of irregularities to which they had at least been accessory, if they were not the chief authors of them. The ingratitude and want of feeling which Patrick Melville evinced towards his uncle at this time excited general indignation; and the commissioners availed themselves of it to deprive him of a considerable part of the emoluments to which he laid claim.‡ The only persons who had the courage to testify their attachment to Melville were his students, who presented a unanimous petition to the commissioners, requesting that their revered master might be restored to them. It is not to the credit of churchmen that they often discover less generosity and humane feeling in their proceedings than laymen. Not contented with divesting Melville of the office of principal, the clerical members of the commission would have deprived him of his salary for the current year; but the disgraceful proposal was quashed by the lay commissioners, who, though equally disposed to gratify the King, did not partici-

* Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 183. Cald. vii. 35, 39.

† Spotswood's Hist. p. 503.

‡ The bishops afterwards employed their influence with the court to have Patrick Melville "restored to his first stipend, *in regard of his good affection to his Majesty's service.*" (Letter of Archbishop Spotswood to Sir James Sempill, Oct. 12. 1611: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14. num. 97.)

pate in the resentment of their colleagues, and were guided by principles of honour.*

It was easy to extrude Melville, but not so easy to find one who was capable of filling his place. This consideration created no small embarrassment to the bishops to whom the arrangement of the business was committed. They were aware that Melville's talents and fame would throw into the shade any successor whom they might nominate; and that they would incur the odium of having sacrificed the interests of literature to the advancement of their own ambitious views. In respect of literary qualifications, and of the place which he already held in the college, Jonston was entitled to be advanced to the office of principal. But he was tainted with Melville's principles. This was the real bar to his preferment, although the infirm state of his health was made the excuse for passing him by. Robert Howie was the person fixed on as uniting the greatest portion of talent with the indispensable quality of a disposition to support the measures of the court. The claims of Jonston being set aside by a mandate from the court, Howie was, on the 27th of July, installed in the office of principal by virtue of a royal presentation, without regard to the comparative trial and election ordained by the parliamentary charter of the college. But conformable as he was, he received his appointment during the King's pleasure only; and when he scrupled accepting it with this limitation, he was told by Gladstanes that the royal will was imperious, and must be absolutely obeyed. Some of the members of the university had now summoned up as much courage as to protest against his admission, on the ground that no process of deprivation had been led against Melville: but the objection was disregarded, and those who brought it were threatened with being shut up along with the traitor for whom they presumed to plead.†

From hostility to Melville and dread of his being allowed to return to St. Andrews, Gladstanes was extremely officious in the whole of this affair. Perceiving his forwardness, the other commissioners took care to devolve on him the most invidious and ungrateful part of their work. In his correspondence with the court, the servile bishop makes a merit of his attending in person at the breaking open of Melville's lodging to give possession to his successor, at the same time that he states that this task was imposed on him to degrade his character in the public opinion. If we may believe the primate, the new principal made his *debut* in such a manner as totally to eclipse the reputation of his predecessor. "Mr. Robert Howie (says he) has been entered to teach in the New College, and that with so much rare learning as not only breeds great contentment to all the clergy here, but also ravishes them with admiration. So that the absence of his antecessor is not missed, while they find, instead of *superficial, feckless inventions*, profitable and substantious theology. What difficulty and pains I have had to settle him here, without help of any other of council or clergy, God knoweth! It was thought that the gap of Mr. Andrew Mellville's absence should have furnished such matter of discontent to the kirk and country as should have bred no small mutinie, and should have enforced your Highness to send the prisoner back, *tanquam sine quo non*."‡ This shows how happy the bishop felt at having been able to carry through a measure which he had despaired of accomplishing, and is the strongest possible testimony in favour of those talents which he wished to disparage. The lights which Melville's genius threw over the science which he taught are here characterized as "superficial, feckless inventions," while the duller divinity of his less gifted successor is dignified with the name of "profitable and substantious theology." We know from other quarters that Howie's early exhibitions, instead of being received with applause, were treated with disrespect and censure. Having, in his lectures, undertaken the defence of episcopal power, his arguments were refuted by his own students, and he was subjected to a rebuke from the presbytery.* Indeed, from the known sentiments of the ministers, and the partiality of the students to a favourite and persecuted teacher, it is natural to suppose that both of them would be prepossessed against Howie, and disposed to undervalue, rather than to overrate and extol, his abilities and performances.

Robert Howie was born in Aberdeen or its neighbourhood, and educated at King's College there. In company with John Johnston, his countryman and probably his fellow-student, he went to the continent and spent a number of years in foreign universities. He studied under two distinguished divines, Caspar Olevian, at Herborn,† and John James Grynæus, at Basle;‡ and during his residence at the last of these places gave a specimen of his theological knowledge to the public.‖ On his return to Scotland he became one of the ministers of Aberdeen.§ When Marischal College was erected he was appointed principal of that academy, in which situation he continued until the year 1598, when he was translated, by appointment of the General Assembly, to be minister of Dundee.¶ He incurred the displeasure of the King by encouraging the inhabitants of that town to assert their rights in the election of their magistrates.** But after that period he showed himself conformable to the court, and was one of those who appeared on the side of the bishops in the late conferences at Hampton Court.†† Howie's literary and theological acquirements were respectable; but he did not possess the genius, the elegant taste, or the skill in sacred languages, by which his predecessor was distinguished. Though he embarked warmly in the episcopal cause at his first coming to St. Andrews, yet his zeal seems to have afterwards cooled, and he not only favoured those who refused to conform to the English modes of worship, but was in danger of being ejected from his place as a non-conformist.‡‡

* Letter, John Dykes to James Melville: Cald. vii. 43—45. Epistola Alexandri Humei Andreæ Melvino: Melvini Epistolæ, p. 310. Hume expresses his unwillingness to believe the report that Jonston had acted an unkind part to Melville, and bears his testimony to the friendly conduct of Robert Wilkie, the principal of St. Leonard's.

† Wodrow's Life of Robert Howie, p. 2.

‡ Letter, Gladstanes to the King, Oct. 28, 1607: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 59.

* Row, p. 218.

† The Dedication of the first edition of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, "Johanni Comiti a Nassau," is subscribed "Herbornæ ex illustri schola Celsitudinis tuæ, quinto Martii, 1586. C. T. Addictiss. *Robertus Houæus Scotus*."

‡ His Thesis, on The Freedom of the Will, which he disputed before Grynæus, was printed "Basileæ Typis Oporinianis Anno Christi M. D. LXXXIX." A copy of it in the possession of Mr. David Laing has the following inscription in Howie's handwriting, "M. Roberto Rolloco Hovæus mittit."

‖ "De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo, Sev de Humani Generis Redemptione, Tractatio Theologica. Avthore Roberto Hovæeo Scoto. Accesserunt eiusdem authoris disputationes duæ: quarum altera est de Communione fidelium cum Christo: altera de Justificatione hominis coram Deo. Basileæ per Sebastianum Henripetri." 4to. Pp. 157. The colophon is, "Basileæ—Anno CIↃ IↃ XCI. Mense Aprili." It has two dedications; the one to Grynæus, and the other "Joanni Jonstono, Viro doctissimo, Populari et fratri suo charissimo." Sir Robert Sibbald mentions different *Theses* by Howie at Basle 1588—1591. (De Script. Scot. p. 56: conf. ejus Bibl. Scot. p. 116.)

§ The Charter of Erection of Marischal College (April 2, 1593.) is subscribed by "George Earl Marishall,"—"coram his testibus—Magistro Petro Blackburn, *Roberto Howæo* Ministris Aberdonen," &c.

¶ Buik of the Universal Kirk, ff. 192, a, 198, b.

** Letter from the King to the Privy Council, Anent the town of Dundee and M. Robert Howye, Oct. 3, 1604. (Lord Haddington's Col. of Letters.)

†† Scott's Apolog. Narrat. p. 177. Melville, p. 126.

‡‡ Diary of Mr. Robert Trail, Minister of the Gravfriars, Edinburgh, MS. p. 9. Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus: Ep. Dedic. Medelburgi 1618. "Now (my dear Mr. Howie) my labours are particularlie directit to you, I. becaus

He survived the establishment of episcopacy, and remained at the head of the theological college of St. Andrews for some time after the restoration of presbytery.*

The injustice of Melville's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated in the Tower. A pretext was found for withdrawing the indulgence of having a servant confined along with him. No creature was allowed to see him but the person who brought him his food. He was not even permitted to beguile the irksome hours by his favourite amusement of writing. The use of pen, ink, and paper, was strictly prohibited him.† But tyrants, though they can fetter and torment the body, have no power over the free and heaven-born soul. Melville's spirit remained unconfined and unbroken in his narrow and uncomfortable cell; and he found means of expressing the sense which he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, and his resolution to endure the worst which his persecutors could inflict. When his apartment was examined, its walls were found covered with verses, which he had engraved, in fair and beautiful characters, with the tongue of his shoe-buckle.‡ In this situation he was kept for about ten months.

James Melville was under great uneasiness lest the health of his uncle should suffer by such rigorous imprisonment, during a winter so remarkable for severity that the Thames continued frozen over for several months together. He was not relieved from this anxiety until the month of May, 1608, when he received a letter from him written with his own hand in Greek; thanking him for the money which he had sent him, and informing him that his health remained uninjured, and that his imprisonment was now less severe than it had been.* He was removed to a more airy and commodious apartment, was indulged with the use of writing materials, and soon after was allowed to see his acquaintance. This favour he owed to the interest and exertions of his friends at court, and particularly of Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. "Through the kind offices of Sempill," says he, in a letter to his nephew, "I now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two on the return of *Sine quo nihil;* you know whom I mean, your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately.† Sure, you admire the prudence and caution of the hero!"‡

In the end of the year 1607, and before he had obtained this mitigation of his confinement, the Protestants of Rochelle in France attempted to obtain him to their college, as Professor of Divinity. With this view they gave a commission to Gilbert Primrose, a Scotchman, who had been for some time minister at Bourdeaux, and was then on a visit to Britain;‖ authorizing him to deal with King James to set Melville at liberty, and allow him to come to them. James excused himself from complying with this request, by alleging that he had not yet resolved how to dispose of the prisoner. This negociation gave offence to the French court. Their ambassador at London received instructions to make particular inquiry into the facts. Primrose, on returning to France, was called before the king, and questioned strictly as to the nature of his commission; and the Duke of Sully was ordered to reprimand the inhabitants of Rochelle for carrying on a correspondence with a foreign power without the knowledge and permission of their native sovereign.§ Rochelle was one of the fortified cities in the hands of the Protestants, and a principal key of the kingdom. The connexion which it had maintained with England during the reign of Elizabeth, and the weak and vacillating conduct of James, might justify caution on the part of Henry; yet it must be confessed that this great prince, for some years before his melancholy death, evinced a jealousy of his protestant subjects, and a partiality to the most inveterate of their enemies, which it is difficult to defend either on the principles of gratitude or policy.¶

At this time Melville was consulted by both parties on the theological disputes which agitated the church in Holland. These were occasioned by the novel opinions of the celebrated Arminius respecting the origin of moral evil, predestination, free-will and grace; which afterwards spread extensively in all the reformed churches. In the year 1607, Melville received a letter from Sibrandus Lubbertus, Professor of Divinity at Franeker, giving him an account of the sentiments

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peculiarlie due unto you as being deryvet from you. 2. heiring heir abroad that for crossing, coping, capping, kneeling, &c. ye had receavit ane summonds of this new necessitie I thoght good to yield you this muche consolation, beseeching God to inarme you ayir to divt [defeat ?] thame, or patience and humilitie to indure thame, gif thay deale in regour with you." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. probably transcribed from a printed book.)

* It may be proper to state, that throughout the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not an invidious hint thrown out against Howie. James Melville names him with high respect in a letter to his uncle, (Novocastr. Apr. penult. 1610:) "Andream meum, rudimentis Theologiæ et linguæ sanctæ initiatum ut hac hyeme potui, in Scotiam nunc ablegavi, cum mandatis ut Hovii nobilis uxorem ad maritum comitaretur; id enim a me proximis literis petiit Hovius noster." (Melvini Epist. p. 161.)

† De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 469.

‡ This fact has been preserved by a foreign writer. (Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. iii. p. 52.) The verses from which he quotes are to be found in *Melvini Musæ*, p. 28.

Cum Balaamitarum sit tanta frequentia vatum,
Cur loquitur toto nullus in orbe asinus?
Non Genius stat contra, asinus non cæditur, ora
Non reserat muto, qui dedit ora Deus.

The following verses were also composed by him at this time.

At vati infœlici instat tibi carceris umbra,
Quin Christi illustri lumine liber ego.
Te tristi exilio, aut fato mutabit acerbo:
Nec triste exilium, mors nec acerba mihi.
Exilium a patria patrio me inducit Olympo:
Mors pro Christo atrox vita beata mihi.
Ibid. p. 22.

Si venissem ultro, spectassem singula et ultro,
Et quæsissem ultro; tunc mea culpa levis?
At veni jussus, spectavi et singula jussus,
Quæsivi et jussus; nunc mea culpa gravis?
* * * * * * * *
Hoc Belga, hoc Batavus, Germanus, Gallus, et Anglus,
Hoc Liger, hoc Scotus quærit, et hostis Iber
Injussus, quod jussus ego Regique Deoque
Quæsivi, officio functus utrique meo.
Solus ego plector, solum me fulmina tangunt,
Solus ego vulgi fabula factus agor.
Ibid. p. 23.

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* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 1, 329.

† The person here meant is the Earl of Dunbar, the King's favourite, who professed great regard for James Melville, with whom he had been intimate in his youth. Melville more than once rallies his nephew on his trusting to the empty promises of this courtier—"Heroe vestro collimitaneo."

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 54.

‖ Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 289.

§ De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 386, 430, 433, 486; iii. 26. Sully's Memoirs, v. 14. Lond. 1778. The fact is also alluded to in a letter by James Cleland to King James. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 21.) In Sully's Memoirs it is said that James had acceded to the application from Rochelle; but this is contradicted by De la Boderie.

¶ This drew from Du Plessis, who was equally distinguished for loyalty to his sovereign and attachment to his religion, the following striking remarks: "We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, *Thou knowest, my son, that all I have is thine*, or rather, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. In fine, I am pleased with whatever is done, provided it turns out well; but I dread those treaties in which *things* are given up and nothing got but *words*, and these the words of men who until of late had no words." (Mémoires tom. ii. p. 398, 399.)

and procedure of the innovators, and requesting his opinion on the subject. This was followed by a letter from Arminius himself, in which he complained that Lubbertus had misrepresented him to foreign divines, and entered at considerable length into a defence of his opinions and conduct.* Arminius possessed an acute and perspicacious mind, and was well skilled in the controversies of the age; but he was full of confidence in his own powers, flattered himself that he understood all mysteries, and cherished the idea that he was raised up to effect a revolution in religious sentiment, and to give to the world a system of belief entirely new and superior to any thing which had been hitherto received or taught. He was by no means scrupulous in stigmatizing as heretical the opinions of his opponents who hesitated to apply this invidious epithet to his own.† Had his life been spared, he would have produced a much greater change on public opinion than he did; for to his other talents he added the most consummate self-command and address, and kept free from those extravagances and that disgusting display of vanity which have defeated the pretensions of others who had the same lofty idea of their powers and destiny. Melville did not entertain the same favourable opinion of this bold speculator which he had formerly expressed concerning Piscator;‡ and we shall find him opposing his sentiments at a subsequent period.

In the end of the year 1608, he was visited by several persons of rank, who put him in hopes of obtaining a release from prison. At their desire he addressed a copy of verses to the King, which Secretary Hay undertook to present.‖ We are told that James once pardoned a poet who had satirized him, for the sake of two humorous lines with which he concluded his lampoon; saying, he was "a bitter but a witty knave." But the elegant appeal which was now made to his generosity had no effect on him. By the advice of archbishop Spotswood, Melville also wrote a submissive letter to the Privy Council of England, in which, after mentioning the occasion and motives of his writing the poem which had given them offence, and for which he had suffered an imprisonment of nearly two years, he begged their forgiveness for any expressions in it which might be deemed indecorous or inconsistent with English feelings. This apology, without containing any thing dishonourable to the writer, afforded the court a fair opportunity to relieve him from prison. But no such thing was intended. What sincerity there was in the archbishop's professions of friendship we shall soon see; and what reliance Melville placed on them appears from the account of the affair which he wrote to his nephew. "I have sent you a copy of my submission, which Glasgow, your scholar, has taken with him to the King. For the archbishop has been thrice or four times with me, shewing me that the kirk laments my absence, and that his earnest desire is to have me at home. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Dunbar must have the honour of my deliverance: you may conjecture all the rest that shall ensue. Relying on divine aid, I am prepared for whatever the event may be—to remain here, to return home, or to go into exile. I am well in body and soul, thank God.—Let me know of your welfare, and your news, either historical or conjectural, if not prophetical."*

During the whole period of his imprisonment, Melville's courage never once failed him, nor did his spirits suffer the least depression. The elation of his mind was displayed in a poem which he wrote at this time, containing an apologetical portrait of himself, and which he tells us, was "extorted from him by the importunity of both friends and foes."† It was considered as betraying vanity; because it traced his descent in the royal line, and recorded the services which he had done for his native country. But may not a modest and humble man be placed in circumstances which "compel him to glory?" When those by whom he ought to have been honoured and rewarded traduce and persecute him, and when the credit of the office which he fills, and of the cause which he has espoused, is in danger of suffering through him, he may warrantably overstep the ordinary bounds of modesty, and employ expressions, in speaking of himself, which in other circumstances would be sufficient to convict him of ostentation and folly.

In a letter to his nephew, enclosing this poem and the couplets addressed to his Majesty, he writes thus: "These, you know, are only light recreations in which I indulge for the purpose of recruiting my mind in the interval of severer studies and anxious cares. But I am preparing for a greater undertaking: join with me in wishing it success. I shall execute it, if not according to the importance of the subject, yet, to the utmost of my ability, royally; and shall not dishonour myself or you, to say nothing of others, whether friends or foes, whose expectations, through divine assistance, I shall endeavour not to disappoint. Not that I wish to hurt any one: that is contrary to my natural disposition. But I must prepare to defend the cause in the best manner I can. Shall I fly hope? shall I court fear? or shall I waste the flower of my mind in a state of dubiety between hope and fear? Thus was I wont formerly to jest with the muses, and thus am I now forced seriously to discourse with you about our affairs, public and private. But away with fears! I will cherish the hope of every thing that is cheering and joyous. Meanwhile I bid you farewell in Christ. Give me frequent and early intelligence of every thing you hear as to our affairs. Again farewell, and take care of your health." In another letter to the same correspondent, he says: "My mind is fresh and vigorous, nor is my bodily strength in the least impaired. I am preparing for the combat, and shall wonder if things pass over thus. I am persuaded that N. (the King) remains unaltered in his intentions, and that it will not be easy to drive him from them. The saying, *Fronti nulla fides*, often comes into my mind. But, leaving events to providence, let us do our duty, and not hesitate to act a courageous part in the cause, and under the auspices of Him who rules in the midst of his enemies. Though we have endured contradiction, we have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; but this also will we do when called to it by the master of the combat. I am at present engaged in a work which will let our adversaries see how they will be able to keep their feet on

* Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. p. 187, 190. Lubbert's letter is addressed "Reverendo et Clarissimo viro D. *W.* Melvino, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctori et Professori in inclyto Sanctandræano." The other is addressed, "*W.* Melvino." In both instances the transcriber has, by mistake, put *W.* for *A.* Melvino. This appears from comparing Epist. Eccl. et Theol. p. 220, with Brandt, Vita Arminii, p. 322.

* Those who would ascertain the real views and spirit of Arminius must consult the letters which he wrote to his confidential friends. "Demersa est veritas (says he) etiam theologica—in puteo profundo, unde non sine magno labore erui potest.—Ne mirare, Uytenbogarde; puto enim *paucos* esse qui istum articulum (the doctrine of the Trinity) intelligunt.—Fatebitur Helmichius nullam esse hæresin in ista mea doctrina: at *ego dico* in Helmichii et aliorum doctrina non unam hæresim, et non exiguam, sed fundamentalem, &c.—Illa proferam quæ putabo veritati, paci et *tempori* serviri posse," &c. (Epist. Eccles. et Theol. p. 39, 87, 139, 147.)

† Melvini Epist. p. 67—96.

‖ Ibid. p. 24.

* Melvini Epist. p. 29—31.

† It is entitled *Prosopopeia Apologetica.* (Ibid. p. 22, 23.) Among the writings of Melville, Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 497.) mentions "*Melviniana superbia*, lib. i. cui exordium,

Scotorum, Anglorum, Gallorum, a sanguine Regum,
Ille ego Melvinus."

He evidently refers to the *Prosopopeia*, which contains something similar to what he quotes, although not in the exordium. This is one proof among many that Dempster's mistakes were often owing to the circumstance of his quoting from memory.

the slippery ground of human authority, after they have been driven from the solid and firm footing of divine right."*

These extracts evidently refer to a work on the episcopal controversy which he had planned. In the course of the year 1608, copies of a sermon published by Dr. Downham in defence of the government of the Church of England were sent down to Scotland, and distributed *gratis* among the ministers, with the view of promoting their conversion to episcopacy. Melville had sent his nephew a hurried review of this sermon when it was first printed.† He now sent him two large letters, containing a luminous, rapid and spirited refutation of the principal arguments for prelacy drawn from scripture and antiquity. These were immediately transmitted to Scotland by James Melville, along with a letter from himself, which shews that they had operated as a cordial in reviving his drooping spirits. "When I reflect (says he to Patrick Symson) on the fortitude and constancy of my banished brethren; when I consider that you have been miraculously plucked from the jaws of the grave and restored to the church; when I muse on the premature death of my friend Nicolson, by which he who possessed such rare gifts was snatched from the current which threatened to carry him completely away, and along with him to wreck the interest of religion among us; when I think of the good health of my revered uncle, and the excellent spirits which he enjoys at the close of his climacteric year, and after being shut up in a strait prison during two severe winters and as many scorching summers; and when I perceive that royal authority, bribery, and the most consummate craft and subtilty have hitherto been employed against us with so little success;—I am wonderfully encouraged, and at intervals my breast heaves with the hope that the captives shall yet return, and that the city and temple of our Jerusalem shall again be built.

> Huc me raptat amor dulcis, et impotens
> Ardor ferre moras. O niveum diem
> Qui templo reducem me statuat tuo!
> O lucis jubar aureum!‡

Nothing less however appears as yet:

> ——— sed cui inops fidit Deus
> Spes et vota bonos ducat ad exitus.‖

In the mean time, my beloved and upright brethren, on whom the defence of the cause at home is devolved, and whom Jesus, our leader and commander, has placed in the front of the battle, rouse up, fight, stand, shew yourselves men, be strong, and you shall be more than conquerors. O that we who are removed to a distance from you were employed like Moses, Aaron and Hur, on the mountain! Swayed by the opinion of my dear brother M. W. C.,§ I was once inclined to think that we might tolerate at this time many things which we cannot approve; but when I consider all circumstances, I am much afraid that such forbearance would prove highly injurious, and deprive us of the simplicity, sincerity, liberty and power of the gospel. Read, I beseech you, again and again and again, these pages of Andrew Melville, written hastily on the spur of the occasion, but fraught with divine truth and learning, and apparently intended for you and your fellow combatants against intruding bishops. When you have perused them, with his petition to the King, return the whole to the bearer, that he may take a copy of them for the use of other brethren."*

Melville was not a little amused in his prison with the accounts which he received of the literary contest in which his Majesty was involved, in consequence of his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. The cock-fighting, and "the admirable pastime, lately taken up, of hunting or daring of dotterells and other of that nature," in which James had been lately spending the greater part of his time, and at which the people of London were so indignant,† were now laid aside, and his Majesty was continually closeted with a select number of the most learned of his clergy. One was employed in writing an answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, and another to the Jesuit Parsons, while a third superintended the impression of Barclay De Potestate Papæ. As James was "never the man that could think a Cardinal a meet match for a King," he chose to call the book which was to appear under his own name, A Premonition to all Christian Monarchs. The bishop who made the first draught of this work, and to whom the correction of it was afterwards submitted, found that he had got Penelope's web to weave; for what he finished at night his Majesty undid in the morning; and when the work came at last from the press, it was found necessary to have some parts of it still farther altered, and the poor printer was sent to prison for having given out copies of it before this operation was performed. It was immediately translated into the different modern languages by the clerks in waiting, and sent by special ambassadors to all Christian States, except the Swiss Cantons. But the *Premonition* pleased nobody but those against whom it was directed, who, having started a royal stag, were resolved to have sport of him. It was attacked from various quarters, and with great keenness, in replies both serious and satirical. "In the mean time, (says Melville) his Majesty chafes, and every body else chuckles. *Rex ringitur; alii rident.*"‡

Melville was again tantalized with the prospect of obtaining his liberty. At a convention held in Scotland it had been agreed to petition the King to allow the exiled ministers to return home. On this occasion the bishops acted with great duplicity. They agreed to the petition; and yet they gave the agent whom they sent to London written instructions to apologize to his Majesty for what they had done, and to request him not to set the ministers at liberty.‖ Spotswood, on going to court, promised to bring Melville along with him, to be placed as principal in the University of Glasgow; and he expressed much regret at his return that he had not been able to effect his purpose.§ But we learn from a letter of the archbishop's, that in all this he acted a hypocritical part. "For these matters of the ministers, (says he) please your Majesty, we are here quiet; and their absence will even breed a forgetfulness. The bishop of St. Andrews has peace at will, whereby your Majesty can take up the instruments of his trouble."¶ It would appear that archbishop Gladstanes had been less cautious than his

* Melvini Epist. p. 24—28.

† Ibid. p. 1—8. He concludes the review by saying: "Such tautologies and vain babbling I wald never have looked for at this tyme to have proceidit from the man, who is a Logicioner, nor to be directed toward the north for convincing our brethren, who, if they be not corrupted more with the 14000 lib. Sterling, sent thither (as they say) *tanquam aureus hamus*, than with the evidence of this book, they will never be persuaded to leave the truth embraced, &c. *Multos ego vidi ineptos homines, at Phormione neminem.* Bilson is more dangerous."

‡ Buchanani Psalm. xlii.

‖ Ib. Psalm. xiv. a quotation from memory.

§ Probably Mr. William Cowper of Perth.

* Melvini Epist. p. 44—47.

† Winwood's Memor. vol. i. p. 217. The people threatened, if he did not desist from his unkingly sports, to poison his dogs and other game-companions, and to send himself to the hills whence he came. The subject was introduced on the stage, and all the players were for a time banished from the capital by an order from court. (De la Boderie, Ambassades, i. 56, 310.)

‡ De la Boderie, Ambassades, tom. iv. p. 271, 301, 318, 324, 372. Melvini Epist. p. 51, 79.

‖ Printed Calderwood, p. 602. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 219.

§ Cald. vii. 323.

¶ Letter to the King, Nov. 1609: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num 65. In this letter Spotswood professes that it was his design to yield up his bishopric, and retire from public life, to shew the world that he was not actuated by ambition. Yet, only two months after this, he accepted the office of an Extraordinary Lord of Session, in addition to those burdens which he had pronounced "insupportable!"

brother of Glasgow in expressing his real sentiments on this subject. His words had come to the ears of Melville, who, in one of his letters to his nephew, speaks of the Scottish Primate in the following severe terms: "*Vertumnus*, you know whom I mean, the rapacious *Gled** that nestles in the old ruins of the meretricious Babylon, boasts that he has received the King's hand and promise that I shall not see my native country while he lives. *Loripes* (whom it is easy to reprove but impossible to reform) has not forgotten certain words which I addressed to him jocularly when he was dining with me before we left Scotland."† On the subject of their liberation we find James Melville writing thus to his uncle: "I waited on the Chancellor, as he passed through this town on his return to Scotland, and thanked him for the concern which he had taken in your affair. He repeated to me what passed between his Majesty and him, and a long conversation which he had with the primate (to whom his Majesty referred him) in the porch of the palace of Whitehall. His Grace finally promised that he would use all his influence in your behalf with the King, and with the bishops of Scotland, who would not stand in the way of your returning to your college, provided it did not endanger the peace of the church. 'Leave him to me; I will pledge myself that he shall not take part in any plots against you,' said the Chancellor. I took the opportunity of laying my own case before his lordship. I complained that I was detained here, and deprived of my stipend, though innocent, uncondemned, unjudged, unaccused, without even the shadow of a crime laid to my charge. I begged that I might be permitted to return home and resume the oversight of my poor sea-faring people; or, if this could not be granted, that liberty should be given me to go to France, or at least that my expences here should be borne. With many expressions of regard he promised to take an early opportunity of writing the Earl of Dunbar in our behalf, adding that it would give him the greatest pleasure to be of any service to us."‡

Despairing of being permitted to return to his native country, Melville entertained at this time a serious intention of going to the New World, and in pursuance of it had several interviews with a person who had embarked in an extensive colonial expedition. It does not certainly appear to what part of America he purposed to retire, but it was most probably Virginia. "My friend (he writes to his nephew) has prepared a fleet; he has raised two thousand soldiers and four hundred supernumeraries; and is in daily expectation of the return of a servant whom he has sent before him. With a slender fortune and involved in debt, he cherishes sanguine hopes of ultimate success, and omits no part of the duty of a good and prudent commander. I had a visit from him to-day along with his son-in-law. What expectations I should entertain, I know not; but of one thing I am sure that he is a good and worthy man, and wants the means, not the inclination, to do well. I betake myself to my sacred anchor: "seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added to you."‖—We can scarcely suppose that the court would hinder his emigration to such a distant quarter of the globe; it is, therefore, most likely that something occurred to divert his mind from the project.

His solitary hours were relieved by the company of two of his name-sons, who successively resided with him, and whom he instructed in languages and philosophy. The one was a son of James Melville and the other a son of one of his brothers, who had left a large family unprovided for.* This last young man was of a romantic and unsettled turn of mind, and appears to have insinuated himself into the affections of his grand-uncle, who was induced to advance him, at different times, sums which his limited finances could not well bear.† But the principal recreation which Melville found was in the cultivation of his favourite muse. Every packet which he sent to his nephew contained one, and some of them three or four of his poetical productions. "I have added to this (says he) the second and sixteenth psalms, both of them warm from the anvil, and the last hastily struck off this morning, so that I have not had time to apply the file to it. I wish you to consider this remark as applying also to the first psalm, which I sent you some time ago, both as to the translation and to the numbers and poetical ornaments. If you compare them with Buchanan's, you will observe a considerable difference. The first psalm almost pleases me."‡ Men of real genius often defraud the public by the desultory nature of their studies, or by the injudicious choice which they make of subjects on which to exert their talents. This was one of Melville's faults, of which his nephew frequently admonished him. "Why do you require my judgment of your verses, when you know that I am disposed to form too favourable an opinion of all that you do? However, I will tell you what others say of them. They say that you are doing what has been already well done, contending in vain with the great Buchanan, and neglecting what you ought to do. Notwithstanding, I doubt not that, in the course of providence, better things may be produced than have yet been executed; and I am persuaded that you have not forgotten the work which you promised."‖ This drew from Melville a defence of his conduct. "I send you certain psalms which I have translated into Latin verse: an Iliad after Homer, forsooth! But I am not like the prince of Latin poets, who says:

> Etsi me vario jactatum laudis amore,
> Irritaque expertum fallacis premia vulgi.

By such trivial performances I do not seek for glory or popular applause, nor do I court the bounty of kings and princes; but I yield to the power, whatever it is, that inspires me; and do not so much seek to escape from private vexations, as obey my ruling passion and indulge my genius. I indulge it the more willingly that I derive advantage mixed with the purest pleasure from such studies, and think that I sometimes elicit the hidden meaning of the prophet which had escaped others. And I employ poetic numbers, that I may make a shew of contending with those champions who have deservedly carried away the palm in this field of literature. It becomes me to think modestly of my own works; we are all ready to flatter ourselves; and where is the individual who does not sometimes slip a foot on this dangerous ground? But I trust to the keeping of the great Ruler of heaven and earth, to whom I have dedicated and devoted my all, and whose glory I wish I could advance with a willingness and

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* *Gled*, in the Scottish language, is the name of the *Kite*. This play on the primate's name (including an allusion to the intemperance with which he was charged) occurs in different epigrams written on him. (Simsoni Annales, p. 129, 130. Melvini Musæ, p. 18—20.)

† Melvini Epist. p. 48. ‡ Ibid. p. 121—123.

‖ Ibid. p. 55. The English were at this time very eager in forming settlements in America. (De la Boderie, Amb. tom. iv. p. 263, 264.) Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then in the Tower, had projected the expedition to Guiana which afterwards cost him his life; and Melville, in one of his letters, speaks of one of his grand-nephews, who was with him, wishing to visit that country. (Epist. p. 143.)

* James Melville's son, after leaving the Tower, resided for some time with a Scotchman named Guthrie, who taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London. He was brother to Alexander Guthrie of Edinburgh, and a relation of James Lawson, the minister. He died in the year 1609. (Melvini Epist. p. 56, 64, 100.) His school was at Hoddesdon in the year 1584. (Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works.) "De filio Andrea quam gratum!" says James Melville. "Guthræi, amicissimi viri, Lucubratiunculam ubi perlegero, testimonio quali author meretur ornabo. Ego ad eos literas dedi. (Melvini Epist. p. 98.)

† Ibid. p. 143, 153, 170, 305, 306, 324. Letter from A. Melville to Boyd of Trochrig, in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 49.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 87. ‖ Ibid. p. 93.

alacrity somewhat answerable to the great and manifold proofs of his kindness and beneficence conferred on me."*—Notwithstanding the dissuasions of his judicious friend, Melville continued his labours on the psalms, and a specimen of them was committed to the press during the time that he lay in the Tower.†

A misfortune which befel him at this time gave him no small uneasiness. His purse, containing all the money which he possessed, and on which he depended for his support during the approaching winter, was stolen. It is probable that this act of theft was committed by one of the keepers of the prison; and in his circumstances it would have been useless and even dangerous to complain or to take steps for recovering his lost property. He was under the necessity, therefore, of applying to James Melville, to whom he conveyed information of the unpleasant occurrence in the following delicate allegory. "I had lately in my possession upwards of twenty birds of the Seraphic species, kept with no small care, and cherished in a warm nest under the shade of my wings. Whether they were tired of their confinement and seized with a desire for liberty, or what was the cause, I am not prepared to say; but without bidding their unsuspicious host farewell, poising their airy wings, they fled, not to return, and have left me to deplore their absence. I soothe my grief by meditating on that beautiful discourse on providence contained in the sixth chapter of Matthew, and by the consciousness that I was not deficient in at least ordinary care. The saying, *The Lord will provide*, often comes to my mind. I have experienced the truth of it through the whole course of my life; my indulgent Father, out of regard to my infirmity, having prevented me hitherto from ever feeling extreme want. Such an accident as this I never before met with, but it is one common to men:

Qualia multa mari nautæ patiuntur in alto.

Be not inquisitive as to the particulars, of which I am neither altogether certain nor altogether ignorant; and I have vowed silence.

Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis.

The loss could not have been foreseen or provided against, and it is counterbalanced by another unexpected event, the friendly treaty respecting the affairs of our church which is in prospect; so that it would seem that the master of the feast and supreme disposer of all events has seen meet to mingle for me a bitter-sweet cup. Our excellent friend Traill has visited me and delivered Lindsay's token of remembrance, which I received as a pledge of my restoration to the college.‡ I am afraid lest the approaching winter should prevent sailing, and put a stop to all communication between us. Wherefore, if you have any thing that can be of use to me, transmit it as expeditiously as possible."‖

This call was instantly obeyed. Indeed the purse of James Melville was always at his uncle's command, and his remittances were uniformly conveyed with such readiness and delicacy as made them appear rather as the performance of a filial duty or the discharge of a debt of gratitude, than as gratuitous favours and acts of generosity to a distressed friend. "Riches," says he in the letter which he sent along with the money, "take to themselves eagles' wings, and fly away. But there is enough in the sacred promises to which you refer. He who has such securities may surely rest satisfied. Be of good courage, therefore, my father: the Good Shepherd will supply you abundantly with all good things. I shall send you money, and you will send me songs,

Jucundiora melle et auro,
Et nitidis potiora gemmis.

Let us continue this mutual intercourse; and I have good hope that you will run short of verses for my use, before I run short of gold for yours."* Melville's answer affords a beautiful example of the union of piety and gratitude. "Your succedaneum for the fugitive gold came most seasonably to my relief. So profusely beneficent has my divine and indulgent Father been towards me as even to exceed my wishes. O that I may be found grateful and mindful of the benefits bestowed on me by him who has accepted me gratuitously in his Son! O that I may love him, who first loved me, with all my mind, soul, and strength! and that I may bring forth the fruits of this love, by promoting the good of his church in these difficult times, and amidst all the ingratitude that abounds!—I received the Spanish and British angels, equalling in number the Apostles, the Graces, and the Elements, with a supernumerary one of the Seraphic order: *aurum contra caro*. I do not rejoice so much in them, (although these commutable pieces of money are at present very useful to me) as I do at the renewing of the memory of my deceased friends, and the prospect of our friendship being perpetuated in their posterity, who have given such a favourable presage of future virtue and genuine piety; for what else could have induced them to take such an interest in my affairs at this time? Wherefore I congratulate them, and I rejoice that this favourable opportunity of transmitting friendship inviolate from father to son and grandson has been afforded.† So you have the confidence to say, that the fountain of the muses from which I draw will be exhausted sooner than the vein of that gold mine, whence you extract the treasures with which you supply me so liberally. Hold, prithee! Take care what you say, especially to poets like me, who when I do sing, sing at the invitation of the muses and under their inspiration. This makes me more regardless of the capricious judgment of critics; for in writing verses I do not aim at vain glory or any human reward, but yield a free homage to the muses and seek a liberal recreation to my own mind. About any thing beyond this, I am quite indifferent; only I reckon all the time gained which is spent in these sacred lucubrations, as they help to recal my mind from sensible things to divine contemplation, and fit me for the better discharge of the duties of my station. Nor do I contend with any individual so much as with myself, over whom if I gain an advantage I consider myself as having carried off the prize."‡

In the course of this year he had to mourn the loss of several of his relations and acquaintance. His feelings on receiving these melancholy tidings, are expressed in the letters he wrote to his favourite and constant correspondent. "I am just come from reading in the second epistle to Timothy, which has allayed the tumult raised in my breast by the tidings I have received. Yet I cannot but feel. See that the funeral obsequies be duly performed. Let no mark of respect and friendship be wanting to the memory of two brethren—brethren both of them by the bonds of piety, grace, and celestial parentage, and one of them by the additional tie of nature, and still more nearly

* Melvini Epist. p. 100—102.

† The only notice of this publication which I have seen is in one of his letters to James Melville, dated "Ex Turri, Jan. 8, 1610." "Mitto ad te versus aliquot meos typis excusos, ut scias me non temere in Psalmos incurrisse, ex quibus pedem retraho vel invitus." (Melvini Epist. p. 144.)

‡ This refers, probably, to a legacy from Secretary Lindsay, who had been Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews.

‖ Melvini Epist. p. 91, 92.

* Melvini Epist. p. 92, 93.

† This refers to the family of George Greir, from whom James Melville had received part of the money which he sent to his uncle. (Melvini Epist. p. 117.) Greir was second minister of Haddington, (Record of Presb. of Hadd. Jan. 26, 1603.) and married Elizabeth, daughter of James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh. (Testament of Elizabeth Lawsone, in Commissary Record of Edin. April 5, 1615. Comp. Inquis. Retorn. Gen. num. 142.)

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 108—111.

allied to me than to you. Act, I pray you, a pious and becoming part. Discharge the debt due to grace and friendship, to nature and propinquity. Discharge it with tears, but let them be the tears of Abraham, the father of us all, 'who rose up from weeping for his wife.' These are temporary things: we mind things that are eternal. 'Put the brethren in remembrance,' and exhort them to constancy.—What a loss, in respect of piety and erudition, has the church sustained by the death of my friend the great Scaliger, who, about the end of January, exchanged an earthly for a heavenly country! How can I but be touched and deeply affected for the loss of such a person, and of others whom I loved in this world, and who have gone before me! Of such there are not a few known to you who belonged to our church, and were allied to us either by natural or spiritual consanguinity. Need I name them? Knox, Arbuthnot, Smeton, Lawson, Row, the two Melvilles, my dearest brothers and your father and uncle, the two brothers, George and Andrew Hay, Pont, Craig, Rollock, Ferguson, Christison, Davidson, your father-in-law Dury, and many others, after whose example, and in whose footsteps we ought to press through all impediments, seeking the crown of glory in that new and straight path which the author and finisher of our faith hath trodden before us, and paved and consecrated for us by his own blood.

> Cur tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis,
> Torquemurque metu, cœcaque cupidine rerum,
> Æternisque senes curis?————————
>
> Humana cuncta fumus, umbra, vanitas,
> Et scenæ imago, et, verbo ut absolvam, nihil.

I am an old man and garrulous; for there is nothing in which old men take greater pleasure than talking. Love also prattles. What do I say? You know it was formerly rumoured that I was in love; and why should I not be seriously so now, seeing I began this last spring to grow young again, and to play the boy—perhaps, that I might imitate you as closely as possible. You know what I mean. *Dictum sapienti.*" *

In Melville's letters to his nephew there is often much playfulness, proceeding from the vivacity of his imagination, and the kindness of his heart, which showed that the writer possessed a great flow of spirits, and a mind which, though not always exempt from distress, was always at peace with itself, and at ease and in love with the person to whom it imparted without reserve its thoughts and its feelings. He delighted in the *seria mixta jocis*; and in discoursing on the gravest and most momentous subjects was wont to relieve his own mind and that of his correspondent by throwing out some pleasant repartee, or suggesting some agreeable and joyous reminiscence. But all this will not account or apologize for the appearance of incongruity and even levity that there is in the concluding part of the last extract—in the sudden transition from lamenting over the dead to jesting on love and matrimony. The following explanation will, however, show that the writer was never more deeply in earnest than on this occasion. The reader must by this time be aware, although he has not been expressly told, that Melville was a bachelor, and consequently that he was now an old one. He will therefore be surprised to have a correspondence upon a matrimonial affair laid before them; and will find that it is not chargeable with that total absence of every thing worldly which made the love-letters of John Knox so unattractive. To prevent disappointment, however, I must state, that Melville was not the lover; he was only his friend and counsellor. James Melville, who was ten years younger than his uncle, had now been upwards of two years a widower. During his residence at Newcastle he had become acquainted with a young woman, the daughter of a deceased clergyman in Berwick upon Tweed. Suffice it to say, that the accomplishments of this young lady had made a conquest of his heart, and there was every reason to think that he would marry her. Some of his friends in Scotland, who were of opinion that it was imprudent for him to marry at all, or at any rate to marry one who was so very much younger than himself, communicated the intelligence to his uncle, who, they knew, had greater influence with him than any other individual. Melville was of the same opinion with his friends, and he made the transition alluded to, that he might draw on a correspondence on the subject, and suggest to his nephew the impropriety and unseasonableness of the step which he was meditating.

He had scarcely sent off his letter, when he received one from James Melville, in which, after modestly introducing the affair "beneath well-sounding Greek," he gave him a description of the object of his attachment, who had every recommendation but a fortune, stated the reasons for and against the step which he proposed to take, and earnestly begged his uncle's advice. Melville immediately replied. "On the subject of matrimony (says he) I am at a loss what to write; as I have no experience of that happy state. With you I bow with reverence to the declarations in favour of it which you quote from the sacred oracles, though my years place me beyond the reach of their application. You state the arguments on both sides with great accuracy; but it is not difficult to perceive to what side you incline. You entirely pass over the widow,* and launch out in praises of the young woman. This gives ground for suspecting your judgment, and for thinking that affection and not reason has the dominion. Love has got admittance and keeps the door fast bolted on reason. Perhaps this is *cum ratione insanire.* I know you have sharp eyes, but in this business it is proper to make use of the ears also." Having suggested some considerations, all in favour of the widow, he adds: "but you know these things much better than I do; and it becomes me to remember the adage Γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας, or rather, *Sus Minervam.*" After some ingenious remarks on the different seasons of human life, backed with the authority of Solon, Seneca, Varro, and Virgil, he concludes: "Thus, my dear James, do I address you with the same freedom which the elder Africanus used with the younger. Act a part becoming your extraction, your judgment, and your prudence. With respect to what I hinted about the age at which your father died, may heaven avert the omen from you, and turn it rather on your friend. *Tu vero serus in cœlum redeas.* You see what a prolix letter I have written you, and without a spice of wit in it. Advise well. Time, under God, will direct you. The bearer is a-going, and yet I cannot leave off prating to you. Love is fond of prating."—"I congratulate myself, (says James Melville in his reply,) that, by starting the subject of marriage, I have drawn from you three golden pages, filled with proofs of the greatest love to me and of profound learning and prudence. They shall lie in my bosom, in place of a wife, during the winter months, until I have taken that time for deliberation which the affair and my circumstances require. Nevertheless I am resolved to end my days, sooner or later, in honourable wedlock:

> Nubila mens est,
> Vinctaque frenis,
> Hæc nisi regnet."

Having assigned his reasons for thinking that the widow whom his friends recommended would be an unsuitable partner for him, he adds: "I have not forgotten the saying of an ancient sage, 'A man cannot

* Melvini Epist. p. 76—78.

* The lady with whom James Melville lodged at Newcastle, and whom his friends thought a fitter match for him than the object of his choice.

be wise and in love at the same time;' and I recollect the words of the Italian writer, 'Senza moglie, ben che non senza donna, avenge che le cose che superano le force nostre sono piu in desiderio che in magisterio.' To the instance of my father you might have added that of my brother; for both of them died in their fifty-third year, a circumstance which occurred to my own mind, and which has affected me not a little since you objected it. But is it not eligible to have a faithful and affectionate wife, if it were only to watch by one's death-bed and to close one's eyes?- and is it not allowed us to enjoy the comforts of life while we live? I thank God I never enjoyed better health. Perhaps it is the last effort of nature, as in the case of my father. Be it so: I will rejoice in it as the first step of my entrance into true life; and much rather would I meet a premature grave than suffer the grief which I would feel at witnessing your death or the ruin of the good cause." *

His uncle was still afraid that the step was an imprudent one; and therefore resolved to use stronger language than he had employed in his former letter, with the view of making him pause, although at the risk of offending him. This was a proof of the truest friendship; for he was at this time deeply in debt to his nephew, and had the prospect of yet needing to make additional draughts on his kindness and liberality. Having made some remarks on the intelligence which James Melville had sent him as to the state of church matters in Scotland, and the prospect of their speedily coming to a crisis, he thus addresses him: "Therefore I cannot but exhort you to be vigilant, and prepared with renovated vigour to fight this glorious battle, for which you have been restored to health and reserved to this day. All effeminacy of mind must be laid aside; the old man must be put off; and we must behave ourselves stoutly and resolutely, lest in the last scene of the conflict we fail through error or fear, not to say dotage, to which every slip of old men is commonly imputed. Your son, Andrew, has, I hope, been with you for several weeks. He, with John, Elizabeth, and Anne, (whose names must renew the memory of your dearest wife,) will prevent you from being fascinated and lulled asleep by the charms of this young woman so distinguished for taciturnity and prudence. The very arguments you adduce to prove that you are guided in this affair by judgment more than affection, betray affection; not to recur to the age which proved fatal to your relations. I dare not say,

> Otium, Melvine, tibi molestum est:
> Otio exultas nimiumque gestis;
> Otium Reges simul et beatas
> Perdidit urbes.

But what shall I say of your discourse on sepulchral wedlock, and so forth? It is really quite extravagant, and only shows how much you are carried away by your affections. The plain case is this: You are the father of five children, four of whom are at a very critical age, and two of them daughters, well-born, liberally educated, and approaching to maturity. They need your paternal solicitude and watchfulness. Your brother's children are dependent on you, and require much of your attention. And, in these circumstances, you ——— Conceive that you hear your friend Dykes, with severe brow and ardent eyes, with an impassioned but affectionate tone, urging these and similar considerations upon you. I merely suggest them, and am forced to break off. May the author of all good counsel give you direction. Farewell, and live in the Lord, my dear James, by far the best beloved of all my friends. Take time to deliberate. *Festina lente.*"

It must be confessed that there are in this letter some severe things, and that it contains insinuations which the conduct of James Melville had not merited, and which could not fail to hurt his feelings. It drew from him a spirited reply, in which respect for his uncle, and a conviction of his friendly intentions, though they restrained, could not altogether suppress the irritation which he felt. "It would seem that I have used too great freedom in writing to you on the subject of marriage. To what but this can I trace your unfavourable, not to say injurious, suspicions of me—that I have fallen into dotage, am playing the fool, idling, slumbering, and giving myself up to love. Good words, prithee! I am constrained to answer, lest forbearance should injure my reputation and the cause for which I appear. In answer to the charge of dotage, I might, as Sophocles says, repeat such things as could not proceed from a fool or a dotard. I am not conscious that I have turned a hair's-breadth from the straight course which I have been all along pursuing, or that there is any change in my conduct, except that, as I draw nearer the goal, I feel my mind, through the grace of Christ, more propense to piety and holiness. I live here daily under the eyes of very acute censors, and yet I have not heard that I have been charged with any thing foolish either in speech or behaviour. It is true that I at present enjoy greater ease than I could wish; but I can say with Virgil's shepherd,

> O Melibœe, *Deus* nobis hæc otia fecit.

And perhaps I was never less idle than I now am; so that I could give such an account, not only of my former active life, but also of my present repose, as a wise and good man ought to be prepared to give. I certainly do not mean to deny that I take my rest in the night, and enjoy sound sleep; God having blessed me with health, and a mind free from corroding solicitude. Nor do I deny that I am in love; but it is legitimate, holy, chaste, sober love. But I think of a second marriage! I do; and I wish I had thought of it two years ago. It is surely very unreasonable that what is 'honourable in all' should be turned to my disgrace. Do not, my chaste father, measure all others by yourself, who, inflamed with the sacred love of the Muses, and reposing in the embraces of Minerva, look with severe indifference on conjugal felicity, and have all your days abstained from it for the sake of purer and more refined delights. But I restrain myself. I do not pretend that I am not under the influence of the affections, for how then could I be in love? All that I profess is that they are kept under the restraints of reason and religion.—Your friend Dykes talks scoffingly in what he says about sepulchral wedlock. It is a crude cavil, and savours too much of choler. Indeed, I can perceive nothing of any weight in what you adduce, except it be the incongruity of an old man marrying a young woman. But I am not an old man, I am only elderly. She indeed is in the flower of life, being only nineteen years of age. And who that is wise would not prefer for a partner one who is sound in mind and body, modest, yielding, humble, affectionate, open-hearted, sweet-tempered, and thus every way qualified for rendering life agreeable? A widow, or one of more advanced age, who possesses these properties, is *rara avis in terris*. At least I can meet with none such here. If therefore you concede to me the liberty of taking a wife, and do not forbid matrimony entirely, (which I hope you will not do,) you must allow me to choose a fit partner for myself. I have many reasons for not taking a widow, and more for taking a young woman; nor do I want examples of the best men who have acted as I mean to do; such as Knox, Craig, Pont, Dalgleish, and others in our own church. But, that you may know how differently my real friend Dykes * thinks from your fictitious friend

* Melvini Epist. p. 81—90, 93—96.

* John Dykes was James Melville's brother-in-law, as well as colleague. He married a daughter of John Dury. (Testament Testamentar of John Dury, in Commissary Rec. of Edin. 2d July, 1600. See also above, p. 277.)

of that name, I beg leave to inform you that I have just received a letter from him, in which he congratulates me on my attachment to an excellent young woman who entertains for me a reciprocal affection, will take care of me in my declining years, and be a solace to me during my exile. I have only to request of you, my loving father, that you will form an equally favourable opinion of my intentions, or that at least you will pardon in me what you may not be able entirely to approve." *

This letter convinced Melville that his nephew's resolution was fixed, and that he had proceeded too far in opposing his inclinations. He therefore yielded with as good a grace as possible. "Our friend Bamford has delivered me your very serious and long, but not prolix, letter. The longer the more agreeable; although it contained some things which I could not read without tears.—Your apology, like the garden of Adonis, planted with the most delicious flowers, and adorned with bower-work, exhales nothing but pure and sacred loves, which, although of the most delicate kind, might captivate Minerva instead of Venus:

> Illam dulcis amor tinctis in Nectare telis
> Imbuit: æque suis proprias attexuit alas,
> Inque meas quibus acta manus perque ora volaret.

It has penetrated my heart, not to say wounded it; and almost made me sigh after such happiness. But, alas! it is too late at my advanced age. What remains, therefore, but that I congratulate you, and encourage you to go on in your virtuous course? You do injustice to my Dykes and me when you accuse us of bantering; a fault which is not more foreign to his disposition than it was to the design of my letter. What, my son! would I mock you on so serious and sacred a subject? Far be this from one who strives against every thing that is unamiable about him, or which merits the dislike of good men. May your love succeed and be crowned with the most fortunate and auspicious issue to you and yours! If I seemed to oppose it, impute this to yourself and your urgent request for my opinion. Nor could I prevail on myself to conceal from you what I heard from others or suspected they would say, that I might excite you to look narrowly to yourself and your affairs at this crisis. I now congratulate and give joy to Melissa as the successor of Eliza. It is my prayer that she may spend many happy years in your company, and, what is more, that she may make you the father of a fair offspring." †

The marriage took place accordingly, and appears to have been attended with happy effects. Melville never had the pleasure of seeing his fair young niece, but he sent his affectionate salutations to "the honied Melissa" in every letter which he wrote to his nephew, who took particular pleasure in acknowledging the compliment. Whatever may be thought as to the prudence of his second marriage, it is but justice to James Melville to say, that it had no influence in enervating his mind, or in making him indifferent or remiss in his exertions in behalf of the cause for which he was a sufferer. He rejected the offer of a bishopric, which Sir John Anstruther made him in the name of the King; he refused to purchase his liberty by acceding to conditions inconsistent with his principles;* he continued to counsel and encourage his brethren in Scotland by his letters; and he drew up several writings, historical and apologetical, relating to the church of Scotland, which he only waited the consent of his brethren and a fit opportunity to publish to the world. In this last respect he had some ground for retaliating on his uncle, whom he urged to perform his promises, by putting the finishing hand as speedily as possible to his work on the episcopal controversy. This work, though not laid aside, proceeded slowly, and was often interrupted by studies more congenial to the taste and dispositions of the author. To the friendly remonstrances of his nephew, Melville replied: "By the paraphrases of which I send you a specimen, I sustain the imbecility of my spirit, which hitherto has not been left destitute of Christian confidence, or of any kind of consolation, by him who in his mercy has honoured me to favour his cause, if not by actual services, at least by sincere, though many ways imperfect, purposes and endeavours. It grieves me that I cannot be present to assist its defenders, and that I can do so little for it in my absence. But why do I say, it grieves me? No; I do not grieve, though I once grieved that I had been so unprofitable to the church of Christ. Without my assistance the supreme Judge hath pleaded his own cause, and he will still plead it.*—In reminding me of my promise, you act a friendly and a prudent part, knowing, as you do, my habitual indolence and supineness. Yet I can redeem my pledge with no great expense or labour. The controversialists to whom you refer, torture the passages of scripture which they allege for pseudo-episcopacy; and their arguments have been already refuted by others. Nor do they place their chief confidence in argument, but in the mask of antiquity, and the pretext of royal authority, which they boastingly represent as absolute and omnipotent. They dare not come out into the open field, nor will they commit themselves in any contest which is not to be finally decided by the arbitrary will of an individual. By means of injunctions, proclamations, edicts, and pretended judicial processes, they break through every barrier, and pervert all laws, human and divine. Keep yourself easy on the head of my 'thrasonic boasting;' for I measure the cause by the force of truth and not my own abilities, and look for victory over the prostrate audacity of our adversaries through the divine blessing. In so good a cause I do not despair of being able at least to answer when challenged; but instead of arrogating any thing to myself, I am disposed to place great confidence in my brethren, whose diligence in preparing for the combat I cannot but highly applaud." †

It is proper now to turn to Scotland, and take a view of those ecclesiastical transactions in which Melville felt so deep an interest. The same arts of court policy which had been put in practice for a number of years continued to be employed for the overthrow of Presbytery. And as its ablest and most resolute defenders were either exiled or imprisoned, these arts were but too successful. The bishops were conscious that there were still great difficulties in the way of their accomplishing their object. While they were at work in removing these, they contrived to lay asleep the jealousy of their opponents, and to bind up their hands, by engaging them in a treaty for peace and accommodation. At a conference held at Falkland in June, 1608, and at a packed General Assembly convened at Linlithgow in the subsequent month, both parties, with professions of mutual regard, agreed to leave the matters in dispute to be settled by a certain number of individuals, and promised upon oath to abstain in the mean time from agitating them, or saying any thing in private or public which might tend to keep alive the dissension.‡ At a meeting held in May, 1609, they renewed this engagement, and joined in a common address to the King, in which they gave him thanks for his exertions to settle the peace of the church.‖ When a scheme is on foot for overturning the constitutional liberties of a society, all such engagements to silence and the maintenance of peace are ensnaring and dangerous. In the present instance, the

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 114—116, 126—133.
† Ibid. p. 134, 141, 142, 143.
‡ Cald. vii. 72, 208.

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 107, 103. † Ibid. p. 134, 135.
‡ Cald. vii. 146, 195—201. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 211—217. Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 225, 240—243.
‖ Cald. vii. 297—310. Scot. p. 222—227. Melville, p. 252—263.

engagement was a virtual retractation of the opposition hitherto managed against episcopacy. It implied an acknowledgment on the part of the Presbyterians, that the point in dispute was indifferent, and consequently might be yielded out of regard to peace, and in obedience to the royal authority. It shut the mouths of such as feared an oath, and exposed them to censure as violators of their promise if they resisted any step which their opponents might take; while it imposed no restraint on those who had the power in their hands, and had shown by their former conduct that they could trample on the most sacred engagements.*

It was during this deceitful truce, accordingly, that the ecclesiastical leaders took a step which they had hitherto carefully avoided. They had all along denied that there was any intention of moulding the government of the church after the English form, and had vindicated the changes which had been successively introduced on the ground of their being necessary for recovering the ecclesiastical property, or to give satisfaction to the King. But they now avowed a change of sentiment. A new light, they alleged, had sprung up in their minds during their late studies; they were convinced that episcopacy was more agreeable to Scripture than that form of government which had been established in Scotland; and they were willing to impart the reasons which had convinced them to their brethren who were of a different mind. With this view they proposed that the question should be submitted to a formal dispute. Considering what the conduct of the bishops had been for a course of years, their professions of sudden conversion were more than suspicious, and it was not difficult to trace their "new light" to its genuine source.† However, three of the ministers of Fife,—Scot, Dykes, and Carmichael, accepted their challenge, and prepared for the contest. But it was enough for the patrons of episcopacy to have called in question the received discipline, and they found excuses for putting off the discussion which they had provoked. To assist them in the dispute, or rather to deter their opponents from agreeing to it, Dr. Abbot and two other learned divines were sent down from England. Without wishing to derogate from the talents of the English missionaries, we cannot help saying that they gave but slender proofs of their prowess on this occasion. Had they come to Scotland four years earlier, when the ablest defenders of presbytery were in the country and at liberty, they would have had an opportunity of signalizing themselves honourably as the champions of the hierarchy; and, notwithstanding the royal insinuation at the Hampton-Court conference, we will venture to say that they would have run no risk of having their doctoral habiliments torn, although the sleeves of their cassocks might perhaps have been a little disordered by the rude fervour of Scottish eloquence. But their coming at the present time and traversing the country in state, bore too strong a resemblance to the conduct of a bravo, who proudly walks the stage, when he knows that his antagonists have been seized by the officers of justice or bound over to keep the peace. The English doctors were content with insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the ministers in private, and pronouncing eulogiums on their church-polity from the principal pulpits in the kingdom. Dr. Abbot preached before the General Assembly at Linlithgow, and had public thanks given him for his "excellent sermon."* Such commendations were then less complimentary than they have become in the present charitable age, and I doubt not that the sermon was excellent. Indeed, a more prudent choice of a missionary could not have been made. The amiable manners, moderation, and zeal for the reformed religion, by which Abbot was distinguished, could not fail to have a prepossessing influence in favour of his opinions. But if his mission contributed to the overthrow of the presbyterian church of Scotland, she, in her fall, took a severe revenge on her rival. In reward of his services on this occasion, Abbot was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury;† and we are assured, by those who should know the fact, that his semi-puritanical principles and moderate administration were a principal cause of the subsequent ruin of the hierarchy, and triumph of presbytery, in England.‡

From the accounts of the friendly treaty which were brought him in the Tower, Melville was at first inclined to form a favourable opinion of that measure. But his nephew, whose proximity to the scene of action gave him a better opportunity of being acquainted with the exact state of matters, and the real intentions of the ruling party, disapproved of it from the beginning, and had warned his brethren against agreeing to it.‖ "I am afraid (says he, in a letter to his uncle) that your solution of my scruples is not satisfactory. These twenty individuals (who met at Falkland) were chosen by the General Assembly to determine all matters that were in controversy. They have decided that the truce, and the address approving of the royal measures, shall be published in all the churches of the kingdom, and that none shall speak against them. And they have promised to use their influence to induce their brethren to acquiesce in this decision. The bishops boast to his Majesty of their success, and appeal to the letter subscribed by all the delegates. It is true that our excellent brethren who have been placed in the front of the battle were far from intending this, and are now grieved at the advantage which has been taken of them. But through their over-confidence, the whole discipline has been called in question. It has been with the greatest difficulty that I have been able for some time back to restrain Carmichael, Dykes, and certain others from disputation; so secure were these young men in the strength of the cause (which no doubt is commendable) and in their own abilities. But who does not perceive the danger of disputing before such a judge? for the king will be the judge. Therefore I dread the worst—not only the overthrow of the discipline, but also the thraldom of conscience under the mask of forbearance, toleration, and bonds of peace. For what will not episcopal men, popish or protestant, presume to do for the advancement of their schemes? while those of the purer sort will not dare even to mutter. N.§ has long ago finished a large answer to Barlow; but unless he can secure a maintenance for his family in exile he is unwilling to publish it, and I cannot urge him. I also have many things in my *Adversaria*, but they are as a sword in its scabbard. In the mean time the Greeks are masters of the city, which, if not in flames, is deserted by its defenders."¶ Melville could not deny the force of these reasons, but still he was disposed to

* In a letter to the King, dated Linlithgow, July last, 1608, the bishops say, "So now, Sir, as we hope for an end of all our contentions, *and a prevailing in your Majesty's service*," &c. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 61.)

† When Cowper was made Bishop of Galloway, an old woman who had been one of his parishioners at Perth, and a favourite, could not be persuaded that her minister had deserted the presbyterian cause. Resolved to satisfy herself, she paid him a visit in the Canongate, where he had his residence as Dean of the Chapel Royal. The retinue of servants through which she passed staggered the good woman's confidence; and on being ushered into the room where the bishop sat in state, she exclaimed, "Oh, Sir! what's this? And ye hae really left the guid cause, and turned prelate!"—"Janet, (said the bishop) I have got new light upon these things."—"So I see, Sir (replied Janet;) for when ye was at Perth, ye had but ae candle, and now ye've got twa before ye: that's a' your *new light*."

* MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 61.

† Birch's Hist. View of Negociations, p. 338.

‡ Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 383. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 88, 89. 1707. 8vo.

‖ Cald. vii. 126, 202, 289. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 216.

§ Probably Mr. John Carmichael, minister of Ely

¶ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 123—125.

put a more favourable construction on the conduct of his brethren. "If they have erred (says he in his reply) I am of opinion that they have erred more through fear than self-confidence. If they have been guilty of any oversight, it has proceeded from dejection rather than elation of mind. Nor need we wonder at this, when we read what his Majesty has lately published, in his contest with Bellarmine, the crimes which he imputed to the puritans, and the violent hostility which he shews to the whole of that party. These declarations might make our brethren dread the worst, and induce them to ratify the bond of peace."*

This was one of the amiable traits in Melville's character. He was himself a stranger to fear; and no man was less disposed to make concessions hurtful to truth, or to give way, even for an hour, to the insidious proposals of its adversaries. Yet no man was more ready than he to make allowances for those who failed through defect of courage or of firmness; and provided he was satisfied of their integrity and good intentions, he censured their faults with the utmost reluctance and tenderness. He was even averse to form a harsh judgment of the motives of those individuals whose conduct he most decidedly condemned. "Notwithstanding the stormy season, (says he, in a letter to a friend in Scotland,) I have felt nothing hitherto but fair and pleasant weather, keeping both soul and body in a cheerful disposition. Such is the bountiful grace of our merciful heavenly Father toward me in this vale of misery and shadow of death. So that nothing has come against my heart to trouble me, but the affliction of my brethren, and the hearing down of the cause by the ignorance of some and the craft of others, for charity will not suffer me to suspect malice in any."†

James Melville's predictions were soon verified. During the time agreed on for a cessation of hostilities, the bishops were busily employed in strengthening their influence, and in ripening their plans for execution. At the parliament held in 1609, not one of the ministers was present to oppose any measures hostile to the church which might be proposed. The Commissary-courts were suppressed; and the power of judging in matrimonial and testamentary causes, and in all others of a mixed kind, was transferred to the bishops in their several dioceses.‡ Large sums of money were expended by the King in buying back the alienated episcopal lands and revenues, that the bishops might live in a style suitable to their rank.‖ Archbishop Spotswood was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, to prepare the way for the restoration of the episcopal order to the place which they had formerly held in that court.§ But nothing contributed more to the advancement of their designs than the power which they received from the court to modify or fix the stipends of the ministers. "By augmentation they allured, by diminution they weakened, a number of the ministry; and that so covertly, that one cause was pretended publicly and another alleged in secret."¶— "The bishops sit at the helm (says James Melville, in a letter to his uncle;) the rest of the commissioners being either removed by them, or withdrawing of their own accord. The bishop of St. Andrews keeps a splendid establishment at Edinburgh, consisting of his wife, children, and a great retinue of servants; and ostentatiously displays his silken robes every Sabbath in Bruce's pulpit before the magistrates and nobility. Crowds of poor ministers, mean souls, besiege his door, press round him when he comes abroad, and for the sake of their stipends (the modifying of which is entirely in his power) do every thing but adore him. What say you to this?"* At last, the power of the bishops was carried to the highest pitch to which the King could raise it, by the introduction of the English Inquisition—the court of High Commission. This detestable court, whose procedure was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, was armed with the united terrors of civil and ecclesiastical despotism. It had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory, of calling before it all persons accused of error or immorality, and all preachers and teachers in schools or colleges, charged with speeches which were impertinent, contrary to the established order of the church, or favourable to those who had been confined or banished for ecclesiastical offences; and, on finding them guilty, it was empowered to depose and excommunicate, to fine and imprison them. The presence of an archbishop was necessary to the validity of all its meetings, and it was easy for him to summon such of his colleagues as he knew to be devoted to his will; so that it was to all intents and purposes an episcopal court. "As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the King in possession of that which long time he had desired and hunted for, to wit, the royal prerogative and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of the common law: so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the church and realm of Scotland."†

Being thus Lords of parliament, privy council, session, exchequer, and regality, Modifiers of stipends, Constant Moderators and Visitors of presbyteries, and Royal High Commissioners, the bishops thought they might now safely submit the question of episcopacy to the determination of a General Assembly. Accordingly, a meeting of that judicatory was, at their request, appointed to be held at Glasgow in the month of June, 1610; royal missives were sent to the presbyteries, nominating the individuals whom they should choose as their representatives to it; and the Earl of Dunbar came down from London as King's Commissioner, to be present at its deliberations, and to provide that every thing should be done according to the royal will and pleasure.‡

In his letter to the Assembly, his Majesty told the members, that he had expected, that, weary of the anarchy which reigned among them, they would have solicited him before that time to restore the primitive government of the church; but since they had failed in doing this, either through the culpable backwardness of the bishops, or the factious singularity of the meaner sort of ministers, he had been obliged to take up the affair himself. He had called them together, he said, to testify his affection to the church, and "not because their consent was very necessary, for "it was very lawful and granted to him by God" to have done the work "absolutely out of his own royal power and

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 134. † Cald. vii. 210.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 430, 431. The bishops, in a Memorial to his Majesty, had requested his interposition to procure this power for them. (Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 221. Printed Cald. p. 602.)

‖ James Melville says that this cost the King "above 300,000 lib. Sterling." (Hist. of the Decl. Age of the Church of Scotland, p. 265. Simsoni Annales, p. 124.)

§ This was one of the requests in the Memorial referred to in the last note but one. In a letter, dated Feb. 18, 1610, Gladstanes says: "Your Majesty may look for uniform and constant service from all my brethren, the prelates, whom also your Majesty will please to encourage,—partly when places in the Session shall vaik by promoting some moe to the same, whilk will both repair the decay of our livings and patrimony, and procure the dependance of the rest of the ministry, who have their fortunes and estates subject to the pleasure of that judicatory." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 68.)

¶ Printed Cald. p. 571, 578.

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 125.

† Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 270—276.

‡ In a common letter sent by the bishops to his Majesty, requesting him to call this Assembly, they say: "We shall take, by God's help, the most safe and sure way: and what we undertake, we shall be answerable to your Majesty for performance. *We have all our ministers, even such as were most refractory, at the point of toleration. They will suffer things to proceed and be quiet, because they cannot longer strive.*" (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 66.)

authority;" and they would learn, from the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom he had imparted his mind, what those alterations were which he was determined to make whether they consented to them or not. The Assembly was not of a temper either to resent or resist these magisterial and haughty orders. A committee was appointed to draw up such resolutions as would prove satisfactory to his Majesty, or rather to receive what had already been agreed upon between him and the bishops; and their report was immediately adopted and approved. The General Assembly held at Aberdeen in the year 1605 was condemned, and the right of calling and dismissing Assemblies was declared to be a branch of the royal prerogative. The bishops were declared moderators of Diocesan Synods; all presentations to benefices were appointed to be directed to them, in place of presbyteries; and the power of excommunicating and absolving offenders, of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of visiting all the churches within their respective dioceses, was conferred on them. In ordination and deposition, the bishop was to be assisted by the "ministers of the bounds" (for the name of a *presbytery* was insufferable in the royal ears;) and if found culpable he might be removed by the General Assembly, "with his Majesty's advice and consent." * But these limitations of the episcopal power were merely a blind thrown over the eyes of the simple; and accordingly they were excluded from the subsequent ratification of the acts of the Assembly by Parliament.† There were only five votes against the resolutions. Primrose, and some other ministers in Ayrshire, intended to protest against the whole proceedings, but means were found to prevent them from carrying their purpose into execution.

Constituted as this Assembly was, it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any particular account of the way in which it was managed. It had no pretension to be regarded as a regular meeting of the supreme judicatory of the church of Scotland; it had not the semblance of that freedom which belongs to a lawful assembly; and as it would have been less insulting to the nation, so it would have been equally good in point of authority, if the matters enacted by it had been at once proclaimed by heralds at the market-cross, as edicts emanating from the royal will. One fact only shall be stated. The Commissioner produced a proclamation, which he said he was appointed to make, abolishing presbyteries, and prohibiting them to meet for the future. While alarm and grief at this intimation sat on the countenances of the members, some of the nobility, who were instructed to act their part in the farce, rose and entreated the commissioner to keep back the proclamation until the King should be informed of their present proceedings; upon which his lordship, with affected condescension, acceded to their proposal, and promised to join with them in soliciting his Majesty to rest satisfied with what the Assembly had done, and to permit the presbyteries to continue. This transaction deterred any from appearing as protesters, and it was industriously circulated through the country, to induce ministers and people to submit to the obnoxious decisions. Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* assembly, in allusion to the name of the coins distributed on the occasion.* Those who voted with the court endeavonred to excuse their receiving these "wages of unrighteousness," by alleging that they were given them to defray their travelling expenses.† Two years were allowed to elapse before the acts of this Assembly were ratified, and the laws in favour of presbytery rescinded, by parliament. ‡

Thus, after a struggle of more than ten years, was Episcopacy established in Scotland. The way in which it was introduced exhibits a complete contrast to the introduction of the ecclesiastical polity which it supplanted. Presbytery made its way by the weapons of argument and persuasion, without the aid of the civil power, which viewed its progress with a jealous eye, and raised its arm repeatedly to crush it. Its patrons avowed from the beginning all that they intended, and never had recourse to falsehood or fraud to accomplish their favourite object. And it had been rooted in the opinions and affections of the nation long before it obtained a legal establishment. Episcopacy, on the contrary, was the creature of the state. It had the whole weight of the authority and influence of the crown all along on its side; and even with this it could not have prevailed, or maintained its ground, without the aid of those arts to which government has recourse for carrying its worst and most unpopular measures. Deceit and perfidy and bribery were joined to fines, and imprisonments, and banishments, and the terrors of the gibbet. Dissimulation was the grand engine by which the presbyterian constitution was overthrown. While the court disgraced itself by a series of low and over-reaching tricks, the aspiring clergy plunged themselves into the deepest and most profligate perjury. They refused no pledge which the jealousy of the church-courts, awakened by the measures of government required of them. When engaged in a scheme for overthrowing the established discipline, they renewed the assurances of their inviolable attachment and adherence to it. ‖ With the most solemn

* In a letter written to his Majesty, March 14, 1610, Spotswood says: "They have at this time a strong apprehension of the discharge of presbyteries; and, for the standing thereof in any tolerable sort, will refuse no conditions: *so it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short of their power, and leave them a bare name, which for the present may please, but in a little time shall vanish.*" (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12. num. 44.)

† In the preamble of the act of parliament, the conclusions of the General Assembly are thus introduced: "In manner, substance, and effect following; with the explanation maid be the estaitis of parliament presentlie convenit of some of these articles resolued vpoun in foirsaid assemblie of Glasgow." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469.)

* Sir James Balfour says, the Earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers "40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages." (Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 398.) Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Read, who had been there in the course of his profession, having heard what a country minister got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for *two* angels, when he (the pauper) had got *three* for nothing. (Simsoni Annales, p. 124. Row's Hist. p. 160. Proceedings of the Assemblie holden at Glasgow in 1638: MS. *penes me*, p. 66.)

† Cald. vii. 389—406. Row, 147—155. Melville's Decl. Age, 277—284. Scot, 233—240. Wodrow's Life of Law, p. 9.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469, 470.

‖ On the 2d of August, 1604, all the members of the presbytery of St. Andrews, including Gladstanes, renewed their subscription of the National Covenant, and at the same time subscribed the act of parliament, 1592, which ratified presbytery, as an authentic explanation of the discipline which they swore to maintain,—"to testify their harmony and hearty agreement in all things both concerning doctrine and discipline; promising solemnly to defend the same always, according to their callings, and never to come in the contrary according to the great oath set down in the foresaid Confession of Faith." And what was the form of this oath? "Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up,—to promise, swear, and subscribe deceitfully,—we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest and call the searcher of hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription," &c. To this engagement, sanctioned by this awful appeal and protestation, did Gladstanes set his hand immediately after the moderator of the presbytery. (Extract from the Record of Presb. of St. And. in Melville's Decl. Age, p. 109—111.) Spotswood and Law subscribed *the Book of Policy*, among the members of the

asseverations and execrations, they disclaimed all intention of bringing prelacy into the church, and swore to observe the cautions enacted to guard against its admission. Every change which was made was declared to be the only one intended; but no sooner had the alarm excited by it been allayed than it was followed by another, until at last the whole system of the hierarchy was introduced and established by the exertions of those who had so frequently disowned and abjured it. No expressions can be too strong in reprobating a scene of deliberate, systematic, and persevering prevarication and perfidy, to which it will not be easy to find a parallel in the whole history of political intrigue, and which, as practised by churchmen, must have had the most pernicious influence on religion, by debasing the character of its ministers, especially in the estimation of the higher ranks, whom they now vied with in honours, and sought to supplant in the highest offices of the state. A victory gained by such arts was more dishonourable than many defeats. It required only another triumph of a similar kind to secure the perpetual proscription of episcopacy from this country, and to fix a stigma upon it which must induce its warmest admirers to wish that every trace of its existence were erased from the annals of Scotland.

A Scottish gentleman of the name of Colville communicated the result of the assembly at Glasgow to Melville. He was deeply affected by the intelligence; and continued for a considerable time in a state of profound and distressing silence. When his grief at last found utterance, it vented itself in a vehement denunciation against the Commissioner, Dunbar, whom he regarded, and justly, as the prime agent in overturning the ecclesiastical liberties of his native country.* Not that he wanted considerations to alleviate the distress which he felt on this occasion. His conscience acquitted him of having wilfully failed in any part of his duty during the long and painful struggle; and he had the satisfaction to reflect, that though the cause was unsuccessful, its honour remained untarnished. Until he and his associates were removed out of the way by fraudulent and forcible means, the enemy gained no real advantage, and durst not attack the citadel, notwithstanding their knowledge of the treachery and feebleness of many of its defenders. With all his vanity and boastfulness, Gladstanes acknowledged that they would have been unable to execute their designs, if Andrew Melville had remained in the country and been at liberty. The firm and independent, though oppressed and overborne, opponents of episcopacy were the real victors; and it was not without reason that Melville applied the elegant description of an ancient historian to himself and his fellow-combatants: "*Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. —Neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam quum decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus.*"†

The overthrow of presbytery afflicted James Melville as acutely as his uncle; but it did not surprise him so much, as he was less sanguine in his hopes of a successful resistance, from the knowledge which he possessed of the actual state of matters in Scotland. Before the late General Assembly sat down, his fears had anticipated the issue, and he had bewailed it in the most tender strains in his letters to his brethren.* Jealous of the personal interviews and epistolary correspondence which he held with his brethren in Scotland, the bishops procured an order to remove him from Newcastle to Carlisle, where he would have it less in his power to counteract their plans. The only consolation which he had in the prospect of this change of abode was the opportunity that it would give him of meeting with his much esteemed friend and fellow-sufferer, John Murray.† But by means of his friends at court he obtained a revocation of the order, and was permitted to take up his residence at Berwick.‡ If he was indebted for this favour to the interest of the Earl of Dunbar, he met at the same time with an injury from that nobleman, which cured him of any inclination which he still felt to rely on his patronage, and which may be added to the numerous proofs of the good faith of courtiers. "I cannot conceal from you (says he, in a letter to his uncle) the affront which I have received from my lord of Dunbar. On passing through this place to Glasgow, he charged me once and again and a third time—ultroneously charged me, when I was asking no such favour of him, to send for my son Andrew, and have him in readiness to accompany him when he returned to the south; as he intended to place him in one of the English universities, and would supply him with every thing that he needed. At considerable expense I recalled the young man from France, and, placing him before his lordship on his return, I told him that my son waited his orders. He took no notice of him; but mounting his horse and contracting his brows, stretched out his hand to me, and departed without uttering a word."‖ This proud man was soon after brought down from his elevation, and laid where "the kings and counsellors of the earth rest with the prisoners, who no longer hear the voice of the oppressor."

Melville was visited in the Tower by several of the supporters of episcopacy, whom he received in such a way as to testify his sense of their courtesy, at the same time that he told them his opinion of their conduct with his characteristical frankness and warmth. "Two of my old scholars (says he) called on me when they were lately here. The sight of them made my mouth water; and I poured forth my indignation on them in my usual manner. I did not dissemble the injury done to the brethren through their fault. I exhorted them to return to their duty and not to go on to 'fight against God.' The injuries done to myself I forgave the commonwealth and church. I shewed them that the arms of all ought to be turned against the common enemy, unanimity and fraternal concord cultivated, and the exiled brethren recalled. They agreed with me on these points, but pleaded that the King is bent on maintaining order, and he must be obeyed in all things:

Et veterem in limo ranæ cecinere querelam.

I parted with these civil gentlemen on the most civil

presbytery of Linlithgow. (Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Oct. 6, 1591.) And, in the year 1604, they renewed their pledges. (Simsoni Annal. p. 89, 107. Printed Calderwood, p. 484, 485.)

* Scot reports Melville's words to have been "that man (Dunbar) that hath overthrown that kirk and the liberties of Christ's kingdome there shall never have the grace to set his foot in that kingdome againe." (Apolog. Narrat. p. 248.) And the same account is given by Row. (Hist. p. 158.) But in the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not the most distant allusion to any prophecy, although Dunbar's death is repeatedly mentioned. It is most probable that a prophetical turn was given to Melville's words after the sudden death of the premier; and this remark may be extended to many of those sayings which have been recorded as prophecies in the lives of good men.

† Melvini Epist. p. 27: ex Sulpitii Severi Hist. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 33.

* See his letter to William Scot in Printed Calderwood, p. 614.

† John Murray, minister of Leith, was at this time confined in Dumfries-shire. He was prosecuted for a sermon containing some free remarks on the conduct of the bishops, which had been printed without his knowledge. The Privy Council sustained his defence, but the bishops procured a letter from the King, reprimanding the Council, and ordering Murray into confinement. (Regist. Secret. Concil. Royal Letters, &c. 20th March, and 30th April, 1608; and 5th March, 1609. Printed Cald. p. 580—582.) His sermon was printed along with "Informations or a Protestation, A. 1608;" but it is rarely to be found in the copies of that tract.

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 150, 166.

‖ Ibid. p. 183, 184

terms; and they of course will trumpet everywhere the praises of your friend's profound erudition."*

Among his visitants was his countryman, John Cameron, who had come over at this time from France. As he was favourable to the ecclesiastical plans of the court, a dispute soon ensued between them. Cameron was dogmatical and loquacious, and Melville was not disposed to allow him to run away with the argument. When they were hotly engaged, the Tower bell gave warning that all visitors should retire, and the combatants were reluctantly separated. At parting, Melville admonished Cameron, that being a young man, he should beware of "being lifted up with pride," and of disparaging that discipline, which, from the time of the Reformation, had formed an integral part of religion in his native country, and had hitherto resisted the attacks of all its adversaries, both domestic and foreign.†

He had at this time an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Isaac Casaubon; but he found the sentiments of that great scholar much altered from what they were when his epistolary correspondence with him commenced. During his residence at the French court, Casaubon's attachment to the reformed religion had been shaken, and the Roman Catholics entertained confident hopes of making him a convert, when his patron, Henry the Great, was assassinated.‡ On that tragical event he retired into England, and was warmly received by James and the bishops. But though he obtained a dispensation to hold two prebends without entering into holy orders, the tasks allotted to him were neither creditable to his talents nor congenial to his feelings.‖ He who had devoted his life to the cultivation of Grecian and Oriental literature, and who had edited and illustrated Strabo, Athenæus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polyænus, and Polybius, was now condemned to drudge in replying to the Jesuit Fronto le Duc, correcting his Majesty's answer to Cardinal Du Perron, refuting the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, and, what was still more degrading, writing letters to induce his illustrious friend De Thou to substitute King James's narrative of the troubles of Scotland in the room of that which he had already published on the authority of Buchanan. Melville is mentioned as one of three individuals in whose learned society he found relief from these irksome and ungrateful occupations.§ The warm approbation of the constitution of the church of England which Casaubon expressed, and the countenance which he gave to the consecration of the Scottish prelates at Lambeth, were by no means agreeable to Melville.¶ But notwithstanding this, he received frequent visits from him in the Tower; and on these occasions they entertained and instructed one another with critical remarks on ancient authors, and especially on the Scriptures.**

During his imprisonment he received marks of civility and friendship from several of the episcopal divines in England; among whom was Joseph Hall, afterwards bishop of Norwich, and well known by his pious and ingenious writings.*

By Sir William Wade, the Governor of the Tower, he appears to have been treated with every indulgence which was consistent with his safe custody.† Among his fellow-prisoners were Sir Walter Raleigh, and the favourite *Magi* of the Duke of Northumberland.‡ There were also in the Tower at this time three Scotchmen of the popish persuasion; the noted John Hamilton, Paterson, a priest, and Campbell, a Capuchin friar, who were kept under an easy restraint, and sumptuously provided for.‖ Melville had several interviews with them; and waited on the death-bed of Hamilton, whom he exhorted, though without success, to rest his hopes of final acceptance on the atonement and advocacy of Christ, instead of the merits and intercession of creatures.§ In the year 1610, Sir William Seymour, afterwards Duke of Hertford, was sent to the Tower for clandestinely marrying the Lady Arabella, who was nearly allied to the royal family. On this occasion Melville composed the following couplet, expressive of the similarity of the cause of Seymour's imprisonment to his own, founded on an allusion to the lady's name, which in Latin signifies *a fair altar*.

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris, Arabella tibi causa est; Araque sacra mihi.¶

These lines he sent to the noble prisoner on his entering the Tower, and the witty distich of "the poetical minister" was much talked of at court.**

In the month of November, 1610, upon the return of Lord Wotton, the English ambassador, from France, the Duke of Bouillon sent an application by him to King James, requesting him to release Melville from the Tower, and allow him to come to his university at Sedan. It is probable that Melville owed this interposition in his favour to his friend Aaron Capel, one

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 54.

† Ibid. p. 112, 113.

‡ When Rosweid afterwards published that Casaubon had intended to profess himself a Roman Catholic, the statement was strongly contradicted by his son Meric, and by Jacobus Cappellus. But it is evident from his own letters, that Casaubon, although he could not easily digest some of the grosser articles of the Popish creed, was seriously deliberating on the change; and his son has kept back a part of one of his letters which contains strong evidence to that purpose. (Merici Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 85, 89, coll. cum Epist. Isaaci Casauboni, p. 607. Epist. Eccles. et Theol. p. 250.) Du Moulin wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells advising him by all means to detain Casaubon in England; as there was every reason to fear his recantation if he returned to France. (Casauboni Vita, ab Almelov. p. 55.)

‖ Birch's Hist. View of Negociations, p. 340.

§ Casauboni Vita, p. 54.

¶ In a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Melville mentions this last circumstance with regret. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 210.)

** Casaubon has preserved, in his *Ephemerides*, a critical emendation of the common text of 1 Timothy iii. 15, 16, which Melville suggested to him at one of these interviews. He proposed to read the passage thus: "These things write I unto thee —that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. The pillar and ground of the truth, and great without controversy, is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh," &c. (Casauboniana, p. 92, 292.) "Mira novitas!" exclaims Casaubon. But, with all deference to the learned critic, the proposed reading was not a novelty. It is to be found in the Basil editions of the Greek Testament, *annis* 1540 and 1545; and has been adopted by several modern critics of great authority.

* "Literas a D. Josepho Hallo christianæ amoris et humanitatis plenissimas accepi; pro quibus non potui non agere gratias. Ejus in Salamonem opella, nuper edita, bene placet." (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 99.)

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 318, 321, 323.

‡ Biographia Brit. art. *Harriot, Thomas.*

‖ Melvini Epist. p. 137. In the year 1608, James sent a letter to the Privy Council of Scotland, reprimanding them for overlooking "Mr. Johne Hamiltoune." (Letter from the Counsall to his Maiestie: Lord Haddington's Collect.) About the same time Mr. Alexander Campbell and Mr. John Young apologize to his Majesty "for the resetting of one Johne Canibell a Capuchin frier." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12.) They were not apprehended until the year 1609.

§ Rob. Johnston, Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 460.

¶ The following translation of the lines is given in the *Biographia Britannica*:

From the same cause *my* woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *sacred* mine.

For the imperfection of the translation, the apology of the learned compiler may be sustained, that it is "almost impossible to translate these lines into English without injuring either the sense or the spirit." But he has gone farther wrong in his commentary, in consequence of his being ignorant of the fact, that the poet was confined for verses written on the Royal Altar. "The wit (says he) consists in the allusion, grounded on the lady's name, signifying in Latin a fair Altar, and Melvin's being committed for the cause of God's altar, at least in his own opinion." (Biog. Brit. art. *Arabella Stuart.*) This would have been but dull wit, however sound "his own opinion" had been.

** Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 201. Row's Hist. p. 173.

of the ministers of the French church in London, who had a brother in the University of Sedan. As the Duke was one of the grandees of France, and at the head of the protestants in that kingdom, James was pleased at having an opportunity to gratify him by granting the request.* But when Melville had the prospect of immediately obtaining his liberty, a formidable opposition was made to it from an unexpected quarter. The French ambassador at London thought it proper to acquaint his court with the transaction which was going on between the Duke of Bouillon and James. The Queen Regent instantly wrote, that she did not judge it safe that a person of Melville's qualities should come into her kingdom, where there was already a sufficient number of turbulent and restless spirits; and therefore charged her ambassador to oppose the measure, by representing to James that it was not reasonable to send to France an individual whom he had found it necessary to lay under restraint at home on account of his seditious behaviour.† At an interview with his Majesty, the ambassador laid this representation before him. James professed himself greatly embarrassed in consequence of his promise to Bouillon. The request, he said, had been publicly presented by Lord Wotton; and, not suspecting that a Marshal of France, and one of the principal counsellors of her Majesty, had not made her acquainted with the application, he had readily acceded to it, on condition that the prisoner should not be allowed either to preach or publish, but should confine himself to reading and teaching in Sedan. At the same time, he professed his desire to oblige the Queen in this and all other matters; and only requested, that, with the view of disengaging him from his promise, she should speak to the Duke in such a manner as to prevent him from insisting on his request. In the course of the conversation with the French ambassador, his Majesty discovered his strong antipathy to Melville; and gave a short narrative of his life, in which he appears to have been guided not so much by a regard to truth, as by a desire to increase the fears expressed by the French queen. The Duke of Bouillon, he said, would not be so urgent in his request, if he were acquainted with the fierce and contentious humour of the man. After he returned from Geneva, where he was educated, he had been placed in one of the universities of Scotland, which he kept in continual broils during the four years that he remained in it: on that account his Majesty was obliged to remove him to another university, into which he also carried the torch of discord: and, finally, being called up to London to answer for his disorderly conduct, he was no sooner there than he fell upon his Majesty and his principal counsellors, whom he treated so abusively, that it became necessary, in order to prevent something worse, to shut him up in the Tower, where he still remained.‡ The Queen Regent addressed a second despatch to her ambassador, instructing him to persevere in his opposition to Melville's journey.‖ The secret, however, was, that the French court was not so much afraid of the seditious spirit of the Scottish Professor, as offended at Bouillon for presenting such a request without its knowledge, and jealous of his intercourse with the court of London.§ Accordingly, the Duke having made a satisfactory apology for the step which he had taken, the Queen Regent withdrew her opposition.

Melville had sent the earliest information of the change in his prospects to his nephew. "The Duke of Bouillon has applied to the King, by the ambassador Wotton and by letters, for liberty to me to go to France. His Majesty is said to have yielded. I am in a state of suspense as to the course which I ought to take. There is no room for me in Britain on account of pseudo-episcopacy—no hope of my being allowed to revisit my native country. Our bishops return home after being anointed with the waters of the Thames. Alas, liberty is fled! religion is banished!—I have nothing new to write to you, except my hesitation about my banishment. I reflect upon the active life which I spent in my native country during the space of thirty-six years, the idle life which I have been condemned to spend in prison, the reward which I have received from men for my labours, the inconveniences of old age, and other things of a similar kind, taken in connexion with the disgraceful bondage of the church and the base perfidy of men. But in vain: I am still irresolute. Shall I desert my station?—shall I fly from my native country, from my native church, from my very self? Or, shall I deliver myself up, like a bound quadruped, to the will and pleasure of men? No: sooner than do this, I am resolved, by the grace of God, to endure the greatest extremity: But until my fate is fixed, I cannot be free from anxiety. Be assured, however, that nothing earthly affects me so deeply as the treachery of men to God, and the defection of our church in this critical conjuncture. Yet our adversaries have not all the success which they could wish—but I dare not write all that I could tell you by word of mouth. Our affairs are in a bad state, but there is still some ground of hope. Take care of your health, and send me your advice, as quickly as possible, and in one word. Shall I go, or, shall I remain?" *

It is evident from this letter that he felt reluctant to go abroad. He was become attached to his native country by a long residence in it. Though he had no family of his own, he had formed attachments which were nearly as close and endearing as those which are strictly domestic. His health and spirits were still uncommonly good; but he had arrived at that period of life when the mind loses its elastic spring and its power of accommodating itself to external circumstances; and he felt averse to enter upon a new scene of action in a country where the people and the manners had undergone a complete change since he had known them. There were, therefore, no sacrifices, those of conscience and honour excepted, which he was not prepared to make, in order to obtain permission to remain in Scotland.

James Melville knew that all hopes of this kind were vain, and therefore advised him to embrace the offer which was in his power. "Summon up your courage, and prepare to obey the call of providence. Perhaps this is 'a man of Macedonia'—a messenger from God to invite you to the help of the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lorrain. Like the apostle, let none of these things move you, neither count your life dear, that you may finish your course with joy, and the ministry which you have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.'

> Te si fata tuis paterentur ducere vitam
> Auspiciis, et sponte tua componere curas,
> Urbem Trojanam primum ———
> Sed nunc Italiam———

Seeing you are bound like Jeremiah, you must go whither you are led, though not in obedience to the will of men, yet in cheerful submission to the will of God, who will keep you in all his ways. So far as I can see, there is no choice left, but a hard necessity is imposed on you. I may add, that those who are joined with you in the same cause, and I in particular, would esteem it the greatest favour to have it in our power to accompany you. For what can I look for but continued distress of mind, whether here or at home? Take this then as my answer to your question, Either I must go abroad, or death will soon be the consequence. I entreat you to act the part of Joseph, and procure for me an invitation from the illus-

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 173.
† De la Boderie, Ambassades, tom. v. p. 513—515.
‡ Ibid. p. 530—533. ‖ Ibid. p. 541. § Ibid. p. 517.

* Melvini Epist. p. 173—175.

trious Duke, to serve in the church or schools of France. I know the king will readily accede to his request; but if I leave the country without the royal license, I will incur proscription and confiscation. Melissa is as desirous of being with you as I am, and is ready to accompany me wherever providence may direct my course. She lately sent you, as a mark of her regard, a small present, consisting of an embroidered cloak, a neck-kerchief, and some other articles, trimmed with her own hands. Have you received them?—I know not how it is, but my soul fails and melts within me, and the tears rush into my eyes at the thought, of which I cannot get rid, that I shall see your face no more. While I write, my sweet Melissa, my only earthly solace in my solitude and exile, overcome with womanly grief, wets my bosom with her tears, and desires me to bid you, in her name, a long farewell. And I—Would to God you had long ago closed my eyes at Montrose. I can write no more. Eternal blessings rest upon you." *

While Melville remained in a state of suspense, he resolved to make an attempt to regain his liberty on terms less hard than banishment. He addressed a letter to Sir James Sempill, in which, after modestly stating his claims, "at least, to an honest retreat from warfare, with the hope of burial with his ancestors," he offered his services to prince Henry, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age.† The prince, whose character was in every respect the reverse of his father's, would have received him into his family with the utmost pleasure, if he had been left to his own choice. But there was no ground to hope that the King would permit such an instructor to be placed about the person of his son, of whose active spirit and popularity he was already become jealous. Melville wisely committed the affair wholly to the discretion of Sir James Sempill, Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray;‡ on whom he placed a more entire dependence than on any other of his acquaintance about the court. In his letters he often expresses a grateful sense of the kindness which they had shown him during his imprisonment. Of Sempill in particular he writes in the following terms to his nephew: "Did my friend Sempill, the assertor of my liberty, visit you in passing? If he did, as he promised he would, why have you not said a word about him? All my friends owe much to him on my account. He takes a warm interest in my studies as well as in the welfare of my person; and, what is more, I am persuaded that he takes a warm interest in the cause. The court does not contain a more religious man, one who unites in a greater degree modesty with genius, and a sound judgment with elegant accomplishments. In procuring for me a mitigation of my imprisonment, he has shown, both by words and deeds, a constancy truly worthy of a Christian. If you meet with him on his return (for he means to return with your hero) thank him on my account; for he will not rest satisfied until he has effected my liberation completely." *

In the month of February, 1611, Melville received a letter from the Duke of Bouillon, stating that he had procured his release from the Tower, and inviting him to Sedan.† On this occasion he felt great embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. The government was so illiberal as to make him no allowance for bearing his expenses. He had been obliged to support himself in the Tower, where every individual who performed the smallest service expected to be rewarded according to the rank of the prisoner. His finances were so much exhausted that he could not fit himself out for making an appearance in a foreign country suited to his station and connexions. And his nephew, on account of certain extraordinary expenses which he had lately incurred, felt himself unable to relieve him. The urgency of his necessities and the delicacy of his feelings, are well described in a letter written by him at this time to James Melville, relating to a collection which his friends in Scotland proposed to make for him. "Our friend of Ely (says he) writes to me that I owe much to our brother at Stirling; referring, I suppose, to the collection which has been so much talked of, and which, I am afraid, must be viewed in the light of an exaction rather than a voluntary offering, and a gift to men rather than God. I know that I am under great obligations to Patrick,‡ both on public and private grounds. But my nature will not suffer me, as the orator says, to enrich myself from the spoils of others, and especially of strangers on whom I have no claims. I acknowledge that it is not unreasonable that my necessities should be relieved by such of my brethren as are able and willing, considering that I am reduced to these straits not for any evil that I have done, but for the public cause of Christ which they profess in common with me. 'It is more blessed to give than to receive' is an apostolical saying, which it is easier to use and act upon when fortune flows than when it ebbs. As it is the mark of a haughty mind to spurn the benevolence of brethren, so, on the other hand, it does not suit my disposition to grasp at money which has been wheedled from a miscuous multitude by fair and flattering speeches. Necessity, you will say, has no law. But what necessity can be so great as to warrant one to compromise the character of a good man, or to sacrifice one's reputation? To sound a trumpet in bestowing a favour betrays ostentation; and an ingenuous and modest person will not be fond of having a noise made at the receiving of a favour. It was always my desire to be concealed in the crowd, even when the field of honour appeared to ripen before me. But I act a foolish part in reasoning so stoically about gifts of which nothing has yet reached me but the sound. I will not purchase hope; nor will I ever, on my own account, extort money by encharistical letters. What I am requested to do is, to give thanks to Simpson and Gillespie, (both of them most deserving men,) and to their flocks, with the view of stimulating them to the making of a collection. This, if not a preposterous, is certainly not a very honourable course. I could do many things for others which I would blush to do for myself. Advise me how to act, or rather take the management of the business into your own hands. You know how utterly unpractised I am in such affairs." ‖ The collection

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 176, 184.

† Original Letter to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees: MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 6.

‡ Thomas Murray was tutor and secretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards provost of Eton College. He was the son of ——— Murray of Woodend. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 286.) His Latin Poems, which were published separately, are included in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*. Various tributes were paid to him by the poets of the age. (Leochæi Epigrammata, p. 38, 44, 87. Dumbari Epigr. p. 114. Arc. Jonstoni Poem. p. 231. Middelb. 1642.) In the year 1615, an attempt was made by Archbishop Gladstanes, to have him removed from the Prince, "as ill-affected to the estate of the kirk." (Letters from Archbishop Spotswood, to Mr. Murray of the Bedchamber, January 30, and February 6, 1615. Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 51, 52.) His appointment to be Provost of Eton College, in the year 1621, was opposed, partly on suspicions of his puritanism. (Cabala, p. 289, 290.) He died "anno æt. 59. A. D. 1623, April 9;" (Le Neve, Mon. Ang. vol. i. p. 86;) and left behind him five sons and two daughters. (Latter will, extracted from Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 78. Three epigrams by Melville are prefixed to a work against Selden by Sir James Sempill, entitled, "Sacriledge sacredly handled—Lond. 1619." 4to. Sir James was the author of "Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus;" (see above, p. 195;) and, in part, at least, of a satirical poem against the church of Rome, called, the Packman's Pater Noster."—Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in mentioning Sempill's death, February 1825, extols his character and his friendship for Melville. (Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 148.)

† Cald. vii. 466.

‡ Patrick Symson, minister of Stirling.

‖ Melvini Epist. p. 167—170.

was made and remitted to him; but it came so late as almost to prove, as he expresses it, *moutarde apres diner.**

His health had hitherto remained uncommonly good; but it began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. On the certificate of the physicians he was permitted to leave the Tower, and to enjoy the free air for a few days within ten miles of London. But he was prohibited from coming near the court of the King, Queen, or Prince.† During this interval he was visited by the Earl of Cassilis, who insisted on making another attempt to procure liberty for him to return to his native country. But although his lordship exerted all his influence, the terms dictated by the court were so hard that Melville rejected them at once. ‡ Some of the Scottish bishops who happened to be in London joined in the Earl's application; and Spotswood went so far as to request, publicly on his knees, that Melville might be sent to the University of Glasgow. His Majesty humoured the farce, by turning to his courtiers, and extolling the Christian spirit which the archbishop displayed in interceding for the capital enemy of his order. ‖

Having recovered his health, Melville sailed for France, after having been a prisoner in the Tower for the space of four years. Before going aboard the vessel he wrote the following hasty lines to his affectionate nephew:

"My dear son, my dear James, farewell, farewell in the Lord, with your sweet Melissa. I must now go to other climes. Such is the pleasure of my divine and heavenly Father; and I look upon it as a fruit of his paternal love towards me. Why should I not, when he has recovered me from a sudden and heavy distemper, and animates me to the journey by so many tokens of his favour? Now at length I feel the truth of the presage which I have frequently pronounced, That it behoved me to confess Christ on a larger theatre; which, so far as it may yet be unfulfilled, shall soon, I augur, receive a complete verification. In the mean time I retain you in my heart, nor shall any thing in this life be dearer to me, after God, than you. The excellent Capel has in the most friendly manner recommended you by letter to the Duke of Bouillon, but has as yet received no answer. To-day I set out on my journey under the auspices of Heaven: May God in his mercy give it a prosperous issue. Join with me in supplicating that it may turn out to his glory and the profit of his church. Although I have no uneasiness about my library, yet I must request you to charge those who are intrusted with its keeping to be careful of it, both for my sake, and for the sake of the church, to which I have dedicated myself and all my property. Who knows but we may yet meet again to give thanks publicly to God for all his benefits to us? Why should we not cherish the hope of better days; seeing the fraud and pride of our enemies have brought us to a condition which appears to prognosticate the ruin of the lately-reared fabric? Our three pretended bishops affirm that they urged, and on their knees supplicated his Majesty to restore me to my native country; but you know the disposition of the men, and what was the drift of their request. In the mean time write to me frequently by Capel concerning every thing, and especially what is doing respecting the ecclesiastical history. I am much grieved at the imprisonment of my young friend Balfour, your sister's son; if I can procure his liberty, by the assistance of foreigners, I shall look upon it as a favour conferred on myself. The vessel is under weigh, and I am called aboard. My salutations to all friends. The grace of God be with you always. From the Tower of London—just embarking—on the day after the funeral of your Mæcenas, the 19th of April, 1611.

Yours as his own, in the Lord,
ANDREW MELVILLE." *

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 176, 185. † Cald. vii. p. 466.
‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 295.
‖ Row's Hist. p. 348, 349. We can be at no loss in judging of Spotswood's sincerity on this occasion, after reading what he has said of Melville's banishment, in his History, p. 499, 500.

CHAPTER X.—1611—1622.

MELVILLE'S Reception in France—Scotchmen in the Protestant Universities there—University of Sedan—Melville's Employment in it—His Correspondence with his Nephew—Death of Robert Wilkie and John Jonston—Melville leaves Sedan for a short time—Intelligence from Scotland—Constancy of Forbes and other banished Ministers—Death of James Melville—Scottish Students at Sedan—Melville opposes the Arminian Sentiments of Tilenus—His Opinion of the Articles of Perth Assembly—Changes on University of St. Andrews—Defence of the Scottish Church against Tilenus—Melville's Health declines—His Death—Character and Writings.

ON landing in France, Melville stopped for a short time at Rouen. At Paris he was affectionately received by one of his scholars, George Sibbald of Rankeillor-over and Giblistoun, who was then prosecuting his studies in the French capital, and who, after taking the degree of doctor in medicine at Padua, spent his time and fortune in promoting literature and science in his native country.† He was also hospitably entertained by Du Moulin, the well-known protestant minister of Paris, who was greatly pleased with the learning which he displayed in conversation. The Frenchman had heard that he was *un peu colere*, and therefore was afraid to enter with him on a controversy which was then keenly agitated among the Protestants of France. These fears were however groundless; for Melville's sentiments on that subject were very moderate. After remaining a few days in Paris, he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university.‡

The protestants of France had at this time six universities; Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, Die, and Sedan.‖ Besides these, they had fifteen colleges, erected in other parts of the kingdom, in which languages, philosophy, and belles lettres were taught.§ The number of Scotchmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and colleges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of Principal; and in others they amounted to a third part of the Professors. Most of them had been educated under Melville at St. Andrews.¶

The territory of Sedan and Raucourt had long formed a separate principality, governed by its own laws, under the Dukes of Bouillon, who were petty sovereigns, but subject to the crown of France. About the year 1578, a university was erected in the town of

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 188—190.
† Sibbald expresses his eagerness to see Melville, after his long imprisonment, in the beautiful words of Horace, *Ut mater juvenem*, &c. (Letter to Boyd of Trochrig, May 14, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Boyd. p. 53.) Dr. George Sibbald is mentioned in Inquis. Retornat. Spec. Fife, num. 118. Comp. num. 123. Vita Arct. Johnstoni: Poet. Scot. Musæ Sacræ, tom. i. p. xxx. xlix. lxiv. Dumbari Epigram. p. 183. There are a number of his MSS. in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh. His only printed work, as far as I know, besides his academical theses, is "Regulæ bene et salubriter vivendi—Edinb. 1701;" published by his nephew, Sir Robert Sibbald. He married Anna de Maliverne, a French lady, and the relict of Robert Boyd of Trochrig. (General Register of Deeds, vol. DLV. f. 39, b; and vol. DLXXXI. 12th April, 1653.)
‡ Letter from Du Moulin to Boyd of Trochrig, May 29, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 56.
‖ Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 330, 382, 387, 388. This is exclusive of those of Pau, Orthes and Lescar (the two last were united) in the kingdom of Navarre and Bearn.
§ Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 275, 380, 388.
¶ It was my intention to subjoin, in the notes, an account of such Scotchmen as were teachers in the protestant academies of France; but I find that there is not room for it.

Sedan by Robert de la Marck, Duke of Bouillon.* By marrying his only child, Henry de la Tour, Viscount of Turenne, had succeeded to his titles and domains.† He proved a great patron to the university, which was supported partly by his munificence, and partly by a sum of money annually allotted to it from the funds of the National Synod. It had professorships of Theology, Hebrew, Greek, Law, Philosophy, and Humanity.‡ Walter Donaldson, a native of Aberdeen, and known as the author of several learned works, was Principal and Professor of Natural and Moral Philosophy, during all the time that Melville was in the University.‖ Another of his countrymen, John Smith, was also a Professor of Philosophy.§ James Capellus, one of the ministers of Sedan, taught the Hebrew class. Though not so acute and bold a critic as his brother Lewis, he was possessed of extensive learning, and lived on terms of great intimacy with Melville.¶ The Professor of Divinity was Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who, having come to France in his youth, recommended himself to the chief persons among the Protestants by his conduct as tutor to the Lord of Laval, and as a writer in defence of the reformed cause.** The profession of Divinity, which Tilenus had hitherto sustained alone, was now divided between him and Melville. The former taught the system while the latter prelected on the Scriptures. Each delivered three lectures in the week, and they presided alternately in the theological disputations.††

In the beginning of the year 1612, Melville was gratified by receiving an affectionate letter from his nephew. "Ah, my dear father! Are you well? where are you? what are you doing? do you still remember me? I have almost forgotten you for some months, so much has my attention been occupied with my petition to the King. I have received for answer, that I can have no hopes but in the way of yielding an absolute submission to the decrees of the late assembly at Glasgow: so that I despair of returning to my native country." Before he had an opportunity of answering this letter, Melville received two letters from the same quarter, expressing great distress at not having heard from him, and communicating ample intelligence respecting the state of matters in Scotland. The bishops were triumphing in the exercise of their newly-acquired pre-eminence, and daily received fresh proofs of the royal favour. A remark of Chancellor Seaton was much talked of: "If our bishops get the kingdom of heaven they must be happy men; for they already reign on earth." Not satisfied with ruling the church-courts, they claimed an extensive civil authority within their dioceses. The burghs were deprived of their privileges, and forced to receive such magistrates as their episcopal superiors, in concert with the court, were pleased to nominate.* No opposition was at this time made to them. The nation had not yet recovered from the terror inspired by the threatening proclamations of the King, and the despotical powers of the High Commission. "How shall I mention the state of our church!" says James Melville. "It overwhelms me with grief, shame, and confusion. All those whose duty it is to care for it have laid aside their concern. The pulpits are silent. A deep sleep has fallen down upon our prophets. The hands of all are bound. Issachar crouches, like an ass under his two burdens. The pangs of death are come upon me: fear and trembling have seized me: horror covers me. O that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly, that I might wander far away, and lodge in the desert!"

James Melville informed his uncle of the decease of two of his most intimate acquaintance in the University of St. Andrews. "The father of St. Leonard's College, our steady friend Wilkie, has happily ended his days. He has left all his property to the college, and nominated our acquaintance Bruce for his successor, to whom he kindly commended the care of my John. I hope your muse will not be forgetful of that good man and sincere friend. How much more happy is he than I! But I trust I shall not be long in following him. Indeed, unless you had survived to animate me, and my Melissa had watched over my health, my poor soul, pierced with wounds, would ere now have quitted its prison. But I endure by the strength of God, and comfort myself with your words, 'Who knows but we may yet meet again?' Ah! when will that day arrive!"†—"Your colleague, John Jonston (says he, in his letter of the 25th November) closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the late-erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly

* Emanuel Tremellius was professor of Hebrew at Sedan when he died in 1580. (Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theol. p. 143. Teissier, Eloges, iii. 179.)

† Marsollier, Histoire de Henry de la Tour, Duc de Bouillon, p. 139, 167, 173. Vie de Mornay du Plessis, p. 153, 219. Laval, Hist. of the Reform. in France, vi. 879.

‡ Quick, i. 330, 342. Bayle, Dict. art. *Perrot, Nicole.* Bayle had been a professor at Sedan. Henry IV. allotted 45,000 crowns annually to the National Synod; and Lewis XIII. added 45,000 livres. In 1609, the Synod granted to the University of Sedan 1500*l.*, of which 700*l.* was to be given to the Professor of Divinity. The annual sum given to it from 1612 to 1620 was 4000*l.* (Aymons, Synodes, Nationaux des Eglises Reform. de France, tom. i. p. 378.)

‖ Donaldsoni Synopsis Œconomica, Præfat. Paris. 1620. Two other works of his are mentioned in Bayle, Dict. art. *Donaldson, Gualter.* He is called "Poeta Laureatus," (Leochæi Epigram, p. 21,) that is, one who had taken a degree in grammar and rhetoric. "Walterus Donaldson armiger, utriusque juris doctor apud Rupellam in Gallia, natus in abredonia—fuit filius legitimus Alexandri Donaldson armigeri (ex nobilissima et antiquissima familia donaldorum in regno nostro Scotiæ oriund.) et Elizabethæ Lamb quæ fuit filia legitima Davidis Lamb, Baronis de Dunkenny." (Literæ Prosapiæ Alexri Donaldson Medicinæ Doctoris, dat. Edin. Nov. 15. 1642: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 26. p. 21. Conf. A. 3. 19. num. 116.)

§ Steph. Morinus, Vita Sam. Bocharti, p. 2; apud Bocharti Opera, tom. i.

¶ Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, p. 157, 223. Colomies says: "Ludovicus Capellus, Jacobi *unicus* frater." But in a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Ludovicus calls Aaron Capel of London his brother. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.) There are two poems by Melville prefixed to a work of James Capellus, entitled "Historia Sacra et Exotica—Sedani 1613." Capellus introduces Melville's opinion on a question which he discusses in the course of that work, calling him "vir doctissimus et collega charissimus." (Hist. Sacr. p. 236. Wolfii Curæ Crit. in Nov. Test. tom. iii. p. 657.)

** Memoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. ii. p. 455, 456. Quick's Synod. vol. i. p. 187. Epistres Françaises à Mons. de la Scala, p. 420.

†† Mons. de Laune to Trochrig; Sedan, Nov. 20, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 58.

* In the year 1609, Archbishop Spotswood put a stop to the election of the magistrates of Glasgow; and wrote to the King in the following terms: "In all humblenes I present my opinion to your most sacred Majesty that it may be your Highnes gracious pleasure to command them of new to elect the Baillies that were nominate by your Majesty in your first letter, and to signify that it is your Highnes mind that they have no Provost at this time." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 65.) Two years after he treated the town of Ayr in the same manner. (Letter, Spotswood to Beltrees, Oct. 12, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 36.) Archbishop Gladstanes, in a letter to the King, June 9, 1611, says: "It was your pleasure and direction,—that I should be possessed with the like privileges in the election of the magistrats there (in St. Andrews,) as my lord of Glasgow is endued with in that his city.—Sir, whereas they are troublesome, I will be answerable to your majesty and Counsell for them, after that I be possessed of my right." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 72.)

† This letter is dated July 15, 1611. (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 193—196.)

with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books.*. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears." †

The answers which Melville returned to these letters were calculated so cheer the spirits of his tender-hearted nephew. "Your letter, my dear James, gave me as much pleasure as it is possible for one to receive in these gloomy and evil days. We must not forget the apostolical injunction, 'Rejoice always: rejoice in hope.' *Non si male nunc, et olim erit.* Providence is often pleased to grant prosperity and long impunity to those whom it intends to punish for their crimes, in order that they may feel more severely from the reverse.

Μηχαι δίδωσιν εὐτυχησαι, αλλ' ἵνα
Τας συμφορας λαβωσιν επιφανεστερας.

No oracular response pronounced from the tripod of Apollo was ever truer than this couplet of Pindar.‡ It is easy for a wicked man to throw a commonwealth into disorder: God only can restore it. Empires which have been procured by fraud cannot be stable or permanent. Pride and cruelty will meet with a severe, though it may be a late, retribution; and, according to the Hebrew proverb, 'when the tale of bricks is doubled, Moses comes.' The result of past events is oracular of the future. 'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' Why then exert our ingenuity and labour in adding to our vexation? Away with fearful apprehensions!" The following quotation is a specimen of the familiar and classic pleasantry which he was accustomed to use with his friends. "What is the *profound Dreamer* ‖ (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584)—what is our Corydon of Haddington about? I know he cannot be idle: has he not brought forth or perfected any thing yet, after so many decades of years? *Tempus Alla veniet tua quo spoliabitur arbos.* Let me know if our old friend Wallace has at last become the father of books and bairns? Menalcas of Cupar on the Eden § is, I hear, constant: and I hope he will prove vigilant in discharging all the duties of a pastor, and not mutable in his friendships, as too many discover themselves to be in these cloudy days. Salute him in my name; as also Damœtas of Elie, ¶ and our friend Dykes, with such others as you know to 'hold the beginning of their confidence and the rejoicing of their hope firm to the end.' And, pray, do not forget my venerable old cousin, who must now, I fear, be on the brink of the grave, and who has long been afflicted with gout, gravel, and colic. When I came to this country I was the means of releasing his son from prison; and I still look for his letter of thanks. It will give me the greatest pleasure, in this retirement of mine, to hear from him or any of his friends, and to be informed of every thing about them. I must not forget the laird of Dysart, the present chief of our family; nor the baron of Rossie, our kinsman. We old men daily grow children again, and are ever and anon turning our thoughts back on our cradles. We praise the past days because we can take little pleasure in the present. Suffer me then to dote; for I am now become pleased with old age, although 'I have lived so long as to see some things which I could wish never to have seen.' I try daily to learn something new, and thus to prevent my old age from becoming listless and inert. I am always doing, or at least attempting to do, something in those studies to which I devoted myself in the younger part of my life. Accept this long epistle from a talkative old man. *Loqui senibus res est gratissima*, says your favourite Palingenius, the very mention of whose name gives me new life; for the *regeneration* * forms almost the sole topic of my meditations, and in this do I exercise myself that I may have my conversation in heaven."—"Your account of the happy death of my colleague Jonston filled me with both grief and joy. He was a man of real piety, attached to the purity of religion, and of a most courteous disposition. The university has lost a teacher, the church a member, and I a friend, to whom there are few equal."—"I cannot refrain from bewailing the death of my friend Myrrha, and the loss which I, in common with all good men, have sustained by the removal of that most pious woman.† How dearly I loved her you know, and our friend Godscroft knows better than any other man. Remember me kindly to him, and say that his letter and poems have at last reached me. Often has the decease of that choice woman drawn tears from my eyes since I received the afflicting tidings. And at this moment my grief breaks out afresh—but I restrain myself." ‡

One of the first things which he did after his settlement at Sedan was to look out for an eligible situation for his nephew. But, however desirous of his company, he was obliged to discourage him from coming to the continent. "I know (says he) you will do nothing rashly in your own affair. At present there is no room for you here either in the church or academy. And I am afraid that the variableness and humidity of the climate in the Low Countries would be injurious to your health. Will Mar do nothing for you or for the public cause? Will Lennox do nothing? Nor the other noblemen who are in favour with his Majesty? What crime have you committed? What has the Monarch now to dread? Does not the Primate sit in triumph, *traxilque sub astra furorem?* What is there then to hinder you, and me also, (now approaching my seventieth year, and consequently *emeritus*,) from breathing our native air, and, as a reward of our toils, being received into the Prytaneum, to spend the remainder of our lives, without seeking to share the honours and affluence which we do not envy the pretended bishops? We have not been a dishonour to the kingdom, and we are allied to the royal family. But let envy do its worst, no prison, no exile shall prevent us from confidently expecting the kingdom of heaven." ‖

When Melville first went to Sedan, his friends in France were apprehensive that he would not find his situation quite comfortable. § He had every reason to

* "Item, I leave in taikin of my sinceir love and affectioun to Mr. Andro Melvill ane fyne new Duche cap of fyne blak velvet, lynit wt fyne martrik skinnes." (Testament of John Jonston.) He died Oct. 20, 1611.

† Melvini Epist. p. 196, 281. There are five of Jonston's letters printed in *Camdeni Epist.* p. 41, 75, 95, 123, 127; and a number of his poems are to be found in Camden's *Britannia*. In Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd (p. 43, 47, 53,) are several of his letters, and particularly one containing an account of certain of his MSS. which he sent to be printed at Saumur. He married Catherine Melville, of the house of Carnbee. (Appendix to Lamont's Diary, p. 285.) In his *Consolatio Christiana* (p. 101-2) are epitaphs which he wrote on her and two of her children. An attempt was made to obtain him for second minister of Haddington (Record of Presb. of Haddington, Oct. 24, 1599; June 11, and 18, and July 2, 1600.)

‡ Aristotle quotes the lines as from a poet unknown. (Rhetoric. lib. ii. c. 24. ed. Goulstoni.) They are included in the *Fragmenta* of Euripides. (Eurip. a Beck, tom. ii. p. 496.)

‖ "Basuc[illegible] *songecreux*." The person referred to is James Carmichael, minister of Haddington.

§ William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife.

¶ John Carmichael, minister of Elie.

* *Palingenesia.*

† It appears from a letter of James Melville that the lady here referred to was a sister of John Murray, minister of Leith. "Joannes Murræus, triumphantis tuæ Myrrhæ frater, et Joannes Carus Endonsidius, Johnstoni tui nunc in cœlo ovantis, genere qui viri!" (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 303.) John Murray had two sisters married, the one to Sir Robert Douglas of Spot, and the other to Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 45, 102.)

‡ Melvini Epistolæ, p. 290—295.

‖ Ibid. p. 296. § Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 56.

be satisfied with the polite and munificent behaviour of the Duke of Bouillon.* But the number of students in the university was small. His colleague Tilenus was a man of talents, but haughty and morose. He was a keen stickler for the peculiar tenet of Piscator, and some other opinions which were generally disliked by the French ministers. Melville did not enter into these disputes, and treated all the students, whatever were their sentiments respecting them, with equal civility and attention. But Tilenus could not conceal his antipathy to such young men as thought differently from himself, or who came from academies in which his opinions were rejected; and in consequence of this many of them left Sedan and went to Saumur.† In these circumstances, Melville was induced to listen to the proposals of Monsieur de Barsack, Treasurer of the Parliament of Dauphiny, who wished him to superintend the education of his three sons. An annual salary of five hundred crowns was promised him, and he was to be allowed either to reside with the young men at Grenoble, or to take them along with him to Die, provided he obtained a professorship in the university which was established in that town. He went to Grenoble, in the month of November, 1612, to make a trial of the situation; but, not finding it agreeable, he returned within a short time to Sedan. ‡

The intelligence which he received on returning from Grenoble was not of a cheering description. A letter from his old colleague Welwood, who was then at London, conveyed to him the melancholy tidings of the death of Prince Henry, by which the hopes of all good men in Britain and on the continent were blasted.‖ Letters from his nephew at Berwick and from Alexander Hume at Prestonpans informed him, that the Parliament of Scotland had, in compliance with a royal injunction, conferred on the bishops spiritual powers more extensive than those which they had presumed to ask from the corrupt and servile assembly at Glasgow. "The bishops (says Hume) fret because they have failed in procuring for his Majesty as large a subsidy as they had promised him. Their employment now is not to preach Christ but the King. On the Sabbath before the meeting of Parliament the bishops of Galloway and Brechin told the people, that the King had a right not only to their property but also to their lives, and that they should grudge no sacrifice for one who was the defender of their faith, a confessor and a semi-martyr. Brechin farther exhorted the women to retrench their superfluous expenses in dress, and the men to avoid excess in the use of wine, that they might have it in their power to give the more to the King. Such is the doctrine of our episcopal church. We are to abstain from vice not as vice, but in order to fill the royal coffers!"§

The reader may wish to learn something concerning Melville's companions in exile—the six ministers who were banished for holding the assembly at Aberdeen. Strachan sickened and died at Middleburg, soon after they landed on the continent.¶ Welsh, after remaining for some time at Bourdeaux, became minister of Jonsack, in the province of Angoumois; Duncan was received into the College of Rochelle; Sharp was made professor of divinity in the University of Die, in Dauphine.* Forbes and Dury settled in Holland: the former was preacher to the English merchants at Middleburg, from which he removed to Delft; the latter obtained a Scotch congregation in Leyden.† Melville kept up a close correspondence with the two last; and, in the course of the year 1612, was gratified with a visit from Forbes, who spent several weeks at Sedan, along with his brother Arthur, an officer in the Swedish service.‡

In the course of the year 1613, the report reached Melville that his nephew and Bruce had made their peace with the King, and submitted to the bishops. Strong as his confidence in the integrity and firmness of both of these individuals was, he could not help feeling uneasy at this intelligence. "If Bruce and you are to be restored, (says he in a letter to James Melville,) what is to be done with me? What is to be done with my brethren, who, though innocent, suffered two years imprisonment, and have lived six years in this country as exiles? I know not what persecution is, if this is not.—Give my salutations to Bruce, and tell him that I would rather hear of his base servitude than see it."‖ His apprehensions were removed by letters from his nephew. Some occasion had been given for the report which he had heard. The petitions which the congregations and friends of the banished ministers had from time to time presented in their behalf, were now supported by the Chancellor and several of the nobility, who were disgusted with the pride of the upstart prelates, and desirous of imposing a check on their ambition. The bishops found it necessary to join in these petitions, and hoped to turn the measure to their own account, by procuring at least a partial approbation of their authority from some of those who had been its greatest opponents. Proposals were, accordingly, made to all of them, with the exception of Melville. Powerful considerations were not wanting to induce them to comply, at the expense of making some sacrifice of principle. Several of them had lost their health abroad; they were all advanced in life; they had families; and felt passionately attached to their native country. The commutation of capital punishment into exile is regarded as an act of clemency; and if obliged to choose banishment or death, there is probably none who would not prefer the former. But, on the other hand, many who would willingly have laid their necks on the block rather than comply with what they deemed sinful, have had their resolution subdued by the mitigated but slow and exhausting pains of imprisonment or exile.

In the present instance, however, all the ministers rejected the terms offered them. The sentiments by which they were actuated in coming to this resolution, are forcibly expressed by Forbes in a letter to James Melville. "I always expected (says he) some proposal of this kind, and indeed I wonder that the bishops have deferred making it so long after the establishment of their tyranny. The only way of accounting for the delay is, by supposing that, like all who are conscious of being embarked in a bad course, they can never think themselves sufficiently secured against danger. How wretched the condition of these men, who, harassed by continual fear and anxiety, can neither do well without us, nor yet enjoy our company with safety! What wise man would court these unsatisfactory and precarious honours, which, instead of giving peace to the possessor, torment him with incessant apprehensions! Shall we then confirm what they

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 292.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 293. Letter from Mons. de Laune, a student at Sedan: in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 57, 58. In the year 1612 the students of Sedan did not amount to a third of those of Saumur, who, in the year 1606, were upwards of 400. (Life of Boyd, p. 28, 58.)

‡ Letter from G. Sibbald; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 59.

‖ On the 18th of February, 1613, a funeral oration on Prince Henry, by Principal Donaldson, was pronounced in the hall of the College of Sedan, before a great assembly. (Lacrymæ Tvmulo nvnqvam satis Lavdati Herois Henrici Friderici Stvarti —a Gvaltero Donaldsono Scoto-Britanno—Sedani, 1613. 8vo.)

§ Melvini Epist. p. 312, 317—320. Comp. Lord Hailes's Memor. of Britain, vol. i. p. 40—48.

¶ Cald. vii. 78.

* Melvini Epist. p. 161. Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 28, 160, 173.

† Melvini Epist. p. 286, 329. Forbesii Comment. in Apoc. Pref. Interp.

‡ Melvini Epist. p 306. Sir Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes in Ireland, the fourth son of William Forbes of Corse, was the ancestor of Earl Grannard. (Garden, Vita prefix. Oper. Joannis Forbesii. Lumsden's Genealogie of the Family of Forbes, p. 21—23.)

‖ Melvini Epist. p. 308 309,

feel to be so vain, by a single word, or the slightest mark of our approbation? God forbid that a cause which is destitute of intrinsic strength, and the innate excellence of virtue, should receive from us a prop to its weakness, or a covering to its turpitude! Suffer the self-convicted rogues to walk on their own feet, and we shall soon see them fall by their own act. Let us not fear their wiles, but turn our eyes to Him who, sitting above, governs all things, and overrules them to the good of those who love him. He that shall come will come without delay, and will cleanse his floor, and consume the chaff and rubbish with the fire of his wrath. I have been grieved, but not staggered at the weakness of A. D.* who has 'suffered so many things in vain.' He will not add to the strength of those to whom he has gone over, nor will he weaken us whom he has deserted. The crown which he has taken from his own head he has placed on ours. I am not moved by the foolish judgment of vain courtiers, nor by the empty triumphs of the bishops: such winds cannot shake the foundation on which we rest. If they appear for a time to be victorious, they shall feel at last that those who vanquish in a bad cause, vanquish to their ruin. At the same time we ought not rashly to contemn the peace and liberty offered us in the name of the prince. But if, under the external mask of liberty, they seek to draw us into a slavery worse not only than imprisonment and exile, but than the loss of life itself, we are not to purchase the liberty of our bodies by the enthralling of our souls. I had rather remain the captive of a legitimate sovereign than become the servant of illegitimate lords. I esteem it more honourable to carry the chains of a lawful king than to wear the insignia of usurping prelates. In the former case I am a witness with Christ in the hope of his glory: in the latter, perjured and an associate with wicked men, I would be found attempting to rebuild the city which had been thrown down and laid under a curse, would share of her plagues, and be involved in her ruin. Pardon my boldness. It would have become a son to be more modest in writing to a father. But grief and indignation at the present deplorable state of affairs, and at the hard condition of good men who cannot obtain corporal liberty without submitting to spiritual bondage, have unconsciously drawn these reflections from my pen."†

Melville must have been gratified with the spirit which breathed in this letter. He could not despair of the liberties of his country as long as they had such friends as Forbes. Under the mortifications which he felt at the ingratitude of the public, and the defection of the greater part of those who had received their education under him, he could not say that he "spent his strength for nought and in vain," when he had been the means of training up a few individuals of such rare virtue and constancy. The next letter which he wrote to his nephew, shews how much the late intelligence from Scotland had cheered him. "I cannot but hope for every thing good from Bruce. The court-rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with respect to heroes like him, adorned with every virtue. I am anxious to hear good accounts of Patrick Simson, the faithful bishop of Stirling, and a few others of the same stamp with him. Godscroft has written to me once and again, ardently, vehemently. I love the sincere zeal and undaunted spirit of that excellent man and most upright friend. Would to God that the equestrian, not to say the ecclesiastical, order could boast of many Godscrofts!‡ Our friend Welwood has also written to me; but at present it is not in my power, nor do I reckon it prudent to reply to them according to their desire. You know my disposition long ago. I am unwilling, for the mere purpose of making a shew of good-will, to gratify my friends in such a way as may involve them in trouble, even although they request it of me. The Lord, on whom, and not on the pleasure or wishes of men, I depend wholly, has his own times. I keep all my friends in my eye: I carry them in my bosom: I commend them to the God of mercy in my daily prayers. What comes to my hand I do: I fill up my station to the best of my ability: my conversation is in heaven: I neither importune nor deprecate the day of my death: I maintain my post: I aspire after things divine: about those which are human I give myself little trouble. In fine, I live to God and the church: I do not sink under adversity; I reserve myself for better days. My mind is prepared by the grace of God, and strong in the Lord, for whose sake I am not afraid to meet death in that new and living way which he hath consecrated, and which leads to heaven alike from every quarter of the globe."*

A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he received in the month of April, 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend, and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melville, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with too intense and exclusive an interest. In consequence of the importunity of his friends and an apparently earnest invitation from archbishop Gladstanes, he set out for Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrinny, or, if this was found impracticable, to resign his charge and make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines prescribed by the physicians failed in arresting the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of his danger with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January, he "set his house in order;" and all his children being present, except his son Andrew, (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan,) he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His friend Joshua Dury, minister of St. Andrews, and Patrick Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shown him great kindness during his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. The greater part of his time was spent in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it by overturning its reformed discipline; and, addressing those around him, he said: "In my life I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy, as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile, and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment." He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute pain which he endured during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his

* This probably refers to Andrew Duncan, who had been lately allowed to return from banishment in consequence of his making some acknowledgments to the King respecting the Assembly held at Aberdeen. (Cald. vii. 500—503.) He was afterwards prosecuted before the High Commission, and imprisoned for nonconformity to the Articles of Perth. (Wodrow's Life of Andrew Duncan, p. 4—11. Printed Cald. p. 730, 764.)

† Melvini Epist. p. 326—329.

‡ This refers to the letters which David Hume of Godscroft had written to bishops Law and Cowper in defence of Presbytery. Wodrow has collected a number of them in his Life of Hume, p. 18—40, and in his Appendix to the Life of Cowper. "I wish they were printed, (says James Melville,) one would scarcely desire to see any thing better on the subject." (Melvini Epist. p. 194.)

* Melvini Epist. p. 325.

resignation and confidence chiefly in the language of Scripture, and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded by some of his attendants of the Christian assurance which the apostle Paul had expressed in the prospect of his death, he replied: "Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory."—"Do you not wish to be restored to health?" said one of the attendants. "No; not for twenty worlds." Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of the martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away.*

He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment. From the account given of him, and the extracts produced from his letters, in the preceding part of this work, the reader will be able to form a correct idea of his character. The presbyterian ministers of that age were in general characterized by piety, assiduity in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man, and the courteous manners of the gentleman. Though of a mild temper, and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility; could vindicate himself with spirit when unjustly attacked; and testified, on all occasions, an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependent or sycophantish admirer; and his conduct during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character.† "He was one of the wisest directors of church-affairs in his time," says Calderwood "For that cause he was ever employed by the General Assemblies and other public meetings; and acted his part so gravely, so wisely, and so calmly, that the adversaries could get no advantage." Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared several treatises for the press a short time before his death. His Supplication to the King, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scottish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity; but from this censure, some parts of his Lamentation over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted.‡

The distress which Melville felt at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity in the epitaph which he wrote for him. ‖ In a letter to his friend Dury at Leyden, he says: "The Lord hath taken to himself the faithful brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr. James Melville, in January; as I am informed by Mr. James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know and as Mr. Bamford wrote me; and I answered by these letters which I sent to you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and Mr. Forbes. Now he is out of all doubt and fashrie,* enjoying the fruits of his suffering here: God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock. I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large."†

Besides the civilities which he showed to all the students, Melville paid particular attention to such of his countrymen as came to the university of Sedan. Among these were John Dury, afterwards well known for the persevering exertions which he made to accomplish a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches,‡ and the learned Dr. John Forbes, son to the bishop of Aberdeen.‖ Dr. Arthur Jonston, the poet, also spent a considerable part of his early life in the university of Sedan. His juvenile effusions prove that he lived on a footing of intimacy with Melville, who treated him with kindness as the nephew of his former colleague, and could not fail to be pleased with a young man whose literary taste was so congenial to his own, and who had already given flattering presages of those talents which entitle him to rank, as a sacred poet, next to Buchanan.§—During his residence at Sedan, Melville kept up a correspondence with different literary characters on the continent, of whom Heinsius, Gomarus, and Du Plessis were the principal.¶

In addition to his ordinary academical employment, he was involved at this time in a controversy, which was peculiarly delicate from the connexion in which he was placed with the individual who was his principal opponent. At his first coming to Sedan, he found several of the students infected with Arminianism.** His colleague Tilenus, after publishing against this system of faith, became a convert to it.†† But instead of avowing the change, he exerted himself covertly, and contrary to his subscription, in instilling his new opinions into the minds of the students.‡‡ Melville had an instinctive abhorrence of every thing like duplicity and breach of trust. He accordingly concurred with some of his colleagues in exposing an insidious attempt to pervert the sentiments of the young men under his charge, and to ruin the university. In consequence of this Tilenus left Sedan, and became an open and virulent adversary of Calvinism.‖‖

* Cald. MS. vii. 505—513.

† When some urged that James Melville might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, archbishop Spotswood is said to have replied: "Mr. Andrew is but a blast, but Mr. James is a crafty byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle." (Wodrow's Life of James Melville, p. 146.)

‡ See Note OO.

‖ This epitaph is printed at the end of the *Libellus Supplex* of James Melville. (See Note OO.)

* Trouble.

† Letters from Melville to Robert Durie, num. 5: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42. These letters are written in English.

‡ He was the son of Robert Dury at Leyden. (Melville's Letters to Durie, num. 4.)

‖ See the Preface and Letters prefixed to his Latin translation of his father's Commentary on the Revelation, Amst. 1646. He is known by his learned work, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*, in 2 vols. folio.

§ Vita Arct. Jonstoni, in Poet. Scot. Mus. Sac. p. xxxi, xxxv. In the works of Jonston, besides an encomiastic poem on Melville, are *Lusus Amœbei*, consisting of a poetical correspondence supposed to have passed between the author and Tilenus and Melville, at Sedan. Tilenus is rallied on the long-delayed birth of a daughter, and Melville on his being childless and an old bachelor. (Arturi Jonstoni Poemata, p. 371, 387—397. Middelb. 1642.)

¶ Letters to Robert Durie, *passim*. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 53, 58.

** Melvini's Letter's to Robert Durie, num. 1.

†† Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, tom. ii. p. 544, 558.

‡‡ Letter from Rivet to Boyd of Trochrig, Dec. 5, 1617; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 194.

‖‖ Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis, p. 34, 35. Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. p. 17, 616, 619, 770. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 606.

Tilenus showed himself so violent and unfair in his represen tations of the opinions of his old friends that the more judicious Remonstrants were ashamed of his conduct. Yet a late controversial writer against Calvinism, in stating the opinions of his opponents, has given the propositions of the Synod of Dort, not in the words of the Synod itself, but of its adversary *Tilenus*, as "*the most moderate and impartial* account of their proceedings!" (Copleston's Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination, p. 217, 318.) But this is not all:

Spotswood betrays his ignorance, as well as his spleen, in the short account which he gives of Melville after he was released from the Tower. "He was sent to Sedan, (says he,) where he lived in no great respect, and contracting the gout lay almost bedfast to his death." * Considering his advanced age when he was banished to France, it would not have excited surprise if he had spent the remainder of his days in inactivity, or without performing any thing which attracted the public attention. But the facts which we have stated testify the contrary. Nor durst the bishops of Scotland grant permission to this same unrespected and bedfast invalid to return to his native country, although they knew that the act would have gained them the greatest credit. The archbishop ought to have avoided any allusion to his disorder, considering that it was contracted in the prison to which the bishops had been the instruments of dooming him. He had, indeed, begun to feel the infirmities of old age, but not to such a degree as to prevent him from performing his professional duties, to subdue the undaunted spirit of which his adversaries stood in so much awe, or even to mar his wonted cheerfulness.† In a letter written in the year 1612, he says, as if in answer to the above insinuation: "Am I not threescore and eight years old; unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came? And yet, I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—*in ipso flore adolescentiæ*. Only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever; yea, I use none at all, nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters. Why may I not live to see a changement to the better, when the prince shall be informed truly by honest men, or God open his eyes and move his heart to see the pride of stately prelates?"‡ In a letter written to the same correspondent in the course of the following year, he says: "I thank you, loving brother, for your care of us; but I fear I put you to over great charge in paying for my letters, which I would not do if I were sure that my letters would be delivered in case I would pay for them; such is either the negligence or greediness of this age. I know your loving heart; but it is indiscretion on my part to burden you too much. Take this *English* word in good part—it fell out of the pen. My heart is a *Scotch* heart, and as good or better nor ever it was, both toward God and man. The Lord only be praised thereof, to whom belongs all glory. Who can tell when out of this confusion it may please him to draw out some good order, to the comfort of his children and relief of his servants? Courage, courage, brother! *Judicabimus angelos; quanto magis mortales!*" And in the year 1616, he writes again to Dury: "Let the bishops be mowdewarps: * we will lay up our treasures in heaven, where they be safe. My colic, gravel, and gout be messengers (but not importune) to spoil my patience, but to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I would look for at this age: praised be the true Mediator, to whose glory may it serve, and to the benefit of his church.†

After his settlement at Sedan, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity that might offer for procuring his restoration. But this he did not so much from any hopes of success which he entertained, as to show "that he had not thrown off all regard to the church and land of his fathers, and did not contemn the favour of his sovereign."‡ In the year 1616, Forbes went to England, and, after waiting six months, was admitted to kiss his Majesty's hand, and obtained a promise (which was never realized) that he and Dury would be relieved from banishment. In a letter which Melville wrote to Dury, he says, after some satirical reflections on the hand which Spotswood had in that affair: "This I write not to hinder you to accept of your liberty obtained already at the king's hands, as I am informed by Mr. Forbes's letters. You are wise and resolute in the Lord, whose Spirit hath guided you hitherto in your wanderings through the wilderness of this crooked age. I am rejoiced to hear both of your coming home, and replanting in the ministry at home.—As for me, I know their double dealing from the beginning, and how I am both hated and feared by them; and so was my cousin Mr. James. The Metropolitan, I ween, was minded to deal for me; but my late-written verses offended both King and bishops. Yet they be general, and such as none but a wan-shapen bishop can be offended with—[illegible] *duros anfractus*. I am not weary of this *sejour*, grace and hospitality in Sedan."‖

He lost this correspondent, who died at Leyden in the course of this year.§ Of all his friends, next to his nephew, he felt most attached to Dury, and his letters to him are written in the most confidential strain, mingled with kind-hearted and familiar pleasantry.¶ John Forbes survived his fellow-exile many years, and died in Holland about the year 1634, after he had been removed from his charge at Delft by the jealous interference of the English government.**

In the beginning of the year 1619, the town of Sedan was a scene of festivity, in consequence of the marriage of Marie de la Tour, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Bouillon, to the Duke de la Tremouille.†† On that occasion Melville resolved not to be behind

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the quotation is purely apocryphal. The propositions are not those of Tilenus, nor are they taken from a work of his, but from a satirical dialogue or mock-trial, published by an anonymous sectary during the Cromwellian Protectorate, into which the name of Tilenus was *fictitiously* introduced. The work is entitled "The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers, in order to his intended settlement in the Office of a Public Preacher in the Commonwealth of *Utopia*." The following are the names of some of the Triers: Dr. Absolute, Mr. Fatalitie, Mr. Narrow-grace, alias Stint-grace, and Dr. Dam-man. Now, if it had so happened that the propositions of the Synod of Dort had been put into the mouth of this last personage instead of Tilenus, we should no doubt have been told by the learned Provost of Oriel College, that this said Dr. *Damn-man* was a "most moderate and impartial" writer, and left to seek for him and his works in the land of *Utopia*; where also, if anywhere, we might have found "the Landgrave of *Turing!* a patron of the reformed doctrines," who justified his vicious life by the doctrine of predestination! (Enquiry, p. 31.) A modern writer who could trust *Heylin* as an authority, deserved to fall into such ridiculous blunders.—As the subject has been introduced, I must be allowed to add, that the publications against Calvinism which have lately appeared in England are, in their statement of the question, unfair; in their reasoning, shallow; and, in respect of the knowledge which they display of the history of theological opinions, contemptible.

* Hist. p. 500.

† Speaking of Spotswood's behaviour in the General Assembly held in 1617, Simson says: "Necnon furere et debacchari in Andream Melvinum, virum optimum, et fœdissimis calumniis absentem mordere qui presentem nisi tremulus videre vix potuerit." (Annales, p. 137.)

‡ Letters to Robert Durie, num. 1.

* moles. † Letters to Robert Durie, num. 3 and 4.

‡ Melvini Epist. p. 293.

‖ Letters to Robert Durie, num. 6.

§ Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 145.

¶ In one of his letters to him, he says: "Faill not to send Arminius against Perkins *De Predestinatione*, whatever it cost, with the contra-poison done be Gomarus, *quem singulariter amo* [illegible]. When our dame bakes you shall have a sconne [cake.] Commend me to my good cummer, and to my godson, and the rest of the bairns—I may see them once er I die, now entering my seventie year." And in another letter: "To be short, I have been these eight days exercised with a rheum, and this day have ta'en a sirope; so that er it be long I hope to drink to you. My cummer and all the bairns be locked up in my heart."

** Preface to his "Four Sermons on 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Published by S. O. Anno 1635." Forbes is the author of several other treatises, and lived greatly respected in Holland.

†† Memoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 105, 156.

the most juvenile of his colleagues in testifying his respect for the family of his noble patron; and he produced an *Epithalamium*. A marriage-song by a Professor of Divinity, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, may be regarded as a literary curiosity; and it proves that old age, though it could not fail to have cooled, had not been able to quench his genius. The theme which he chose was not, however, unbecoming his character and years; and probably thinking that, in his circumstances, it was enough to have shown his good will, he did not finish the poem.*

To the latest period of his life, he continued alive to the general welfare of the reformed church, and the private welfare of his particular friends. But he felt peculiarly interested in the affairs of the Church of Scotland, which, before his death, was again converted into a scene of contention, in prosecution of the preposterous scheme of bringing it to a complete conformity to the Church of England. When episcopal government was forced on Scotland, if any person had asserted that this was only a prelude to the obtrusion of the English forms of worship, he would have run the risk of being prosecuted for "lese-making." Yet there can be now no doubt that this formed from the beginning an essential part of the plan of the court. The bishops were aware that the nation was averse to it, and afraid that it might excite such discontent as would prove hazardous to their precarious pre-eminence. They accordingly made an attempt to divert his Majesty from pushing the projected change. But a manly opposition to any measure which was sanctioned by the royal pleasure, however impolitic, was not to be expected from those who had declared themselves the creatures of the court; and having received a magisterial reprimand for their ignorant scruples and impertinent interference, they consented to become servile instruments in executing the will of the monarch, and in forcing the obnoxious ceremonies on a reclaiming and insulted nation.† After an ineffectual attempt at St. Andrews in 1617, they succeeded in accomplishing their object in a General Assembly held at Perth in the course of the following year. By flatteries, falsehoods, and threatenings, a majority of votes was procured in favour of such of the English rites as it pleased the court at that time to select. *The Five Articles of Perth*, as the acts of this assembly are usually called, enjoined kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communicating. These were ratified by Parliament in the year 1621, and enforced by the High Commission; but they met with great resistance, and were never universally obeyed.‡

About this time also certain changes on the university of St. Andrews were completed. Soon after archbishop Gladstanes obtained the direction of its affairs, he revived the professorship of canon law, to which he nominated his son-in-law; "as the ready way to bring out the presbyterian discipline from the hearts of the young ones, and to acquaint even the eldest with the ancient church government whereof they are ignorant."* In commemorating the obligations which the literature of Scotland is under to the archbishop, we must not forget his exertions for the revival of academical degrees in divinity. Upon the expulsion of Melville, he expressed much anxiety to have his successor invested with "Insignia Doctoratus," and requested his Majesty, in his "incomparable wisdom," to send him "the form and order of making Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity," that he might "create one or two Doctors, to incite others to the same honour, and to encourage *our ignorant clergy* to learning. And the primate proposed that such graduates should, "in presentation to benefices, be preferred to others."† This object was not, however, gained until the year 1616, after the death of Gladstanes, when Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester, came to St. Andrews with the royal instructions, and presided in the first act. His Majesty directed that those who were found qualified for degrees should "preach a sermon before the Lords at Edinburgh, in a hood agreeing to their degree, that so they might be known" (by the *hood* or by the *sermon?*) "to be men fitte for the prime places of the church."‡ Previously to the introduction of this important improvement, the divines who came from England for the purpose of forwarding the conformity between the two churches, were exceedingly struck with the literary sterility of our country. Like a celebrated traveller who could scarcely observe a tree above the size of a bush between Berwick and St. Andrews, the English Doctors could not hear of above *one* of their own species in the whole kingdom: so that if prompt measures had not been taken to have the race propagated by help from England, it must inevitably, within a short time, have become wholly extinct.‖ The presbyterians, indeed, had doctors, but then they were no more than teachers; and in their church calendar were placed below the pastors of parishes. It cannot be denied that "our ignorant clergy" exerted themselves in promoting literature; but then their exertions were confined to the task of *making* men learned, and they neglected the work of *calling* them so. They prescribed, it is true, an extensive course of theological instruction, and enacted that none should be admitted to the ministry who had not completed this course, and could not procure testimonials of his diligence and proficiency from the professors under whom he had studied; but then they were completely ignorant of the art of creating divines by certain mystic words and symbols. The truth is, that they did not object to academical graduation, so far as it was necessary to mark the progress which young men had made in their theological studies.§ But they did not admit that it be-

* Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 66—81.

† Lord Hailes, Memor. and Letters, vol. i. p. 79—83. The bishops pleaded that his Majesty was determined at all events to impose the ceremonies, and that, if they did not yield, he would overthrow the church. This might be the impression on the minds of some of them; but it is evident, at least, that there was a collusion between the court and the primate. Before the General Assembly had agreed to the innovations, Spotswood writes: "We are here to communicate, God willing, on Easter-day, when I shall have every thing in that manner performed as your Majesty desires. All of our number are advertised to do the like in their places; and the most I know will observe the samine. Our adversaries will call this a transgression of the received custom; *but I do not yet see that any thing will effect their obedience, save your Majesty's authority.*" (Letter to the King, March 29, 1618: Wodrow's Life of Spots. p. 74.)

‡ Printed Cald. p. 698—715. Spotswood, p. 537—540. Course of Conformity, p. 58—103. Scoti του τυχοντος Parsclesis, p. 179—181. Perth Assembly, p. 7—10, 14. Printed anno 1619. The account, given in the last-mentioned tract, of the threats employed in the Assembly, is not materially contradicted by the episcopal advocate, Bishop Lyndsay, in his True Narrative of Proceedings in the Assembly at Perth, p. 87—89; and it is confirmed by the official account of the King's Commissioner, published by Lord Hailes. (Memor. i. 87—91.)

* Letter to the King, May 3, 1611. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1. 12. num. 17.

† Letter and Memoires to his Sacred Majesty, Sept. 8, 1607: MS. *ibid.* M. 6. 9. num. 58, 59.

‡ His Majesty's Letter and Articles for the University. In the Articles it is appointed that five holidays shall be annually celebrated in the University, with suitable prayers and sermons.

‖ "The name of a School Doctor was grown out of date: only one Graduat (that I did hear of) at St. Andrews did outlive that injury of times. Now comes his Majesty (as one born to the honour of learning) and restores the schools to their former glories." (Letter of Dr. Joseph Hall to Mr. William Struthers; in Wodrow's Life of Struthers, p. 3: MSS. vol. ii.)

§ "Anent proceding be degrees in Schools to the degree of a Doctor of Divinity, it was ordained (by the General Assembly, Anno 1569) that the brethren of Sanct Andrews convene and form such ordor as they sall think meit, and that they present the same to the next Assembly to be revised and considered, that the Assembly may eik or diminish as they sall think good, and that thereafter the order allowed be established."

longed to universities to license persons to teach divinity *ubicunque terrarum*; they were jealous of those titles which, in the English church, had been always associated with ideas of ecclesiastical superiority; and they knew that, considered merely as badges of honour, instead of being a reward to merit or an incentive to diligence, they served chiefly to tickle the vanity of the weak, bolster up the pretensions of the arrogant, and induce persons to sigh after the name instead of the reality of learning. *Ita est de nomine non re.*

An overweening fondness for mere forms is usually accompanied with indifference to the substance, in literature and in religion. The same prelate who testified such eagerness to have the clergy decorated with empty titles and silken robes, banished the man who had done more to raise their character, in point of literary and theological endowments, than all the gowned graduates who had filled the academical chairs of Scotland for two hundred years. And the same parliament which ratified the Articles of Perth, repealed the act of 1579, which reformed the University of St. Andrews, and thus threw education back to the state in which it was before the revival of letters. The apology made for this disgraceful act of the legislature was, "that it is equitable that the will of the original founders should take effect so far as is consistent with the religion presently professed. But if a deviation from the will of the founders in such an important point as that of religion was warrantable and proper, what reasonable objection could be urged against such a change on the mode of instruction as was necessary to accommodate it to the progress which the age had made in knowledge and literature? The true reasons for the repeal of the act of 1579 were, on the part of the professors, an aversion to the arduous course of instruction which that act prescribed; and, on the part of the bishops, an antipathy to the men who had recommended it, and an anxiety to remove every monument of the existence and triumph of presbytery. But, eager as they were to accomplish this object, the utility of the New College, as constituted on Melville's favourite plan, was so universally acknowledged, that they durst not touch it; and, accordingly, an express exception, though at variance with the principle assumed in the act, was made in its favour.*

What Melville's feelings on receiving information of the procedure of the General Assembly at Perth were, we learn from a letter written, at his direction, by one of his students to a friend in Scotland who had lately been at Sedan. He was not prepared to expect that the rulers would push matters to such an extreme. Cherishing the hope that the corruptions lately established would work their own cure, and that the barons would soon grow weary of a tyranny which they had unwarily contributed to erect, he had of late curbed, instead of stimulating, the zeal of such of his acquaintance as returned from France to Scotland, and whom he knew to be ardently attached to the presbyterian constitution; but now he judged it necessary to rouse his brethren to a vigorous resistance of the innovations which it was attempted to impose. He felt deeply concerned for them, and expressed a great desire to receive the earliest intelligence of all their proceedings.† As often as he took up the *Basilicon Doron* (which he frequently did) he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the disclosure which it made of the King's designs against the church, and on the crooked policy with which they had been carried into execution.

His desire to assist his brethren at this critical period prompted him to break through a restraint imposed on him when he was released from the Tower, and to which he had hitherto submitted. He composed a small treatise, which was published anonymously, consisting of aphorisms on things indifferent in religion, and bearing upon the chief argument used by the advocates for conformity to the obtruded ceremonies. Another work commonly ascribed to him is an answer to his late colleague, Tilenus, who, disappointed in his scheme of raising partisans in France, sought to ingratiate himself with King James by a defence of the late proceedings in Scotland, and by an unprovoked and vituperative attack on the Scottish presbyterians.* The answer to Tilenus is written with great ability, and in a style of nervous reasoning, seasoned with satire, which is, upon the whole, less severe than the rudeness of the attack which it repels would have justified.† But it was not the work of Melville; although it is not unlikely that he furnished materials to his friend, Sir James Sempill, who was the real author.‡

The sources of intelligence have now failed me, and I have it not in my power to communicate any additional information relative to the latter period of Melville's life. In 1620 his health grew worse;‖ and it is probable that the distempers with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he was in the Tower, became now more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years.§ At that time, there was at least one of his countrymen in the university, Alexander Colville, who enjoyed his friendship, and, it may be believed, would not fail to pay every attention to his venerable master in his last moments.¶ In conse-

(Cald. ii. 123.) "The appellation of the degries appoyntit be his Ma^tie to be beirefter in the yierlie course of theologie wtin the New College to be advysed be the counsell [of the university] and reported to his Ma^tie upon the forsaid day." (Visit. of University of St. Andrews, *anno* 1599.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 682, 683.

† Letter, John Hume to Mr. John Adamson, Sedan, March 9, 1620: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 80. It appears from this letter that Adamson was then employed in making a collection of Melville's poems.

* "Parænesis ad Scotos, Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas. Autore Dan. Tileno Silesio. Lond. 1620." Cambden says: "Anno 1620, Sept. 5. Tilenus, magnus Theologus, venit in Angliam, & edit librum contra Scotos, zelotas disciplinæ Genevensis." (Annales, p. 61.) He published another work on the same subject, but written with greater moderation: "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica Brevis & Modesta dissertatio, ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam Theologo, Verbi Divini Ministro. Abredoniæ, Excudebat Eduardus Rabanus, Impensis *Davidis Melvill*, 1622."

† "Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis contra Danielis Tileni Silesii Parænesin.—Cuius pars prima est, De Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622." At the close of the work, the author signifies his intention of publishing two other parts, on Elders, and on the Five Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland. But the necessity for these was superseded by the elaborate *Altare Damascenum* of Calderwood, which appeared in the course of the following year.

‡ Melville is repeatedly referred to in that work, and we cannot suppose that he would have spoken of himself, even for the purpose of concealment, in such terms as the following:—"in quibus præcipuus erat *divinus* noster Melvinus." (P. 86. Conf. p. 231.) Add to this the testimony of Calderwood, who had the best opportunity of being informed on the subject: "About this time (1620) Tilenus, a Silesian by birth, a professor in Sedan, came to England, looking for great preferment and benefit for a pamphlet, intituled Parænesis ad Scotos Genevensis disciplinæ zelotas, wherein he defended the state of bishops and the five articles. The booke was confuted soone after be Sir James Sempill of Beltrise, and be the author of the booke intituled Altare Damascenum." (Cald. viii. 962, 963.)

‖ Hume's Letter to Adamson, *ut supra*.

§ "Andreas Melvinus, vir maximæ pietatis, singularis zeli (zelus domus Dei comedit eum,) omnium linguarum et scientiarum acumine primus, imo solus; Athenas et Solymam in Scotiam induxit; pseudo-episcopatus et papistarum hostis acerrimus; cœlebs, castus; advocatus a Rege, Turri conjicitur: post Dux Buloniæ in Galliam ducit, ubi fortissimus αθλητης, jam octogenarius moritur, 1622." (Simsoni Annales. See also Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 112.)

¶ Hume's Letter, *ut supra*. Petri Molinæi Oratio—habita Sedani viij. Idus Decembres 1628, ante inaugurationem viri doctissimi Alexandri Colvini in gradum Doctoratus eiusq; admissionem ad Professionem Theologicam. Sedani 1629. From this Oration (p. 129,) it appears that Colville had been for sev-

quence of the civil war which raged in France, it was a considerable time before his friends in Scotland were apprized of the fact of his death; and, even then, they were left in ignorance of the circumstances which attended it.*

It is natural for us to desire minute information respecting the decease of any individual in whose life we have taken a deep interest; and we cannot help feeling disappointed when we are barely told that "he died." But laudable as this curiosity may be, and gratifying and useful as it is to have the spiritual portrait of a great and good man drawn on his death-bed and at the hour of his departure, we ought not to forget that there is a still more decisive and unequivocal test of character. It was by the faith which he evinced during his life that the first martyr "obtained witness that he was righteous; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh." We have no reason to regret being left without any authentic record of the manner in which the apostles finished their course, nor are we under any temptation to have recourse to conjectures and apocryphal traditions in order to supply the defect, when their writings and the history of their lives enable us "fully to know their doctrine, manner of life, purpose, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions." I have met with no account of the last sickness of Melville; but I have no doubt that he died as he lived. At a period when it was not uncommon to circulate false rumours of the death-bed recantations of men who had distinguished themselves in public controversies, it was never whispered that he had retracted his sentiments, or that he signified the smallest regret for the sufferings which he had endured in behalf of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

It is not an easy task to form a correct and impartial estimate of the talents and character of those who have distinguished themselves in great national struggles. If their contemporaries were unduly biassed by the strength of their attachments and antipathies, we who live at a later period lose in correctness of views what we gain in impartiality of judging, by the distance at which we are placed from the men whom we attempt to describe, and by want of sympathy with manners and feelings so dissimilar to our own. In forming our opinion of them from contemporary records, we are as much embarrassed by the narrow views and want of discrimination of their friends, as by the hostility and misrepresentations of their adversaries. The narratives of public transactions transmitted to us by those who lived at the time, often resemble the description of a great battle by a spectator: officers and men are beheld confusedly mingled together, and the issue appears to depend on the exertion of brute force, aided by insensibility to danger; while the military skill and presence of mind by which the whole mass is disposed, put in motion, and governed, are disregarded and left out of view. There is still another source of error. If civil history is chiefly the record of wars and bloodshed, the pages of ecclesiastical history are too often filled with accounts of theological contention; and accustomed to contemplate the principal individuals who figure in these scenes, either in the attitude of eager assault or of stubborn resistance, we are ready to form an unfavourable opinion of their moral qualities and private dispositions. Cooler reflection and a more minute acquaintance with facts, will serve to correct our over-hasty conclusions. When we follow the warrior into the retreats of peace, and find him displaying, in the social and domestic circle, all the gentle and amiable features of human nature, we may regret that it should ever have been necessary for him to enter on a scene which called forth the sterner feelings, but we will, at the same time, be convinced that he is incapable of wanton and deliberate cruelty, and it will require the strongest evidence to induce us to believe that he was in any instance guilty of conduct so much at variance with what we know of his temper and habits. With respect to those who lived in former times, this information can be derived only from private memoirs and letters. When such documents relating to any individual exist, and when they have been referred to as authorities, and produced as illustrations, with fidelity and judgment, the outlines of his character are no longer left to be filled up by the fancy or the prejudices of his biographer. If I have succeeded according to my wish, the reader already acquainted with the person whose life is recorded in this work; and it is not necessary for me to attempt an elaborate delineation of his character. Nor is it necessary for me to enter into a formal refutation of the erroneous opinions which have prevailed concerning it. The facts which have been produced will best serve to correct these mistakes, whether they have originated in ignorance or in prejudice.

Melville possessed great intrepidity, invincible fortitude, and unextinguishable ardour of mind. His spirit was independent, high, fiery, and incapable of being tamed by threats or violence; but he was at the same time open, candid, generous, affectionate, faithful. The whole tenor of his life bears testimony to the sincerity and strength of his religious convictions. We do not find him making disclosures, even to his most confidential correspondents, of the secret communings of his heart with its God. But we find, what is a less equivocal proof of genuine devotion, a habitual sense of divine things, a subjection of mind to the divine will, and a uniform aim and desire to advance the divine glory, pervading and intermingling with all that he did or said. The spirit of his piety was strikingly contrasted with that compound of indifference and selfishness which is so often lauded under the much abused names of moderation and charity. "Thou canst not bear them that are evil, and thou hast tried them that say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars," was the commendation which he coveted and which he merited. He felt, and he was not ashamed to avow, an ardent attachment to civil liberty. Possessing, in a high degree, the *perfervidum ingenium* of his countrymen, sudden and impetuous in his feelings, as well as prompt and vivacious in his conceptions, he poured out a torrent of vigorous, vehement, regardless, resistless indignation, mingled at times with defiance and scorn, on those

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eral years Professor of Hebrew before he was admitted to the theological chair. In 1642, he was called from Sedan to be Professor of Divinity in the New College of St. Andrews. (Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 305. Index to Unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1642.)

* Robert Boyd of Trochrig, at that time Principal of the University of Edinburgh, has the following notice of Melville's death in his *Obituary*. "May the Lord have pity upon us, and preserve in us the work of his own grace, for the good and salvation of our soul, and the destruction of this body of death and sin! As to the death of that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age, in all virtue, learning, vivacity of spirit, promptitude, zeal, holy freedom and boldness, and invincible courage in a good cause, with a holy course of life and resolution, who dyed at Sedan last year, 1622, aged about 80 years. He was rejected of his native country, by the malice of the times and men, because he had, with fortitude and firmness, maintained the truth, and given testimony to it before the princes of this world. He had keeped a good conscience, without changes, either out of fear, or by the flattery and favour of men, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and his living an exile of more than 10 years. As to his death, I say, and the particular circumstances of it, I have not yet received distinct and certain information, because of the trouble and persecutions arisen in the church of France for some years. May the Lord conduct us by the strait gate to his kingdom of everlasting peace, for the merits of his weel beloved Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen." (Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 146.)—Calderwood, in a work which he published in Holland in the year 1623, says: "De Melvino autem affirmare nulla assentatione (nam audio paulo ante fatis cessisse) melius Regi ab infantia voluisse, quam assentatores istos." (Altare Damasc. p. 741.) And, in the Preface to that work, he says: "Andreas Melvinus, qui fere octogenarius diem supremum clausit in exilio, vir undiquaque doctus, pius, candidus, et strenuus Christi miles."

who incurred his displeasure. But his anger, even when it rose to its greatest height, was altogether different from the ebullitions of a splenetic or rancorous mind. On no occasion was it ever excited by a sense of personal injuries, which he meekly bore and forgave. It was called forth by a strong feeling of the impropriety of the conduct which he resented, and of its tendency to injure those public interests to which he was devoted. And there was always about it an honesty, an elevation, a freedom from personal hate, malice, and revenge, which made it respected even by those who censured its violence, or who smarted under its severity. If his religious and patriotic zeal was sometimes intemperate, it was always disinterested; if, by giving himself up to its influence, he was occasionally carried beyond the bounds of virtuous moderation and prudence, it is also true that he was borne above every sordid and mercenary aim, and escaped from the atmosphere of selfishness, in which so many who have set out well in a public career have had their zeal cooled and their progress arrested.

Notwithstanding the heat and vehemence displayed in his public conduct, he was an agreeable companion in private. Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren. His heart was susceptible of all the humane and social affections. Though he spent the greater part of his life in a college, he was no ascetic or morose recluse; and though "his book was his bride and his study his bride-chamber," * yet he felt as tender a sympathy with his friends in all their domestic concerns, as if he had been himself a husband and a father. The gay, good-humoured, hearty pleasantry which appears in his familiar letters, evinces a cheerfulness and kindliness of disposition, which continued, to the latest period of his life, unsoured by the harsh treatment which he met with, and uninjured by the fretting infirmities of old age.

His intellectual endowments were confessedly superior. Possessing a vigorous mind, cultivated by study, he excelled all his countrymen of that age in the acquirements of a various and profound erudition. He was the first Scotchman who added a taste for elegant literature to an extensive acquaintance with theology. In all the important public transactions of his time, he sustained a conspicuous part. But those who have represented him as exercising, or affecting to exercise, the authority of the leader of a party, in the common acceptation of that term, have greatly mistaken his character. He had no pretension to those talents which qualify one for this task. He was a stranger to the smooth arts and insinuating address by which persons whose talents were not of the highest order have often succeeded in managing public bodies. He could not stoop to flatter and fawn upon the multitude, nor was he disposed to make those sacrifices of principle and personal independence which are required from every one who sets up for the head of a party. Nevertheless, his reputation for learning and probity, his extensive acquaintance with the subjects in debate, his promptitude of mind, his ready, fervid, and vehement eloquence, and, above all, the heroic courage and firmness which he uniformly displayed in the hour of danger, gave him an ascendancy over the public mind which was in some respects greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader. In the church courts there were others better qualified for moderating in a debate, for directing the mode of procedure, or conducting a negociation with the court; but still Melville was regarded by the nation as the master-spirit which animated the whole body, and watched over the rights and liberties of the church. His zeal and fearlessness led him sometimes, in the heat of action, to leave the ranks of his brethren, and to seize a position which they deemed improper or hazardous; but still their eye was fixed on him, and they were encouraged by his example to maintain the conflict on lower and less dangerous ground.

I have not met with any description of his external appearance, except that given by his Majesty, who has informed us that he was of low stature.* Nor do I know of any portrait of him. His bodily constitution was sound; he enjoyed a long course of good health; his animal spirits were lively; and he was a stranger to those alternate visitations of morbid sensibility and oppressive languor by which men of talents and studious habits are often tormented.

The greater part of Melville's writings consists of Latin poems.† These display the vigour of his imagination and the elegance of his taste; and some of them will bear a comparison with the productions of such of his contemporaries as were the greatest masters of that species of writing. But, though his poems were admired at the time when they appeared, it must be confessed that they have not transmitted his reputation to posterity. This is chiefly to be ascribed to the change which has taken place in literary taste, and the disrepute into which such compositions have fallen in later times. It has been also owing in some degree to his not having produced a work of any great extent, a circumstance which has no small influence on public opinion. Had Buchanan not published his Paraphrase of the Psalms, the merit of his other poetical pieces would probably have been now known only to a few. Melville found always sufficient active employment to excuse him from the duty of writing for the public. He was not ambitious of literary fame, and was quite superior to mercenary views; nor had the art of converting authorship into an engine for making a fortune been discovered in that age. Another circumstance which has proved injurious to his literary fame is, that a great number of his poems are satires on the hierarchy. This, together with the firm resistance which he made to the episcopal polity, excited a strong antipathy against him among the defenders of the English church, who have either disparaged his talents or treated his writings with neglect.‡ Not that all of them are chargeable with this injustice. Isaac Walton, though displeased with the freedoms which Melville had taken with his favourite church, does not attempt to deny or conceal his talents. ‖ A

* An expression applied to Archbishop Grindal, who never married.

* See above, p. 287.

† A list of his works will be found in Note PP.

‡ See Dr. Duport's verses "In Andream Melvinum Scotum, de sua Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria, Saphico versu conscripta;" added to his edition of "Ecclesiastes Salamonis—1662." A striking specimen of the spirit referred to in the text is given by Bishop Nicolson. In his account of treatises left by Scotchmen "on the description and antiquities of their country," he says: "I have not seen *And. Melvin's Fragmentum de Origine Gentis Scotorum.* Nor will the character which a modern writer gives of the author tempt any man to enquire after it." (Scottish Hist. Library, p. 15. Lond. 1702. 8vo.) Now, the work was staring the worthy bishop in the face all the time, in a book which he had repeatedly quoted. The reader may be curious to see the character which made an *Antiquarian* so indifferent about a discourse on *Antiquities;* and as this character is really a curiosity of its kind, I shall subjoin it. "Master Andrew Melvil—was a Man, by Nature, fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peevish and ungovernable: Education in him, had not sweetened Nature, but Nature had sowred Education; and both conspiring together had trickt him up into a true Original; a piece compounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of Satyre and Sarcasm; of venome and vehemence: He hated the Crown as much as the Mitre, the Scepter as much as the Crosier, and could have made as bold with the Purple as with the Rochet: His prime Talent was Lampooning and writing Anti-Tami-Cami-Categorias. In a word, He was the very Archetypal Bitter Beard of the Party." (Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, p. 217, 218.)

‖ He was, says he, "master of a great wit, a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical: exceeded, I think, by

modern English divine, who is a much better judge than Walton, speaks of him in the following terms. "The learning and abilities of Mr. Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners and the sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. Archbishop Spotswood is uniformly unfriendly to his memory. He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with great asperity."—And, having quoted Duport's poem against him, he adds: "Let it not, however, be inferred from these verses, that Andrew Melville always sought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. His Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent—exquisitely beautiful." *

Melville's reputation, however, does not rest on his writings. It is founded on the active services which he performed for his country—on his successful exertions in behalf of its literature, and his activity in rearing and defending that ecclesiastical polity by which it has long been distinguished. There may be some who are disposed to depreciate the last of these services, and to represent him as contending, and exposing himself to sufferings, for disputable and controverted points of small moment, relating to forms of government and plans of discipline. Such language, though sometimes employed by good and well-meaning men, proceeds from very narrow and mistaken views. If applied to civil government, who does not see the sweeping inferences to which it would lead? It would discredit the most meritorious struggles in behalf of liberty and law which mark the most glorious epochs in our history. It would condemn those patriots who nobly bled in defence of this sacred cause on the scaffold or in the field, and represent them as having "died as a fool dieth," if not as rebels and ringleaders of revolt. And it would sink and degrade the free constitution of Britain to a level with the despotical autocracies of Turkey and Spain. Who that has duly reflected on the subject can be ignorant that forms of government exert a mighty influence, both directly and indirectly, on the manners, and habits, and sentiments of the people who live under them; and that some of these forms are unspeakably preferable to others? That they are better adapted to impose a check on ambitious or corrupt rulers—prevent or correct abuses arising from mal-administration—provide for the impartial distribution of justice—preserve the spirit and perpetuate the enjoyment of liberty—promote education, virtue, and religion; and, in fine, to secure to the people at large all that happiness which it is the original and proper design of government to procure and bestow? The opposite sentiment is so palpably absurd, that there is ground to suspect that it is often adopted by persons as an excuse for their apathy to the public welfare, or an apology for maintaining connexions which they find to be conducive to the advancement of their secular interests. These remarks apply with greater force to ecclesiastical than to political government. Setting aside entirely the argument from scripture; the advancement of the interests of religion, the preservation of purity of faith and morals, the regular dispensing of religious instruction and of all divine ordinances, and; in general, the promoting of the spiritual improvement and salvation of the people, have always depended, and must always depend, in a high degree, on the form of government established in a church, and on the rules by which discipline is exercised in it. Perfection is not to be expected in any society on earth, and the best system of laws may be abused, and will cease to accomplish its ends when the vivific spirit has been suffered to depart; but when these ends are habitually and glaringly counteracted in any church, it will generally be found, on examination, that some check or corrective which scripture, reason, and the circumstances of the times warranted and pointed out, has been removed or was awanting. The ecclesiastical constitution which Melville had the chief hand in establishing, is eminently calculated to advance these ends. And to it, joined to the spirit which he infused by his example and instructions, Scotland has been indebted for other blessings of a collateral kind, and of the highest importance. To it she owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonalty from those of other countries. To it she owed a simple, unambitious, laborious, and at the same time independent order of ministers. And to it she was indebted for the public spirit which has resisted manifold disadvantages in her political situation and institutions;—disadvantages, which otherwise must have reduced her to a state of slavery, and made her the instrument of enslaving the nation with which she became allied, first by the union of the crowns, and afterwards by the union of the kingdoms.

It is a great mistake to suppose, that the facts which have been adduced in the preceding narrative, refute the supposition, that Melville and his associates were engaged merely in resisting the imposition of certain ecclesiastical forms. The object of the contest was far more extensive and momentous. The efficiency, if not the existence, of that discipline which had long operated as a powerful check on irreligion and vice, was at stake. The independence, and consequently the usefulness of the ministers was struck at. The inferior judicatories might be allowed to meet, but only under a guard of episcopal janizaries. The General Assembly might be occasionally called together, but merely for the purpose of recording royal edicts, and becoming an instrument of greater oppression and tyranny than the court could have exercised without its aid. The immediate object of the King, by the changes which he made in the government of the church, was to constitute himself Dictator in all matters of religion; and his ultimate object was, by means of the bishops, to overturn the civil liberties of the nation, and to become absolute master of the consciences, properties, and lives of all his subjects in the three kingdoms. It was a contest therefore that involved all that is dear to men and Christians—all that is valuable in liberty and sacred in religion. Melville was the first to discover and denounce the scheme which was planned for the overthrow of these; and he persisted in opposing its execution at the expense of deprivation of office, imprisonment, and perpetual banishment from his native country. No sufferings to which he was subjected could bring him to retract the opposition which he had made to it. No offers which he received could induce him to give it the slightest mark of his approbation. By the fortitude, constancy, and cheerfulness with which he bore his exile, he continued to testify against it; and, by animating his brethren who remained at home, he contributed materially to bring about a revolution, which, not long after his death, levelled with the ground that ill-omened fabric, the rearing of which had cost the labour of so many years, and the expense of so much principle and conscience.

none of that nation but their Buchanan." This testimony to Melville, which appeared in the first edition of the *Life of George Herbert*, was suppressed in the subsequent editions. Dr. Zouch restored it in his edition of Walton's Lives, p. 295.

* Dr. Zouch, Walton's Lives, p. 354, 355.

CHAPTER XI.

State of Literature in Scotland when Melville was settled at St. Andrews, anno 1580.

Erection of University of St. Andrews—Its Constitution—Colleges founded in it—State of the University at the Reformation—Mode of Teaching and Conferring Degrees in the Faculty of Arts—and of Theology—New Plan of the University in the First Book of Discipline—by Buchanan—by Parliament—Sketch of the New Mode of Teaching—Melville's Share in Drawing it up—Reform on the other Universities—Parochial Schools—High School of Glasgow—of Edinburgh—Scholastic Philosophy—John Rutherford—Civil Law—William Skene—Edward Henryson—Theology and Poetry—Alexander Arbuthnot—Thomas Smeton—Thomas Maitland—Patrick Adamson—John Davidson.

We have had repeated occasion, in the preceding pages, to advert to the state of literature in Scotland. But the subject, from its importance, and the connexion in which it stands with the life of Melville, is entitled to something more than a cursory notice and incidental illustrations. I shall, therefore, endeavour, in this chapter, to throw some light on the state of our literature when Melville was first established in the university of St. Andrews; and, in the following chapter, shall conclude with an account of the progress which it had made when he was removed from that situation.

The literary history of Scotland at the first of these periods embraces the universities, the parochial schools, and the individuals who distinguished themselves by their writings. The university of St. Andrews was the earliest, and continued long to be the most celebrated of our academical institutions. For two centuries almost all the eminent men who appeared in this country were connected with it, either as teachers or pupils. A brief description of its constitution, the mode of instruction practised in it, and the changes made on this, will convey a better idea of the state of our literature than any sketch which I could propose to give of the history of all the universities.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, no great school existed in Scotland; and the youth who were desirous of a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad. The inconveniences arising from this were increased by the dissensions which the conflicting claims of the rival popes excited on the continent. To remedy the evil, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, with the consent of parliament, erected, in the year 1411, a *General Study*, or university, in the chief city of his diocese;* and, two years after, the charter which he had granted was confirmed by a bull from Benedict XIII. whom the Scots then acknowledged as sovereign pontiff.†

The university of St. Andrews was formed on the model of those of Paris and Bologna, and enjoyed the same privileges. All its members, or supposts, as they were called, including the students who had attained the degree of bachelor as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came. At a congregation or general meeting, they elected four procurators, who had a right to act for them in all causes in which their interests were concerned, and four intrants or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors,‡ in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which incurred the highest punishment.‖ He had a right to re-pledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical; and, in certain cases, those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and, accordingly, a concordat was entered into, at an early period, between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their jurisdictions were defined and adjusted.* The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom, within the city and the regality of the abbey.† It was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the Estates, with the exception of, what is called, *the great custom*. Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices with cure, were liberated by the papal bull from obligation to personal residence as long as they taught in the university.‡ Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication.‖ It may be mentioned as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it was determined that the Rector of the University should take precedence of the Prior of the Abbey in all public processions.§

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of each of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty for regulating the mode of study, and for examinations. The Chancellor presided at meetings of the university for the conferring of degrees.¶ It was long before medicine was taught, as a separate science, in our universities, and it does not appear that they were accustomed anciently to confer degrees in law. The branches taught were the arts or philosophy, canon law, and divinity.**

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge. The erection of the University of St. Andrews may be re-

* Forduni Scotichron. lib. xv. chap. 22. Boethii Hist. Scot. lib. xvi. The bishop erected the university "de consilio, consensu, et communi tractatu trium Statuum personarum regni Scotiæ." (Bulla Fundationis Univ. S. Andreæ.)

† Papers of the University.

‡ In general the university elected the assessors, and empowered the Rector to appoint his deputies. The number of assessors was twelve, three from each nation.

‖ "dummodo ad atrocem injuriam non sit processus." (Concession of Privileges by Bishop Wardlaw.) There is one instance of capital punishment being inflicted by the sentence of the rector of the university of Glasgow. (Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Append.)

* Concordia inita, per episcop. Jac. Kennedy, inter supposita universitatis et cives Sti. Andreæ, A. D. 1440.

† The prior joined with the bishop in the charter of Concession of Privileges.—The abbey of St. Andrews had a jurisdiction of its own, and magistrates independent of those of the city. About the time of the Reformation, the Master of Lindsay was "principall baillie of the priorie of Sanct-androis," and Robert Pont was "procurator phiscall of the said priorie." (Sumononds—David Monepenny elder of Pitmilly agst Mr. James Wilkie, &c. March 6, 1577.)

‡ Bulla Concess. Privileg. Univ. S. A.

‖ In a dispute which the rector and professors of theology in the university had with the masters of St. Salvator's College about the power of conferring degrees, the former threatened the latter with ecclesiastical censures. The matter was settled by a provincial council held in 1470, in the way of the College consenting to renounce the right which they had acquired by a papal bull. (Hovei Oratio de Fundat. Univ. Andr. MS.) In the reformation of the university of St. Andrews in 1579, it is provided, "that in place of the pane of cursing vsit of befoir vpoun offendors and inobedientis They be now decernit be decreit of the rector and chief membris of the vniversitie efter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit secludit and remouit out of the vniversitie And to tyne and foirfalt the priuilegis and benefittis yrof." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 181.)

§ Hovei Oratio.

¶ Ibid. The mode of study, and of examination for degrees in the arts or philosophy, appears to have been regulated soon after the erection of the university. James of Haddiston was dean of the faculty of theology in 1432, when similar regulations were made as to theological study and graduation.

** See Note QQ.

garded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterized Scotchmen, students came to St. Andrews from every part of the kingdom.

The university appears to have been possessed of very slender funds until the erection of colleges in it. The *College of St. Salvator* was founded by bishop Kennedy in the year 1450; that of *St. Leonard* was founded by John Hepburn, the prior of the abbey, in the year 1512; and the erection of *St. Mary's*, or *the New College*, was begun by archbishop Beaton in the year 1532, and completed by Archbishop Hamilton in the year 1552. Each of these was endowed with funds for the support of a certain number of professors and bursars. In the regulations of St. Mary's College, we may observe the advancement which knowledge had already made, and the influence which it exerted over the minds of the popish prelates or their advisers.*

A college has been compared to an incorporated trade within a burgh; but it bears a still more striking resemblance to a convent. The principal difference between them is, that the latter was an association entirely for religious purposes, whereas learning was the chief object of the former. The members of the college, like the monks, were bound to live, eat, and sleep in the same house, they were supported in common upon the goods of the college, and were astricted in all things to the will of the founder. A university, though a chartered body, was not under the same regulations, nor was the same provision made for its members. The college was within the university; the members of the former were also members of the latter, partook of its privileges, and were subject to its government.

Two things deserve notice as to the college of St. Leonard. In the first place, although it owed its erection to monks, was placed under their immediate superintendence, and taught constantly by persons taken from the convent; and although its original foundation and subsequent endowments were highly calculated to foster superstition,† yet the reformed opinions obtained an earlier and more extensive reception in this college than in the rest of the university.‡ In the second place, this seminary had at first to struggle with great difficulties on account of the slenderness of its funds; but by the vigilance of its patrons, and the diligence of those who had the charge of education, it not only surmounted these, but attained great celebrity. So many of the sons of the nobility and gentry came to study at St. Leonard's, that the name of the *College of Poor Clerks*, which the founder had originally given it, conveyed a very erroneous idea of those who resided within its walls.‖

The defence and increase of the Catholic faith was one declared object of the erection of all the colleges. This is more particularly expressed in the deeds founding and providing for the College of St. Mary. It was erected "for defending and confirming the Catholic Faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the word of God might be more abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and to oppose the heresies and schisms of the pestiferous heretics and heresiarchs who, alas! have sprung up and flourished in these times, in this as well as in many other parts of the world."* Yet within a short time after this language was held, these "pestiferous heretics" prevailed against the Catholic faith, and obtained possession of the very places and funds which were destined for their suppression and extirpation. The protestant sentiments had for many years been secretly spreading in all the colleges of St. Andrews, and they were now embraced by the greater part of the professors, with perhaps the exception of those of St. Salvator's.

During the agitation of the religious controversy, the academical exercises were interrupted, and the number of students diminished. In the year 1559, the faculty of arts was under the necessity of superceding the public exhibitions usual at graduation.† Several of the masters in St. Salvator's, including William Cranston, the principal, adhered to the ancient religion, and left their places; but the greater part, if not the whole, of those belonging to the two other colleges, embraced the Reformation, and consequently retained their situations. John Douglas, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, was at this time principal of St. Mary's College,‡ and John Duncanson was principal of St. Leonard's.‖

Every thing connected with the Roman Catholic faith and worship, which was interwoven with the laws and practice of the university and of the colleges belonging to it, was removed at the establishment of the Reformation. Other alterations were at the same time contemplated by the reformers, but various causes prevented them from being carried into effect. Accordingly, the mode of teaching, and the academical exercises, so far as related to philosophy or the arts, continued nearly on their former footing.

All the scholars who entered at one time into a college, formed a class, which was put under the government of a regent, with whom they continued four years. The regents had not, like the professors, permanent situations in the college. It would appear, that originally every master of arts was bound to teach a class, and came under an engagement to this purpose at his laureation. Afterwards it became customary to grant dispensations from this duty. When the number of graduated persons had increased, and it became in other respects an object of importance to obtain a regency, those who were desirous of it presented a petition to the faculty, in which they professed their knowledge of the text of Aristotle, and requested permission to explain it, or, in other words, to govern a class. They were ordinarily bound to continue until they had taught two classes; but at St. Andrews, the greater part of the regents retained their situations, to which the profits arising from altarages or chaplanries were attached, until they obtained a living in the church or an office in the state.

Though the regular time of the course was four

* See Note RR.

† In 1525, John Archibald founded an altar in the College of Poor Students, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, "for the salvation of John Hepburn, prior of the monastery and all the canons, also for the souls of Mr. Michael Livingston, former vicar of Wemis, and of Sir Robert Wallis, former archdeacon of St. Andrews; also of the souls of his own father and his mother, and his spouse Margret Symsoun, and all his benefactors and friends."—The masters appear to have entertained notions of piety somewhat different from the above, when, in 1550, they ordained that the fines levied from absentees should, after growing to a round sum, be converted "in vinum, ad refocillandos conversantium animos, et *in alios pios usus*." (Papers of University.)

‡ Life of John Knox, p. 27.

‖ Hovei Oratio. Comp. Cald, MS. vol. ii. p. 431.

* Donatio de Conveth, Jun. 26, 1550; et Donatio de Tarvet, Mart. 31, 1558.

† "Nonus Rectoratus Magri Joannis Douglasii præpositi novi collegii Mariani, 1558. Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis ergo exertos, paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt," (Only three names of Incorporati are inserted.) —"Consiliis habitis 15 Maij a° 59 de promovendis discipulis statuit academia oes laureados hujus anni pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reip. perturbaone et religionis reformatione veteres ritus seruare impediretur."

‡ Keith (Scottish Bishops, p. 25,) has confounded the Archbishop with a preacher named Douglas, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argyle in 1558. The description given of the latter will not answer to the former, who was provost of St. Mary's College from 1547, till his death in 1574 and was always resident in the university.

‖ Duncanson demitted in 1566. In a donation of books, and other valuable articles, subscribed by his own hand, he styles himself "umqle Maister principall of Sanctleonardis College,— and Mr. James Wilkye Principall regent and maister of the samyn in name of the College askit instrument." Wilkie appears to have considered the succession to the principality as his due, but it was conferred on Buchanan.

years, it was usually finished in three years and a half. The session began on the first of October, and continued through the whole year, except the months of August and September, which were allowed as a vacation. The regent assembled his class three hours every day, and read and explained the books of Aristotle, which the students were bound to bring along with them. He began with dialectics or logic, then proceeded to ethics, next to physics, and concluded with metaphysics, which was called *prima philosophia* or the highest branch of philosophy, and mathematics, which included arithmetic. During their course, the students were frequently employed in disputations and declamations, both privately in their class, and publicly before the college and the university. Besides seeing that the regents and students did their duty, the principal usually read public lectures on what were then reckoned the higher branches of philosophy, which were attended by all the students in college, except those of the first year.*

In the middle of the third year of their course, such of the students as obtained an attestation of regular attendance and good behaviour from their regent and the principal of their college, were admitted to enter on trials for the degree of bachelor. For this purpose the faculty chose every year three regents, one from each college, as examinators. In the presence of these the candidates *determined* † a question, in logic or morals, in a continued discourse, and answered such questions as were proposed to them on any of the branches which they had studied under their respective agents. The examinators made their report to the faculty, when such as had given satisfaction were confirmed as bachelors by the Dean, and the rest were sent to a lower class.—The act of laureation at the end of the course was conducted in a similar manner. But on this occasion the candidates were examined on the whole circle of the arts, and bound to defend a thesis, which had been previously affixed to the gates of the different colleges. They were divided into circles, and their names arranged according to their merit, with a certain preference, however, to persons of rank. ‡ And the degree of master of arts was solemnly conferred on them by the Chancellor of the university, *in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti.* The intermediate degree of licentiate of arts is recognised by the laws, but it was not separately conferred, at least in later times. Both at the receiving the degree of bachelor and master, the graduates paid certain sums of money, according to their rank, to the purse of the university and of the faculty, to the dean, and to the other officers; and those who were poor obliged themselves to give what was due to the public funds as soon as they were in ability. By an old law, each student, including those who held bursaries, was bound to give to his regent annually, for three years, a Scots noble, which in later times was interpreted as answering to a pound Scots, "*salva cujuscunque uberiore liberalitate.*" *

We cannot form such an exact judgment respecting the ancient mode of teaching theology, as the Reformation necessarily made a greater change on this department of instruction. Many of the ancient forms, however, were still retained and observed. There continued to be a theological faculty, consisting of the doctors, licentiates, and bachelors of divinity, who resided within the university.† They assembled, along with the students of divinity, annually on the first of October, when a sermon or oration, intended to excite the hearers to diligence in sacred studies, was delivered. The masters and bachelors then met apart, and arranged the subjects on which each should read lectures during the year, and the times at which they should read them. The lectures were delivered on the Scriptures, which were divided into five parts; the Pentateuch or legal books, the historical books, the sapiential, the prophetical, and those of the New Testament. ‡ "Formerly, under papacy, the students ascended to degrees in theology, by reading the Sentences of Peter Lombard; but now, since the reformation of religion and the burial of popery, this practice is altered and reformed." From the beginning of July to the end of September there was an intermission of the lectures; and during this interval the students were exercised once a-week in theological disputations, at which one of the masters presided, and the rest were present and took a share in the debate. The disputants were exhorted to avoid the altercation usually practised in the schools, "and not to bite and devour one another like dogs, but to behave as men desirous of mutual instruction, and as the servants of Christ, who ought not to strive but to be gentle to all."

The lectures were chiefly delivered by those who were proceeding in their theological degrees. Before entering on this duty, it behoved them to have been students of divinity for three years, to have sustained the part of a respondent twice in the public disputes during the vacancies, to have given proof of their talents twice in the weekly exercise, and to have preached once in the vulgar language before the people and in Latin before the university. After this, being admitted by the faculty, they taught for four years in the public schools, by expounding the Scriptures, according to the arrangement formerly mentioned. The probationary lecture which they delivered at the commencement of each part of the course, may be viewed as a specimen of the mode of teaching then practised. The lecturer began with pronouncing a panegyric on the books of Scripture which he proposed to expound; he next gave a summary of their contents; and, in the third place, having selected a particular passage, he started a question from it, stated the opinions held on the affirmative and negative sides, laid down certain

* James Melville has left an account of the course of study followed by William Collace, who was his regent in St. Leonard's between 1570 and 1574. After stating that he began with teaching "Cassander's Rhetoric," he adds: "We hard the Oration pro rege Deitaro. Than he gaiff ws a compend of his awin of Philosopi and the partes y^rof.—We enterit in the organ of Arist. y^l year, and leirnit to the Demonstrations.—The secund year of my course we hard the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist captiones. And the Primarius Mr. James Wilkie, a guid peacable sweet auld man wha luiffed me weill, teached the four species of the arithmetik and sum thing of the sphere.—The third yeir of our course we hard the fyve buiks of the Ethiks, wt the aught buiks of the Physiks, and de ortu et interitu. The yeir we had our Bachelar act according to the solemnities then vsed of Declamations, banqueting and playes.—The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast and 18 rinning, we learned the buiks de cœlo and meteors, also the sphere more exactly teachit by our awin regent, and maid ws for our vicces and blackstons, and had at Pace our promotion and finishing of our course." (Diary, p. 22—24.)

† From this act they were called *Determinantes.*

‡ "Examinatos secundum scientiæ et morum eminentiam principaliter locent et ordinent. Ex præclara tamen domo paterna nobilitatem sanguinis trahentes, nec non cum Regentibus honeste et commensaliter viventes, modo in literis aliqualiter eruditi et moribus probi, nonnihil pensitantes." (Statuta anni 1579.)

* Statuta 17 Mart. 1583. By the Statutes of 1561, the student was bound to give *thirty shillings*, "unless he be poor."

The designation *pauper* does not appear to have been always used in the same sense. In Feb. 1579, it was declared "Solos bursarios et mendicos pauperes esse censendos." But from other documents it appears that all the students of philosophy were divided into three classes: "Primars or *potentiores*, Secondars or *potentes*, and ternars or *minus potentes*, olim *pauperes*;" and the latter paid dues, although proportionally smaller than the two former.

† Baron speaks of John Winram as dean of the faculty of theology about 1574. (MS. Orat. super Jac. Martinio.)

‡ The particular books included under each of these divisions are specified; and it is a curious circumstance, that most of the Apocryphal books are among them. Thus, among the historical books are, "duo Esdre, duo Tobie, Judith, quibus et duo Macabeorum libri adjungi possunt." Among the sapiential books we find "Librum Sapientiæ et Ecclesiasticum;" and "Baruch" is enumerated along with the books of the prophets. (Statut. Theol. Reform. A. 1570.)

propositions for clearing the truth, confirmed it by testimonies of Scripture, and solved the difficulties that might be urged against it. Before the students in the public schools, the lecturers were bound to confine themselves to a single chapter at a time, and were directed to explain the text distinctly and methodically, by comparing it with other passages of Scripture, or by producing the judgment of the most approved and skilful interpreters, "provided nothing was brought forward that could not stand the test of Scripture."—It would seem that this was nearly the method which the professors followed in their theological lectures.*

When the student commenced lecturing on the legal books, he was declared by the faculty a *cursory* bachelor of divinity; on commencing the prophetical books, he became a *formed* bachelor; and, on entering on the books of the New Testament, he was pronounced a *confirmed* bachelor. On finishing his course of teaching, he proceeded to take his degrees of licentiate and doctor. The statutes describe at length the disputations which were maintained, and the ceremonies which were used on both these occasions.†

Such was the plan of study agreed upon by the theological professors about the time of the Reformation. But there is no good reason to think that it was reduced to practice; and though this had been the case, it has little claim to our commendation. The lectures read by young men who had studied divinity for so short a period as three years, must have been extremely jejune and superficial; and it does not appear that any effectual provision was made to secure their diligence in these exhibitions. Yet their lectures, such as they were, served as a pretext for the regular professors neglecting the duty of theological instruction. In these circumstances, we need not be surprised to find that the study of divinity in the university was nearly nominal, and that scholastic philosophy engrossed the attention of both masters and scholars.‡

The First Book of Discipline proposed a plan for re-modelling the three universities, which contained the following arrangements for St. Andrews. The first college was to contain classes for dialectics, mathematics, natural philosophy, and medicine. In the second college, a lecturer on ethics, economics, and politics, and two lecturers on law, Roman and municipal, were to be established. And the third college was to be provided with two teachers of languages, one of Greek and another of Hebrew, and two teachers of divinity, the one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. None were to be graduated in their respective faculties unless they had attended the regular course, which, for students of philosophy, was three years, of law four years, and of medicine and divinity, five years. This plan was unquestionably an improvement on the original constitution, according to which the three colleges were completely independent, and exactly the same branches were taught in each. And in other respects it was favourable to the advancement of literature and science. But it was not adopted. In vain did the authors recommend it to the nobility, along with a proposal to erect parochial schools, as contributing to "the most high advancement of the commonwealth." In vain they urged, "If God shall give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasures ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort."‖ Prejudice is blind, and avarice deaf, to all considerations of public good; but the plan will remain a lasting monument of the enlightened and patriotic views of its compilers.

In the year 1563, a petition was presented to the Queen and Lords of Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm ar desyrous that leirning and letters floreis,"* stating that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, particularly at St. Andrews, was wasted, and that several sciences, and especially those which were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, to the great detriment of the whole lieges, their children and posterity; and praying that measures should be taken to remedy these evils. In consequence of this representation, the parliament appointed a committee to visit the colleges, and to report their opinion as to the best mode of improving the state of education.† No report from the committee is on record; but there has been preserved a plan for the colleges of St. Andrews, which appears to have been drawn up, in virtue of this appointment, by Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners. The arrangements which it proposes differ in detail from those of the First Book of Discipline, though they proceed on the same general principle. The first college was to be entirely confined to the teaching of languages, and regulated in a great measure as a grammar school.‡ The second, called the college of philosophy, was to have four regents in the arts, and a lecturer on medicine. The third, named the college of divinity, was most poorly provided for: it was only to have a principal, to be reader in Hebrew, and a lawyer.‖ The author of this draught had his attention too exclusively directed to the cultivation of languages and humanity.

The civil war which raged between the adherents of the king and queen put a stop to these measures of academical reform, but no sooner was peace established than the design was resumed by the friends of literature. In April, 1576, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to visit and consider the state of the university of St. Andrews;§ and in 1578, the parliament made a similar appointment as to all the universities in the kingdom.¶ Nothing having been done in consequence of this appointment, the General Assembly which met in July, 1579, presented a petition to the king and council, urging the necessity of a change on the university of St. Andrews; and nominated commissioners to co-operate in that business with such as the council might be pleased to appoint.** The council immediately appointed commissioners, to whom they gave ample powers. They were authorised to consider the foundations in the university, and not only to remove superstition and displace unqualified persons, but also to change the form of study and the number of professors, to join or divide the faculties, to annex each faculty to such college as they thought

* Melville's Diary, p. 24.

† Statuta Fac. Theolog. olim condita, et jam abolito papismo et reformata religione, circa A. D. 1560, in parte mutata, et juxta normam verbi Dei in melius reformata.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 92.

‖ First Book of Discipline: Art. *Of the Erection of Universities.*

* This petition continued to lie before the Parliament; and in 1567, and again in 1581, it was referred by them to the consideration of commissioners. It must, therefore, have contained proposals additional to those which were sanctioned by the act of 1579. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 30. 214.

† Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 544.

‡ It seems to have been formed on the model of the college or school of Geneva. (Les Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Geneve: Item l'Ordre des Escoles, p. 83—87.)

‖ The plan is published in Dr. Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, App. No. iii. 2d edit. According to the old plan of teaching in universities, mathematics formed, rather preposterously, the last part of the course. The First Book of Discipline appointed them to be taught before physics. But Buchanan's plan reverts to the ancient arrangement—"the naturell philosophie, metaphisicks, and principis of mathematicks."

§ Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 65.

¶ Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 98. Melville was one of the commissioners nominated by Parliament to visit the University of St. Andrews. They were authorised to examine the foundations of the colleges, to reform what tended to superstition, to remove unqualified and plant qualified persons; but not to make alterations on the mode of teaching.

** Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 93.

most proper for it, and in general to establish such order in the university as should tend most to the glory of God, profit of the commonwealth, and good upbringing of the youth in sciences needful for continuance of the true religion. The commissioners found, that all the colleges had departed from their original foundations, and that these foundations disagreed in many things with the true religion, and were far from "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves;" and they agreed upon a new form of instruction to be observed in the university. This was laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, by which it was ratified on the 11th of November, 1579. The following is an outline of the provisions made by the new establishment.

In the college of St. Salvator, a principal, and four ordinary professors or regents of humanity and philosophy, were established. The first regent was to teach the Greek Grammar, and to exercise the students in Latin composition during the first, and in Greek during the second half year. The second regent was to teach the principles of invention, disposition, and elocution; or, in other words, of rhetoric, in the shortest, easiest, and most accurate manner, with the practice of them in the best authors, Roman and Greek. The students of this class were to spend an hour at least every day in composition, and during the last half year they were to declaim or pronounce an oration once every month, in Latin and Greek alternately. It was the duty of the third regent to teach the most profitable and needful parts of the logics of Aristotle, with his ethics and politics, all in Greek, and the Offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent was to teach so much of the physics as was needful, and the doctrine of the sphere. Each regent was to retain his own profession. On Sunday a lesson in the Greek New Testament was to be read in all the four classes. Professors of mathematics and law, who were to lecture on four days of every week, were also established in this college. The lectures on law were to be attended by all the advocates and writers in the commissary court; and none were to be admitted for the future to act as procurators before the lords or other judges, until they gave a specimen of their learning before the university, and produced a testimonial of their diligent attendance and the degree of their progress. The principal of St. Salvator's was to act as professor of medicine.—The same arrangements were made as to the college of St. Leonard; with this difference, that there were no classes for mathematics and law established in it; and the principal, instead of teaching medicine, was to explain the philosophy of Plato.—St. Mary's, or the New College, was appropriated entirely to the study of theology and the languages connected with it. The course of study in it was to be completed in four years, under the tuition of five professors. The first professor was to teach the elements of Hebrew during six months, and of Chaldee and Syriac during the remainder of the first year. During the subsequent eighteen months, the students were to prosecute the study of these languages under the second professor, who was to explain the pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament critically, by comparing the original text with the Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint, and other ancient versions. The third professor was to explain the prophetical books of the Old Testament after the same manner, during the last eighteen months of the course. During the whole four years, the fourth professor was to explain the New Testament by comparing the original with the Syriac version. And the fifth professor, who was Principal of the College, was to lecture, during the same period, on the common places or system of divinity. All the students were bound to attend the lectures of three professors every day during the continuance of their theological course; by which it was expected that they would, "with meane diligence, becume perfite theologians." Public disputations were to be held every week, declamations once a month, and at three periods during the course, a solemn examination was to take place, at which, "every learned man shall be free to dispute." Eight bursars of theology were to reside with the professors, and to be supported on the rents of the college. It was ordained, that after four years had elapsed from the date of this new erection, none should be admitted ministers of the church who had not completed their course of theology, or who should not be found worthy and qualified to receive all their degrees in it after a "rigorous examination" by the faculty. The persons at present occupying the place of masters in the New College, were ordered to remove from it without delay.* From the "great variety at this present of learned in the knowledge of the tongues and other things needful," the parliamentary commissioners had selected such as they thought most qualified for teaching in the New College; and it was ordained, that, upon any future vacancy, the place should be filled by open comparative trial before the archbishop of St. Andrews, the conservator of the privileges of the university, the rector, deans of faculty, and theological professors. Vacancies in the two other colleges were to be supplied in a similar manner. As the youth had lost much time by long vacations, it was ordained, that for the future the classes should sit during the whole year, except the month of September.† Rules were laid down for preventing the revenues of the colleges from being wasted or diverted to improper uses. And at the end of every period of four years, a royal visitation of the university was to take place, to inquire into the effects of this reformation, and to see that its regulations were observed.†

It would be affronting the learned reader to enter into a statement of the superiority of this plan of education to that which it was intended to supersede. It was the most liberal and enlightened plan of study which had yet been established, as far as I know, in any European university. In comparing it with modern institutions, great allowance must be made for the imperfect state in which many of the sciences were at that period. But even as to these we may observe an evident tendency to improvement in the new regulations. The "most profitable and needful parts" only of the Aristotelian logic and physics were to be taught; and the lectures on Platonic philosophy served as a counterpoise to the Peripatetic, which had hitherto possessed an exclusive and uncontrolled authority in the university. The method of study prescribed for the theological college was well calculated to realize the hopes expressed in the act. It appointed a greater number of teachers of the Old Testament than either was necessary or could easily be obtained; and one of them might have been employed with more advantage in reading lectures on Ecclesiastical History, according to an arrangement which was subsequently introduced. But the attention paid to the sacred languages, and especially to the oriental tongues, is entitled to the highest commendation, and shews that the authors of the plan had conceived correct ideas of the importance of this branch of literature for forming able and judicious interpreters of Scripture. Indeed, it proceeds upon the very principles which have since been laid down and recommended by the best writers on Biblical Interpretation. I would not, however, be understood as intimating that the benefits which actually resulted from this change on the university were proportioned to its merits. The wisest plans, and the most salutary enactments, will prove nugatory, if proper measures

* See Note SS.

† So early as the days of Augustine, it appears that the month of September, as the season of the vintage, was allowed as a vacation in schools. (Valesiane, p. 65.)

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. 178—182.

are not taken to carry them into execution, or even if they go much beyond the degree of illumination which the age has reached. There is reason to think that in the present instance this was the case to a certain extent. The new mode of study was very partially acted upon in the colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard; nor was the act of parliament carried into effect as to the number of professors in the New College.

The reformation of the university of St. Andrews has, by mistake, been ascribed to Buchanan. This has arisen partly from confounding it with another scheme of academical instruction which he drew up at an earlier period,* and partly from his being one of the commissioners who subscribed the plan that was actually adopted. That he assisted in correcting it, and in procuring for it a parliamentary sanction, is highly probable. But there is no reason for supposing that the plan was of his construction. The course of his studies and the nature of his acquirements did not qualify him for entering into the arrangements which are most minutely detailed in it. We have direct evidence that Melville had the principal hand in drawing it up;† and though this had been awanting, we should have been warranted in forming this opinion, from the striking resemblance that it bears to the mode of study previously introduced by him into the university of Glasgow.‡

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of students who attended the university at one time. In ordinary cases it does not appear that it exceeded two hundred, and it did not fall much short of that number, during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Fewer had attended it during the first half, and still fewer previously to that period.

An account of the university of Glasgow, and of the improvements made on it, has already been given in the narrative of what took place when Melville held the situation of principal there.‖ The University and King's College of Aberdeen, founded by bishop Elphingston, at the close of the fifteenth century, provided for an extensive education.§ But notwithstanding this, and although some of its early teachers excelled any that were to be found in the other academies, it seems never to have attracted many students.¶ This may be accounted for, partly at least, from its situation, and the comparatively rude state of the surrounding country. At the establishment of the Reformation, Anderson, the principal, and the greater part of the professors, adhered to the old religion, and being supported by the neighbouring noblemen, who were addicted to popery, kept their places for several years. When they were at last extruded, the college was found to be impoverished by the alienation of its revenues. In the year 1578, when great exertions were made in behalf of all the seminaries of education, means were used for restoring its dilapidated funds; and at the same time a new plan of instruction was drawn up for it, similar to those introduced at Glasgow and St. Andrews.** The plan met with opposition from different quarters, and its formal ratification by the legislature was evaded, but it was introduced into the university and acted upon for a considerable period.††

To ascertain the state of learning in the country, it is necessary to attend to the inferior schools, in which the youth were prepared for entering the university; and multitudes, who never proceeded that length, had access to the means of common education. Long before the Reformation all the principal towns had grammar schools in which the Latin language was taught.* They had also "lecture schools," as they were called, in which children were instructed to read the vernacular language. Subsequently to the establishment of the Reformation, the means of education were extended to other parts of the country; and, where regular schools were not founded, the readers in churches generally supplied the deficiency, by teaching the youth to read the catechism and the scriptures.

There was a grammar school in Glasgow at an early period of the fourteenth century. It depended immediately on the cathedral church, and the chancellor of the diocese had not only the appointment of the masters, but also the superintendence of whatever related to education in the city.† The grammar school continued to be a distinct establishment after the erection of the university, and considerable care appears to have been taken to supply it with good teachers. Thomas Jack, who resigned the charge of this institution when Melville came to Glasgow, was well qualified for the situation. This is evident from his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, containing an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets, composed in Latin verse, with the view of being committed to memory by the boys, and published by him at the recommendation of Buchanan and Melville. On leaving the school of Glasgow, Jack became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, but continued to maintain a close correspondence with the masters of the College, and particularly with Melville, of whose services to the literature of Scotland he entertained the highest idea.‡ He was succeeded in the school by a connexion of his own, Patrick Sharp, whose literary obligations to Melville have already been noticed.

The grammar school of Edinburgh was originally connected with the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, and the appointment of the teachers was transferred from the abbots to the magistrates of the city. William Robertson, who was head master of the school at the establishment of the Reformation, remained attached to the popish religion, and appears to have been in other respects very unqualified for the situation. The Town Council were anxious to have him removed, that they might place the seminary on a footing more worthy of the metropolis; but they were unable to accomplish this, owing partly to the support which Robertson received from the Queen, and partly to his having been provided to the place for life. In these circumstances they had recourse to a provisional arrangement; and in the year 1568, they entered into terms with Thomas Buchanan, a nephew of the poet, who was then teaching as a regent at St. Andrews, in the College of St. Salvator, and engaged him to take the management of their school. Buchanan was well qualified for bringing the seminary into repute; but he remained only a short time in Edinburgh. Differences having arisen between him and the magistrates as to the terms of their agreement, he was induced to leave them in 1571, and to become master of the grammar school of Stirling, where his uncle was residing.‖ In consequence

* See above, p. 361. † Melville's Diary, p. 58, 64.
‡ See above, p. 226. ‖ See above, p. 225-27.
§ Provision was made for four professors, consisting of a doctor of divinity, of canon law, of civil law, and of medicine; ten bachelors, who were to instruct fourteen bursars in philosophy, while they prosecuted their own studies under the doctors; and a teacher of humanity, whose office it was to initiate the young men into grammar before entering on their philosophical course. (Boethii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxix. b.)
¶ Hector Boece (Boethius) the celebrated historian of Scotland, was the first principal, and John Vaus, author of a Latin grammar, was the first professor of humanity, at Aberdeen.
** Melville's Diary, p. 43. †† See Note TT.

* Life of Knox, p. 21. John Kerde gives a tenement of land to the grammar school of Dunbarton, 8 March, 1486. And the burgh of Dunbarton gives four marks from the common mill, "Dño Jhoi Kerde pbro Magistro Scolæ Grammaticalis eiusd." 20 Apr. 1486. (Charters of the burgh.)
† See Note UU. ‡ See under Note UU.
‖ G. Robertson, Vita Roberti Rolloci, A 3. Edin. 1599. Rolloci Comment. in Epist. ad Thessalon. Dedic. Epist. Melville's Diary, p. 38, 91. James Melville calls Thomas Buchanan the *cousing* of George Buchanan; David Buchanan calls him his *brother-german*; (De Scriptoribus Scotis Illust. num. 61, MS. in Advocates Library;) but Robert Rollock, who had the best means of information, informs us that he was his *nephew*.

of his removal, the grammar school of Edinburgh fell back to its former state of insignificance. But the friends of learning in the city continued to urge its claims on the public; and a commodious house for teaching having been finished, in the year 1579, on the spot still occupied by the High School buildings, Robertson was soon after prevailed upon to retire on a pension, and a new and improved plan of education, to which we shall afterwards advert, was organized.*

John Rutherfurd was at this time the most celebrated master of scholastic philosophy in Scotland. He was a native of Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, and having gone to France, entered the College of Guienne at Bourdeaux. There he prosecuted his studies under Nicolaus Gruchius,† equally distinguished for his knowledge of Roman Antiquities, and his skill in the Aristotelian Philosophy.‡ He appears to have accompanied his teacher, and his countryman Buchanan, on their literary expedition to Portugal, from which he came to the university of Paris.‖ His reputation reached archbishop Hamilton, who invited him home to occupy a chair in the College of St. Mary, which he had recently organized at St. Andrews;§ and after teaching in it for some years as Professor of Humanity, Rutherfurd was translated to be Principal of St. Salvator's College in the same University. In such estimation was he held, that, soon after his admission into the University, he was raised to the honourable situation of Dean of the Faculty of Arts, although not qualified for holding it according to the strict import of the statutes.¶ He had embraced the reformed doctrines before their establishment in Scotland, and was declared qualified "for ministering and teaching" by the first General Assembly.* By the authority of a subsequent Assembly he was admitted minister of Cults, a parish in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, of which the principals of St. Salvator's were, by the foundation of that college, constituted rectors.† It was also part of his duty, as principal, to lecture on theology. But Rutherfurd was more celebrated as a philosopher than as a divine. Considered in the former character, his labours were unquestionably of benefit to the university and the nation. The publication of his treatise on the Art of Reasoning may be considered as marking a stage in the progress of philosophy in Scotland. It is formed, indeed, strictly upon Aristotelian principles, of which he was a great admirer; but still it differs widely from the systems which had long maintained an exclusive place in the schools. Treading in the steps of his master, De Grouchi, Rutherfurd rejected the errors into which the ancient commentators upon Aristotle had fallen, and discarded many of the frivolous questions, which the modern dialecticians took so much delight in discussing. His work contains a perspicuous view of that branch of the Peripatetic philosophy of which it professes to treat. He had caught a portion of the classical spirit of the age; and the simplicity and comparative purity of his Latin style, exhibit a striking contrast to the barbarous and unintelligible jargon which had become hereditary in the tribe of schoolmen and sophists.‡ It appears from a curious document, that Rutherfurd, like some other philosophers, did not always display his philosophy in the government of his temper. In consequence of complaints against him by his colleagues, a visitation of the College of St. Salvator took place in 1563, when it was found that the principal had shown himself "too hasty and impatient;" and he was admonished "not to let the sun go down upon his wrath, and to study to bridle his tongue and conduct himself with greater humanity and mildness."‖

William Ramsay deserves to be mentioned among those who cultivated polite letters along with philosophy and divinity, and who, at the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, left the foreign academies of which they were members, that they might take the charge of the public instruction in their native country.§ He had been Rutherford's companion on the continent, and became his colleague at St. Andrews. Ramsay taught in St. Salvator's when Melville attended the University, but was dead before the latter returned to Scotland.¶

—Mr. Thomas Duncansone was "school-master and reidar in Striveling," in 1563. (Keith's Hist. p. 531.)

* See Note VV.

† Rhetorfortis, De Arte Disserendi, p. 10.

‡ Teissier, Eloges, ii. 435—437.

‖ Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 565. Dr. Irving is disposed to question this statement. (Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 70, 2d edit.) The silence of Buchanan, who, in his life, does not speak of any of his countrymen, except his own brother, accompanying him, certainly throws a degree of doubt over the subject; but still I am rather inclined to admit the testimony of Dempster. It is most probable that Rutherfurd studied under Gruchius before that professor went to Portugal; and in this case it is not unlikely that he should have been induced to accompany him. Dempster mentions, in a very particular manner, a work of Rutherfurd's, containing discourses which he had delivered at Coimbra: "Præfationes solemnes Parisiis et Conimbriæ habitas, lib. i. *Extant typis Wechelianis.*" And he seems to have been at pains to ascertain the circumstances of Rutherfurd's life, for we find him referring to the records of the University of Paris. "Venit Lutetiam anno 1552. *Acta nationis Germanicæ ad D. Cosm.*"—In the matriculation list of the University of St. Andrews for the year 1551 is found. "Ex Collegio Mariano, Joannes Ruderfurd, natio. Brita." If this was the person afterwards principal of St. Salvator's, and if he *began* his studies in 1551, he could not have belonged to the Portugueze colony: but there is reason to think that they were different individuals.—There are two letters of Joannes Gelida to John Rutherfurd and Filibert Lodonet, (dated Decimo Cal. Nov. 1555, & Non. Febr. 1555) inviting them to teach in the school of Bourdeaux. (Joan. Gelidæ Epist. et Carm. in Clar. Hispanorum Opuscula Select. et Rar. collecta a Fr. Cerdano et Rico Valentino, vol. i. p. 151, 152. Madriti, 1781.) In the same collection, (i. 149,) is a letter of Gelida to George Buchanan, congratulating him on his safe return to France from Portugal: "Burdigalæ, Idibus Novembris, 1552."

§ Hovei Oratio; MS. in Archiv. Univ. S. Andr. "Comadis me to agre wt Maisteris Edward Henrison and Johne Ruderfurde to be Regents in his l. College: 12 Decembris, 1553." (Accompt of receipts and disbursements by the agent at Rome, for the Earl of Arran, John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, &c. p. 320: MS. in possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq.)

¶ It was objected against his eligibility, that he was not in priest's orders, and that he was a regent, that is, (as I suppose,) that he was not a professor or permanent teacher—"primum q nõ fuit Sacerdos, secundum quod fuit regens, ut loquuntur, actu." This was in November, 1557. (Act. Fac. Art. S. Andr. ff. 18, b; 191, a.)—The first time he is mentioned in the records is as one of the electors of the Rector, in 1556, when he is designed, "Ex Britannia, Mr. Jo. Rutherfurde, philosophus doctissimus Collegii Mariani,"—and again, "philosophus eximius." He appears to have been translated to St. Salvator's in 1560.

* Keith's Hist. p. 522. † Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 7.

† "Commentariorvm de Arte Disserendi libri qvatvor Joanne Retorforti Jedburgæo Scoto authore. Et nunc demum ab eodem diligenter recogniti et emendati. Edinburgi apud Henricum Charteris 1577. Cum Priuilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 78. The author informs us that his work had been at first printed without his knowledge, and very incorrectly, from a manuscript furnished by one of his scholars. Pp. 3. 9.—His "Comment. in. Libr. Arist. de arte Metrica, Edinb. 1557," mentioned by Mackenzie, I have not seen.

‖ Charter of Regress by Mr. John Douglas, Rector, &c. Sept. 15, 1563. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 432, 439.

§ I think it highly probable that he is the individual referred to in a letter of Obertus Gifanius. (Buchanani Epist. p. 7.) His name does not appear in the records of the University of St. Andrews from 1537, when he was made Master of Arts, till 1560, when he became a Professor; from which it is highly probable that he was abroad during the interval.

¶ Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 564; where a book concerning the Portugueze is ascribed to Ramsay. On the 17th of January, 1558, a yearly pension of 100*l.* was given to "Mr. Willme Ramsay." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxix. fol. 67.) In 1564, the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine Mr. William Ramsay's Answer to Bullinger's book on the habits of Preachers. Keith, 568. Ramsay was minister of Kemback, a church held by the second master of St. Salvator's College. In consequence of a dispute in which he was involved, which came before the General Assembly, he obtained a testimonial from the kirk session of St. Andrews, June 21,

In the year 1556, a pension was granted to Alexander Syme, to enable him to wait on the Queen Regent, and be her Reader in the Laws or other sciences, at Edinburgh or any other place that she might appoint.* But the teaching of Civil Law, properly speaking, commenced in Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. Previously to that era the canons were the great object of study, and those who occasionally delivered lectures on civil law were generally, if not always, in priest's orders. It was by an innovation on the original constitution of St. Mary's College, similar to that which had been made on religious instruction, that William Skene was first authorized to teach as a civilian at St. Andrews, and to substitute the Institutes and Pandects in the room of the Sacred Canons and Decretals.

Though less known than his brother, the clerk register, and though not eminent for talents, William Skene deserves to be remembered for his private worth, and his usefulness as a teacher and a judge. He appears to have studied, and to have taken the degree of licentiate *utriusque juris*, in a foreign university; and upon his return to his native country was made canonist in St. Mary's College.† After the Reformation, he explained Cicero's Treatise on Laws and the Institutes of Justinian; and as this was the only class of the kind in the University, such of the students of the other colleges as chose were at liberty to attend his lectures. He gained the affection of his scholars by the condescending manner in which he explained to them in private what he had taught in the class, and showed them the practice of law in the Commissary Court, of which he was the chief judge.‡ John Skene taught for some years, as a regent, in the same college with his brother.‖

Edward Henryson was a man of greater talents and learning than Skene. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the University of Bourges in France, where he studied under Eguinar Baro, one of the first civilians who had recourse to the pure sources of ancient jurisprudence, and who blended polite literature with the pursuits of their immediate profession. Having finished his studies, Henryson resided for some time with Ulrich Fugger, and enjoyed a pension from that munificent patron of learned men. Both at that time, and afterwards while he read lectures on law at Bourges, he published several works which made his name known in the learned world. By his translations from the Greek he co-operated with some of the most enlightened men of that age in diffusing polite letters. And his law tracts are allowed to be not unworthy of the distinguished school in which he received his education. Upon his return to Scotland, at the establishment of the Reformation, he was appointed one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, and justified the character he had gained abroad by the uniform encouragement which he gave to literature in his native country.*

Of the state of theological learning we shall speak more particularly in the next chapter. But it is proper to give an account in this place of some individuals who joined the study of polite letters with that of theology. One of the most distinguished of these, in point of talents and station, was Alexander Arbuthnot. He was descended from an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine,† and after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the University of St. Andrews, went to France, and prosecuted his studies under Cujas. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession, but was induced to devote himself to the service of the church. In 1568, he was made principal of the University of Aberdeen. Writers of every party speak in high terms of the talents and virtues of Arbuthnot. He was skilled in mathematics and medicine as well as in law and theology. Though decided in his religious and political creed, the uprightness of his character and the amiableness of his manners disarmed the resentment of his opponents, and procured him their respect and esteem.‡ Few individuals could have maintained themselves in the situation in which he was placed. When he went to Aberdeen, the greater part of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were strongly addicted to the popish religion, and his predecessor, from hostility to the protestant establishment, had reduced the university to absolute poverty. In these circumstances he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, especially during the civil war, when the government was destitute of authority in the north, and the interests of learning were forgotten. To this he feelingly alludes in one of his poems:

I wald travel, and ydlenes I hait,
Gif I culd find sum gude vocatioun.
But all for nocht: in vain lang may I wait
Or I get honest occupatioun.
Letters are lichtliet in our natioun;
For lernying now is nother lyf nor rent:
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament.‖

In the latter part of the fifteenth, and first half of the sixteenth century, Scottish poetry had been much cultivated; and Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay, had attained great excellence in it, considering the rude state in which they found their native language. But this species of composition had fallen into neglect. It has been alleged that the reformers discouraged it, or that the confusions in which the country was involved by the Reformation banished the study of poetry. The former allegation is evidently unfounded, and the latter accounts for the fact but partially. The chief reason is to be found in the new

1570, and died in the course of that year. (Record of Kirk Session. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 49, 50. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 379.)

* See Note WW.

† Among the "Nota Incorp. 1556, in Novo Collegio," the first name is "Magr Gulielmus Skene in utroque jure licentiatus." (Liber Rectoris Univ. S. Andr.) This entry shows that he had not studied at St. Andrews; nor do I think that any of the Scottish Universities were at that period in the habit of conferring degrees in law. On the 31st of March, 1558, the right to the church of Tarvet was conveyed to St. Mary's College, by putting the archbishop's signet "digito discreti viri Magri Willielmi Skeyne, juris licentiati, et *ejusdem Collegii Canonistæ*," as procurator for his colleagues. (Papers of St. Mary's College.) In the Rector's Book, he is repeatedly said to be "ex Angusia." He was Conservator of the Privileges of the University, and elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Nov. 3, 1565. (Act. Fac. Art.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 24. Sir John Skene frequently refers to a book of his brother William, most probably in manuscript. (De Verborum Significatione, sig. I 4, K 2, O 3.) In an inventory of the books and papers of Mr. William Skene, Commissary of St. Andrews, taken Dec. 11, 1583, after his decease, by an order of the Lords of Session, the following articles occur: "Certane wreittis upon the lawis wreittin and penit be ye Commissar:"—"Maister William Skeynis prottocol wt certane shrowles and wyeris vreittis lyand lowse w'in ye same." (Papers of St. Salvator's College.) The titles of the books in this list have been very imperfectly and incorrectly taken.—Sir John also refers to a book of his brother Alexander, an advocate. (De Verb. Signif. I 4. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 105.) Alexander Skene signs a deed, as Notary Public, at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552. (Keith's Scotish Bishops, p. 74.) In 1561, "Maister Alex. Skyne advocate," was warded by the magistrates of Edinburgh for attending mass, but "at ye desyre and requeist of Maister William Skene," was set at libertie on certain conditions. (Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 9, a; 10, b.)

‖ His name appears as a regent in the years 1564 and 1565. (Lib. Rect. et Fac. Art.) This must have been previous to his travelling on the continent, which he mentions repeatedly in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*.

* See Note XX.

† He was not the son, as Mackenzie erroneously states, (Lives, iii. p. 186,) but the grandson of the baron of Arbuthnot. His father was Andrew Arbuthnot of Futhes, fourth son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk. (Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. App. p. 84. 2nd edit.

‡ Spotswood's History, p. 335. Wodrow's Life of Alexander Arbuthnot: MSS. vol. i.

‖ Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems, vol. i. p. 155.

direction which had been given to literary pursuits in consequence of the great numbers of our countrymen who studied abroad, and acquired that taste for Latin poetry which had become so general in all parts of the continent. From the time that Buchanan returned to Scotland, his learned countrymen were ambitious of paying their court to the muse in the language of ancient Rome, while they left their native tongue to be used by writers of inferior talent and education. Alexander Arbuthnot did not, however, follow their example in this respect. His poems were all composed in the Scottish language. Had he cultivated this species of composition, he possessed talents for it which would have attracted notice. But he indulged in poetry merely as an elegant amusement, by which he relieved his mind, when fatigued by the laborious duties of his office, or harassed with cares and disappointments. And he appears to have been cautious of detracting from the grave character of the professor, by associating it with one of a less dignified description.

> In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
> When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me:
> Bot gif I mell with meeter or with ryme,
> With rascal rymours I shall rakint be.*

Though his genius could sport in the gayer and more sprightly scenes of fancy, Arbuthnot confined himself chiefly to productions of a thoughtful and serious cast; and in some of these we perceive a very pleasing air of moral melancholy diffused over great goodness of heart.†

The only work which Alexander Arbuthnot is known to have published, is a treatise on the origin and dignity of Law. It probably consisted of academical orations or theses; but the only authentic information we have concerning it is contained in the encomiastic verses of Thomas Maitland.‡

Next to Arbuthnot, and resembling him in many points, was Thomas Smeton. When he had finished his academical education, and was teaching as a regent in the college of St. Salvator, the controversy about religion was warmly agitated at St. Andrews; and so zealous was he in favour of the old system, that leaving the university and his native country, he retired to France, at the triumph of the Reformation. He continued for some time an eager though candid champion of the Roman Catholic faith; but at last, in consequence of conversations which he held with Melville, Thomas Maitland, Gilbert Moncrieff, and others of his countrymen whom he met with at Paris, disagreeable doubts arose in his mind as to the religion in which he had been educated. He did not, however, give way to these, but attaching himself to the society of the Jesuits, the most zealous and able defenders of the church of Rome, he resolved to examine the subjects in dispute deliberately, and, if he found his doubts remain at the end of his period of probation, to decline the vow, and act according to his convictions.* With the view of obtaining the fullest information, he undertook a journey to Italy, and, passing through Geneva, conferred with Melville, who wished him success in his great object, though he could not approve of his measures. During eighteen months that he spent in Rome, under the tuition of the Jesuits in that city, he had frequent opportunities of visiting the prisons of the Inquisition, and of conversing with the persons confined for heresy. His conversation on these occasions excited the suspicions of his vigilant guardians, and he was remitted to Paris through the different colleges that were on the road. On his return to the French capital, he candidly disclosed his mind to his countryman Edmund Hay,† from whom he had already experienced much kindness. The discovery of his attachment to the reformed tenets grieved Hay, who had formed great expectations from Smeton's talents, but it did not induce him to withdraw his friendship. After several unsuccessful attempts to recover him from his errors, the good father warned Smeton of the danger to which he would expose himself by avowing his sentiments in France, and gave him his best advice; which was, to return home, to marry, to read the fathers and doctors of the church, and not to give ear to the ministers. It is gratifying to meet with such an honourable exception to the bigotry and violence which then reigned in France, and by which many of our countrymen who had taken up their residence in it were deeply infected. It is also a pleasing circumstance, that this piece of information has come to us from the grateful pen of Smeton, who, not satisfied with relating the facts to his acquaintance, publicly acknowledged the kindness with which he had been treated by this mild and affectionate Jesuit.‡ The neglect of one part of Hay's advice had nearly cost Smeton his life, which was saved, during the Bartholomew massacre, by his taking refuge in the house of Walsingham, the English ambassador, whom he accompanied to London. After teaching a school for some time at Colchester in Essex, he returned, in the year 1577, to his native country, and accepted of the church of Paisley, chiefly for the sake of enjoying Melville's society.‖

At Melville's recommendation, Smeton undertook to answer the virulent dialogue lately published by Archibald Hamilton; a task which he executed with much ability.§ He was well acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and with the mode of controversial

* Pinkerton, *ut supra*.

† The following lines from one of his unpublished poems, though not distinguished in other respects, may be given as a specimen of this quality, in addition to his poem on the *Miseries of a poor scholar*, which is already printed. *The Fainyeit falset and unthankfulness of a friend* gave occasion to them:

> The simple wit and scharpnes of Ingyn,
> Quhilk quhillome wes, now quyt is tain away:
> The steiring spirit quhilk poets call devyn
> Into my febill breist I find decay:
> I neither courage haive to sing nor say,
> Quhen I behald this warldis wickednes;
> And quhen I find I am so far thame fray
> Quha was my onlie comfort and gleidnes.
>
> My fais fall, and friendis gude succes,
> Sumtym my pen wes bissie to indyte:
> Of nobill men the valiant prowes
> Somtym my courage yairnit for to wreit:
> The laud, honour, and the praises great
> Of thame sumtym I wissed till advance
> Quhom now of neid my hairt has in despyt,
> And quhom I wyt of this wanhappie chance.
>
> Then, mistress, luik na mair for onie fruit,
> Or ony wark to com of my Ingyne;
> For now I nather cair for fame nor brult:
> I haive sa tint that I na mair can tyne.
> (Maitland MS.)

‡ "Alexandri Arbuthnæi Orationibus de origine et dignitate juris præfixa:" Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 153. Mackenzie (Lives, iii. 194,) says that the *Orationes* were printed at Edinburgh in 1572.

* Dempster says that Smeton taught Humanity at Paris (in the University), and afterward in the College of Clermont, with great applause. (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 586.)

† See above, p. 218.

‡ "Vera hæc esse testabitur Edmundus Haius, Laiolanæ in Gallia sectæ præfectus. Quem cum non paucis ingenii dotibus ornarit qui omnia in omnibus pro arbitrio operatur, vtinam vera etiam dignetur Evangelii sui cognitione. Hoc illi et aliis omnibus ex animo precor: sed illi imprimis, ob plurima priuatim officia ab illius in me humanitate, cum dubius fluctuarem, profecta: Quæ, vt referendæ gratiæ facultas desit, gratissima certe memoria colam." (Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 16.)

‖ To avail themselves as far as possible of his services, the University of Glasgow, in 1578, chose Smeton Dean of Faculty. (Acta Univ. Glasg.)

§ Dr. Edward Bulkely, in a letter to Buchanan, dated Chester, 28th Nov. 1580, says: "Legi Smythonii librum adversus Hamiltonum Apostatam. Vestræ Scotiæ, nunc vera Christi cognitione ac literis illustratæ, gratulor quod tales præstantes assertores habeat." (Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 31, edit. Ruddim.) Dempster describes this work as "opus verborum ornatu non inelegans, sed doctrina vacuum." (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 586.) He ascribes to Smeton, "Epitaphium Metellani. lib. i." (Ibid.)

warfare which the defenders of the church of Rome, and especially the Jesuits, had lately adopted. Being privy to their designs against Scotland, he excited the ministers to vigilance, gave directions to the young men how to conduct their studies, and dissuaded the nobility and gentry from sending their sons to those foreign seminaries, in which their minds would be in the greatest hazard of being corrupted. That they might be under the less temptation to this, he zealously concurred with Melville in his plan for re-modelling the Colleges of St. Andrews, of which we have already had occasion to speak.* Smeton was well acquainted with the learned languages, wrote Latin with great purity, and had not, like many of his countrymen who had been abroad, neglected his native tongue, in which he composed with great propriety.† In private life he was distinguished for his retired and temperate habits; encroaching upon the hours usually devoted to diet and sleep, that he might devote more time to his studies. Yet his temper was sweet, and his manners affable and remote from every thing like rusticity or moroseness. His premature death, soon after he succeeded Melville as principal of the university of Glasgow, was an unspeakable loss to that seminary.

Another individual who makes a prominent figure in the history of the period is Patrick Adamson, known at first by the name of Constyne or Constantine. He had received his elementary education under his brother-in-law, Andrew Simson, and, having finished his philosophical course at St. Andrews, in the College of St. Mary, taught for some years in it, most probably as grammarian. After the establishment of the Reformation, he became minister of Ceres, a parish in the vicinity of St. Andrews. This charge he left to accompany the eldest son of Sir James Mackgill, Clerk-Register, on his travels to France; and during his residence in that country he applied himself to the study of law at the university of Bourges. Upon his return to Scotland, in the year 1570, he fluctuated as to the profession which he should choose. Declining the office of principal of St. Leonard's College, which Buchanan had demitted in his favour,‡ he began to practise at the bar; and relinquishing this employment he resumed his former vocation as a preacher. He officiated some years as minister of Paisley, from which he removed to become chaplain to the Regent, who promoted him to the archiepiscopal see of St. Andrews.‖ Before his advancement to the primacy in 1576, Adamson had given proofs of his talents by the publication of several works. They consist chiefly of Latin poems. Though inferior to Melville in erudition and in vivacity of genius, he was nevertheless a polite scholar, an elegant poet, and a most persuasive and attracting preacher. But he was inordinately ambitious, and not over-scrupulous as to the measures which he employed for gratifying his ruling passion; by which means he tarnished his reputation, and defeated the influence of the great abilities which he unquestionably possessed.

Though Thomas Maitland had died before Melville returned to Scotland, yet he deserves to be mentioned here as one of his class-fellows at college, and as the intimate friend of Arbuthnot and Smeton. He belonged to a family, all the members of which, not excepting the females, were addicted to literary pursuits.* His father, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, one of the Lords of Session, is well known as a writer of Scottish poetry; and both his brothers, William and John,† were distinguished for their elegant taste as well as the political eminence to which they rose. Thomas Maitland had given various proofs of his poetical talents before his premature death. If they do not display a vigorous imagination, his poems at least evince great command of the Latin language, and are written with ease and spirit.‡ His political conduct partook in a considerable degree of that versatility by which his elder brother's was characterized. After eulogizing the character and administration of the Regent Murray, he exulted over his fall.‖ Maitland is better known from Buchanan's having made him his interlocutor in his dialogue on the Law of the Scottish Monarchy, than from his own poems. When he joined the party who sought to restore Queen Mary, Maitland disclaimed the principles contained in that treatise, and insisted that the author had no other reason for coupling his name with them than his own fancy.§ Buchanan did not wish to insinuate that the conversation which he describes was actually held, but he certainly meant it to be understood that the sentiments which he puts into the mouth of his interlocutor were entertained by Maitland. And it was vain for the latter to deny this, seeing he had recommended in verse the most obnoxious of the tenets which the writer of the dialogue inculcates in prose. In his poem on the coronation of James VI. he holds up arbitrary government to reprobation, and celebrates the resistance made by the people to tyrants. Having given examples of this from ancient history, and shown

> How Rome, impatient, spurned proud Tarquin's yoke,
> How ages after Brutus' spirit woke,
> And hurled at Cæsar's breast the patriot stroke;

Maitland comes to Scotland, places before the eyes of the young king the fate of such of his ancestors as had arrogated a power superior to the laws, and describes the sudden and overwhelming resistance which his impetuous countrymen were wont to oppose to encroachments on their rights, in language which no courtly poet, however chivalrous his ideas, would dare to employ, and which proves that he was then no believer in the divine right and sacred inviolability of despots.¶

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* Smetoni Respons. ad Dialog. Hamiltonii; Præfat. et p. 15, 16. Melville's Diary, p. 55—58. Spotswood. p. 336. James Melville, whom I have chiefly followed, received the particulars which he records from Smeton's own mouth. His account varies from that of Spotswood in some minute particulars. He does not speak of Thomas Maitland's accompanying him to Italy.

† James Melville says, that Smeton was usually employed by his brethren in drawing up important papers, as he "excellit baith in language and form of letter." (Diary, p. 58.) Besides the answer to Hamilton, Smeton was concerned in another work, of which the only account I can give is contained in the following extracts. "Ane method of preaching to be printed and put in Scots be Mr. Thos Smetoun." (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 112, a.) April 1581. "Anent the printing the method of preaching and prophesieing set out be
and shewed and read in the Assembly, the Assemblie hath thoght meet that the samine may be committit to Irons, and printed as necessary for the forme of teaching, and to be put in Scottish be their brother Mr. Thomas Smetone." (Cald. iii. 43.)—The author's name does not appear. —"Hyperius de formandis concionibus" was printed at Basil in 1563. "Hyperius Practice of Preaching," translated into English by Ludham, was printed in 1577.

‡ Ruddimanni Præfat. in. Oper. Buchanani.

‖ See Note YY.

* Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, Introd.

† John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, was successively Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

‡ He appears to have written a treatise on undertaking war against the Turks. (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 171.)

‖ Comp. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 163, with Life of Knox, p. 119.

§ Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. p. 359. Buchanan's Dialogue was not published for several years after the death of Maitland; but there is reason to think, as Innes says, that copies of it were handed about as early as 1570.—There is in the College Library of Edinburgh a MS. (the gift of William Drummond of Hathornden) entitled, "Thomæ Metelani ad Serenissimam principem Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam Epistola." It consists of 41 pages 4to.; and is properly a discourse or oration, composed in a very rhetorical style, urging the propriety of setting Queen Mary at liberty, and restoring her to her dominions. There is no date to it, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written in the year 1570 or 1571. It bears every mark of having been intended for publication.

¶ Gens inclyta Scotæ
Progenies, quæ sponte sua tibi jura ferenti

John Davidson, who was Melville's predecessor at Glasgow, was a clergyman before the Reformation, and had studied at Paris along with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Having returned to Scotland, he was placed in 1557, at the head of the College of Glasgow. When the controversy concerning religion first arose, Davidson adhered to the established church, but he afterwards changed his views and joined the reformers. His answer to Kennedy shews him to have been a modest and candid man, although not possessed of great learning. He testifies much respect for his old college companion, notwithstanding the diversity of their sentiments, and acknowledges the kindness with which he had formerly been treated by Archbishop Beaton.*

We have repeatedly had occasion to speak of John Davidson, who was minister at Libberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans. But it may be proper to take notice here of two curious poems composed by him, which throw considerable light on the manners and transactions of his time. The Regent Morton, with the view of securing for the use of the court a larger proportion of the thirds of benefices, had obtained, in 1573, an order of the Privy Council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, and putting them under the care of one minister. As pluralities had always been condemned by the reformed ministers, and considered as one of the worst abuses in the popish church, this act excited great dissatisfaction. John Davidson, who was then a regent in St. Leonard's College,† and a young man of great zeal, expressed the general sentiment in a metrical dialogue, in which he exposed the evil of the practice, and taxed, in terms more homely than pleasant, the motives in which it evidently originated. His poem was printed without his knowledge, upon which he was summoned to a justice-air at Haddington, and sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed upon to retract what he had written, or that the General Assembly might be induced to condemn it. A number of his colleagues in the University, who were desirous of pleasing the court, shewed themselves unfavourable to him; Rutherfurd, the principal of St. Salvator's College, who imagined that he was disrespectfully alluded to in the dialogue, had written an answer to it;‡ and the greater part of the Assembly were so much afraid of the Regent's resentment, that, although they were of the same sentiments with Davidson, they declined approving of his book, and left him to the vengeance of his powerful prosecutor. Interest was made in his behalf by some of the principal gentlemen in the country, but Morton was inflexible; and finding that nothing short of recantation would save him from punishment, Davidson, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, from which he was not permitted to return during the life-time of the Regent.* Lekprevick, the printer of the poem, was also prosecuted, and confined for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh.†

The prosecution of Davidson does little honour to the administration of Morton. There is nothing in the book which could give ground of offence or alarm to any good government. It is a temperate discussion of a measure which was at least controvertible. The reasons urged in its support are candidly and fairly stated, and they are examined and refuted in a fair and dispassionate manner. The evils which the act of council was calculated to produce are indeed exposed with faithfulness and spirit; but without any thing disrespectful to authority, or tending in the slightest degree to excite "sedition and uproar."

In a literary point of view, the merits of the Dialogue are far from contemptible. It is superior to most of the fugitive pieces of the time. Without pretensions to fine poetry, the versification is easy and smooth, and the conversation is carried on in a very natural and spirited manner. The introduction to the poem may amuse such readers as are wearied with the dryness of some of the preceding details:

Unto Dondee as I maid way,
Nocht long afoir Sanctandrois day,
At Kinghorne ferrie passand owir
Into ye Boit was thre or four
Of gentill men, as did appeir.
I said, Schirs, is thair ony heir
Quhais Jornay lyis unto Dundie?
Twa of thame answerit courtaslie,
We purpose noct for to ga thidder,
Bot yit our gait will lie togidder
Quhill † we be passit Kennewie.
Than I sall beir yow companie,
Said I; and with that we did land,
Syne lap upon our horse fra hand,
And on our Jornay rudelie raid.
Thir twa unto Sanctandrois maid:
The tane of thame appearit to be
Ane cunning Clerk of greit clergie,
Of visage graue and manneris sage,
His tongue weill taucht, but ‖ all outrage,
Men micht haue kend that he had bene
Quhair gude Instructioun he had sene.
The uther did appeir to me
Ane cumlie Courteour to be,
Quha was perfyt and weill besene
In thingis that to this land pertene.
Be ‡ we had riddin half ane myle,
With myrrie mowis passing the quhyle,
Thir twa of quhome befoir I spak
Of siodrie purposis did crak,
And enterit amang the rest
To speik how that the kirk was drest.
And this began the Courteour:
Quhat think ye of this new ordour?
Ye that ar Clerkis and men of wit,
I wat weill ye will speik of it
Amangis your selfis quhen ye conuene:
I pray you tell me quhat ye mene,
And gif this ordour ye allow,
Or alwayis how it plesis yow.
The Clerk said; Sir, the treuth to tell,
With Princes maters for to mell
I think it lyis nocht in our gait:
Lat Courteouris of sic thingis trait.
The Courteour maid answering:
Yit men will speik, Sir, of the king;

Obsequitur, consueta bonos defeodere reges
Oppositu laterum, nullis cessura periclis,
Dum sancto regis depellat corpore ferrum:
Illa eadem, si quando ferox, sitiensque cruoris
Exurgat, fortem trepida cum plebe Senatum
Qui vincire velit, patriæque infringere leges:
Non tolerat. sed fama volat, subitoque tumultu
Accensi heroes virtusque armata popelli
Sceptra rapit, mox dejectum de sede tyrannum,
Nunc morte horrifica, sævo nunc carcere frænat.
(Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 162.)

* See Note ZZ.

† He is the author of the poem in *Commendatioun of Uprichtnes* republished in the Life of John Knox, Supplement.

‡ "The Moderator injoyned them silence, and desired Mr. John Rutherford yet again to produce his book; but he yet still refused, and said, 'that Mr. John (Davidson) had called him *crused goose* in his book, that he had little Latin in his book, and that was false,' with many other brawling words.—Mr. Alexander Arbuthnot said, you take that to you which no man speaks against you." (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 432, 439.

The following is the passage in the poem which gave offence to Rutherfurd:

Thair is sum Collages we ken,
Weill foundit to uphald learnit men:
Amang the rest foundit we se
The teiching of theologie.
Lat anis the Counsell send and se,
Gif thir places weill gydit be:
And not abusit with waist rudis,
That does nathing bot spendis yai gudis
That was maid for that haly use,
And not to feid ane *crusit guse*.

* During his exile Davidson visited the continent. (Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 248.

† Proceedings against Davidson and Lekprevick, in Record of Privy Council. Lekprevick's summons is inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442. The prosecution was founded on the act of parliament 1551, "against blasphemous rymes or tragedies."

‡ Until. ‖ Without. § Before.

Bot this new ordour that is tane
Wes nocht maid be the Court allane:
The Kirkis Commissionars wes thare,
And did aggrie to les and mair.
Yit men may speik as they haue feill,
Quhidder it lykis thame euill or weill.
The Clerk said: haue thay condescendit,
I think our speiking can nocht mend it;
Bot ane thing I dar tak on me,
Gif as ye say the mater be
That thay of Kirk thairto assentit,
Thay sall be first that sall repent it;
Thocht for thair tyme sum wylie wynkit,
The ages after will forthink it.

The poem concludes with the following lines, which show that the author was by no means pleased with the conduct of the greater part of the ministers of the church:

Forsuith, Schir, (said the Courteour)
I am assurit had ilk Preichour
Unto the mater bene als frak
As ye haue bene heir sen ye spak,
It had not cum to sic ane heid
As this day we se it proceid.
Bot I can se few men amang thame,
Thocht all the warld suld ciene ouirgang thame,
That hes ane face to speik agane
Sic as the Kirk of Christ prophane.
Had gude John Knox not yit been deid,
It had not cum unto this heid:
Had thay myntit till sic ane steir,
He had maid henin and eirth to heir.*

Davidson also composed at this time a poem to the memory of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, a gentleman who had distinguished himself by his early attachment to the reformed religion, and his disinterested and invariable friendship for our national Reformer. Campbell died while actively employed in screening Davidson from the effects of persecution; and the latter has gratefully commemorated the virtues of his protector. This poem is inferior to the former in point of composition; but it preserves a number of curious and interesting facts relating to the history of those times.†

CHAPTER XII.

State of Literature in Scotland when Melville was removed from his Situation at St. Andrews. Anno 1611.

Erection of New Universities and Colleges—Resort of Foreign Students to Scotland—Literary Labours of Scotchmen in Dublin—Parochial Schools and Grammatical Education in Scotland—Hercules Rollock—Alexander Hume—Ramean Philosophy—Theology and Collateral Branches of Study—Principal Rollock—Bruce—Pont—The Simsons—Cowper—Civil and Scots Law—John Skene—Craig—Welwood—Other Studies—Napier of Merchiston—Hume of Godscroft—Vernacular Poetry—Extent to which Latin Poetry was Cultivated—Advantages and Disadvantages of this—General Estimate of the Progress of Learning and of the Influence which Melville had in Promoting it.

In tracing the progress of literature in this country during Melville's residence at St. Andrews, the first thing which claims our notice is the additions made to the number of our universities.

We have seen that the early institutions for promoting literature were generally attached to cathedral churches or monasteries. The universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen having been founded by bishops, it was natural for their founders to erect them in the chief cities of their respective sees. Edinburgh was not an episcopal seat, and, consequently, was unprovided with a university or great school; although it had long been considered as the capital of the kingdom. As soon as the Reformation was established, the magistrates, in concert with the ministers of the capital, attempted to have this defect supplied;* but their endeavours were thwarted by the bishops, who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their own immediate and official protection.† The University of Edinburgh, which has since risen to such eminence, owed its erection to the fall of episcopacy. In the year 1579, when the General Assembly had attacked the episcopal office and drawn up the model of presbytery, the design of founding a college in Edinburgh was revived.‡ Encouraged by the ministers and other public-spirited individuals of the city, the magistrates immediately commenced building apartments for the accommodation of professors and students; and in the end of the year 1583 the classes were opened, under the patronage of the town-council, and the sanction of a royal charter.‖ By donations from individuals and public bodies, and by obtaining part of a legacy which Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, had bequeathed for a similar purpose,§ the patrons were enabled to extend the benefits of the institution. From the number of students who resorted to the new college, it was apparent that it would soon rival the most frequented of the older establishments; and although it suffered a great loss by the premature death of Rollock, its excellent principal, yet was it in a prosperous condition when Melville was removed from Scotland.¶

Transferred from one sovereign to another, and lying at a distance from the seats of the governments to which they at different times became subject, the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands had been neglected, and allowed to remain in ignorance and barbarism. Bishop Reid, whose attention to the interests of learning deserves great praise, endeavoured to remedy this evil by providing means of education for his clergy and the youth of his diocese. Having given a new foundation to his cathedral church of Kirkwall in 1544, he appointed the person who held the office of Chancellor to read publicly, once a week, a lecture on the canon law; and the chaplain of St. Peter's to act as master of a grammar school.** After the reformation

* There is a copy of this rare poem in the Advocates Library. It is complete, with the exception of the title-page, which is much wasted. The following title is made up from that copy and other documents.

"Ane Dialog or [Mu]tual ta[lking] betwix a [clerk] and [ane cour]teour, Concerning [four kirks] till ane Minister, C[ollectit out of thair] mouthis, and put [in verse by a] young man qu[ha did] forgather w[ith thame] in his Jor[nay, as] efter foll[owis.]"

The book is printed in black letter, and consists of 16 leaves in 12mo. It has no imprint, but we learn from the summons to Robert Lekpreuk, that it was printed by him in January, 1573; i. e. 1574, according to modern reckoning. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442.)

† See Note AAA.

* Record of Town Council of Edinburgh, April 23, 1561, and April 8, 1562. See under Note FFF.

† Crawfurd's Hist. of University of Edinburgh, p. 19. Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 356.

‡ Record of Town Council, April 24, and Nov. 25, 1579.

‖ Though the name of a *University* is not applied to the institution either in the Royal Charter of 1582, or in the Act of Parliament of 1621, yet in the latter, it is declared to be "ane Colledge—of humane letteris and toungis, of philosophie, theologie, medicine, the lawis, and all uther liberall sciences," and is endowed with "all liberties, fredomes, immunities and priviledgis appertening to ane free Colledge, and that in als ample forme and lairge maner as anye Colledge hes or bruikis w'in this his M^ties realme." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 670, 671.)

§ See Note BBB.

¶ Crawford's Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh, p. 67.

** "Hic Cancellarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, tertium locum post prepositum occupabit, qui semel in septimana, nisi aliunde legitime impedietur, tenebitur publice in Jure pontificio legere in Capitulo omnibus canonicis, prebendariis, capellanis, et aliis interesse volentibus."—Ordænamus preterea capellaniam beati Petri primum omnium tresdecim incompatibilem cum alio beneficio, alteragio seu servitio perpetuo, cujus sacellanus erit Magister artium et peritus grammaticus, Scole grammaticalis erit magister. (Nova Erectio ad decorem et augmentationem divini cultus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Orchadensi. Oct. 28, 1544. in Arch. Civit. Edin.) This deed was confirmed by Cardinal Beaton "pridie kal. Julii, 1545." (Bulla Nove Erectionis Ecclesiæ et Capituli Orchadensis: ibid.) Mackenzie, in his Life

the emoluments of the chaplainry continued to be applied to the support of the master of the grammar school of Kirkwall.* In the year 1581, a proposal to erect a College in Orkney was laid before parliament, by which it was referred, along with other plans for promoting education, to certain commissioners.† It is probable that the scheme was defeated by the interest of those who had got possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of that diocese, which formed the only fund from which the seminary could have been erected and endowed.

In 1592, the year in which presbytery obtained a legal establishment, Sir Alexander Fraser of Phillorth laid the foundation of a university and college within the town of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire.‡ It was intended for the ornament of a town on which he had conferred many privileges, and for the instruction of the youth in the northern part of the kingdom. The parliament ratified the institution in 1597, with high commendations of the liberality and patriotism of the founder.‖ Charles Ferme, who had taught for several years as a regent at Edinburgh, was chosen principal of the new college; and in the year 1600, the General Assembly authorized him to undertake this office, along with that of minister of the parish of Fraserburgh.§ His labours were much interrupted by the Earl of Huntly; and an end was put to them by his confinement, first in the castle of Down and afterwards in the island of Bute, for assisting at the General Assembly at Aberdeen.¶ It does not appear that he had any successor in the college, which was most probably allowed to fall into decay amidst the distractions produced by the alteration of church-government.

The College of Fraserburgh might have succeeded better, had it not been for a similar establishment erected about the same time by George Earl Marischal in the town of New Aberdeen.* Marischal College was originally endowed only for a principal, three regents, and six bursars; but its situation in a flourishing town furnished it with students, its proximity to King's College excited emulation, and the gratitude or the pride of individuals who received their education at it soon increased the number of its professorships and bursaries, as well as the small stock of books with which it was originally provided.†

Whatever may be thought as to the expediency of some of these collegial institutions, there can be but one opinion as to the zeal which they evinced in behalf of the interests of literature. Whether the founders acted from the impulse of their own minds, or were guided by the deference which they paid to the opinions of others, the fact of so many academies rising up at the same time, shews that the public attention had been awakened to the importance of education, and that a general and strong passion for literary pursuits was felt through the nation. It may also be observed that the improvements in the mode of teaching which had been introduced into the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow were adopted in one degree or another in the newly-erected colleges. At Edinburgh, indeed, each regent conducted his students through the whole course of their studies, either because Rollock had been accustomed to this method at St. Andrews, or because he could not find a sufficient number of teachers. But at Aberdeen, in Marischal College from the beginning the regents had particular professions assigned to them;‡ and the same arrangement was prescribed by the new foundation of King's College.‖ When Melville returned from Geneva, although more than thirty years had elapsed from the first introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, the students at St. Andrews did not acquire any knowledge of it beyond the regular declensions. But now the most difficult Greek authors were read and explained in all our universities. The knowledge of Hebrew was brought to the country by a deserving individual at the establishment of the Reformation; and yet, fourteen years after that period, not one of the professors in the first university of the kingdom could teach its alphabet.§ But now the Hebrew language was accurately taught in each of the universities, along with the cognate tongues which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland. The scientific lectures first read by Melville at Glasgow, and afterwards adopted in the other universities, included several useful branches of knowledge, not formerly taught in the established course of study, or treated in the most superficial manner; as geography, chronology, civil and natural history, geometry and the system of the sphere, according to the discoveries of recent astronomers.

The resort of foreign students to Scotland at this

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of Bishop Reid, says: "He built St. Olau's Church in Kirkwall, and a large court of buildings, to be a college for instructing of the youth in these and the adjacent isles, in grammar, philosophy, and mathematics." (Lives, iii. 47.)

* There is extant an original Gift and Presentation by Patrick Earl of Orkney (dated Feb. 26, 1595.) of the "Prebendarie of St. Peter lyand within the diocie of Orkney—conforme to the erection thereof." The presentee is "to make actual residence for serving of the gramar school at Kirkwall as Master principal thereunto—utherways this gift to expyre *ipso facto*." This was followed by a decreet of the Court of Session, May 22, 1601, confirming the gift. (Communication from Alexander Peterkin, Esq. Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney.)

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 214.

‡ The grant confirming to him the lands and barony of Phillorth (July 1, 1592.) contains the following clause: "Dedimus et concessimus tenoreque presencium damus et concedimus plenariam potestatem et libertatem prefato Alexandro Fraser heredibus suis mascvlis et assignatis Collegium seu Collegia infra dictum burgum de Fraser edificandi, Universitatem erigendi, omnia genera officialium eisdem conveniea et correspondea elegendi locandi et deprivandi, fundationes pro eorum sustentatione et omnia privilegia quecunque necessaria faciendi et dotandi, Rectores principales et subprincipales et alia membra necessaria ad voluntatem et optionem dicti Alexri ejusque heredum masculorum et assignatorum antedict. faciendi eligendi mutandi et deponendi, leges acta et statuta pro boni ordinis observatione faciendi et custodire causandi. (Register of Privy Seal, vol. lxiv. f. 46.)

‖ Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 147, 148.

§ Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 194, b. Crawfurd's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. p. 31, 33, 37, 39, 42. Fermæi Analysis in Epist. ad Romanos, Epist. Dedic. et Epist. ad Lect. Edinb. 1651.

¶ In 1603, Ferme wrote, from the place of his confinement, to Robert Bruce: "I have to this hour been releaved be the comfort of no creature; neither have I heard to whom I may go. A thousand deaths hathe my soul tasted of; but still the truth and mercie of the Lord hath succoured me." (Cald. vii. 98, 99.) He was restored to his parish before his death, which happened on the 24th of September, 1617. Verses to his memory were composed by Archibald Simson, (Annal. p. 138.) and by Principal Adamson of Edinburgh, who, in the 75th year of his age, published a work of Ferme, who had been his regent at college. (Prefix. ad Fermæi Analys. ut supra.) "Mr. Charles Fairme," was called to be "second minister of Haddington." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, July 28, and Aug. 25, 1596, and Sept. 28, 1597.) At the "desyre of patrik cohren and Georg heriot, commissionares direct from the session of the kirk of the north-west quarter of Edr," the presbytery "tollerat Mr. Charles ferum to preach in the Kirk of that quarter, at sic tymes and necessary occasiones as he sal be imployit be said session." (Rec. of Presb. of Edinburgh, Sept. 12, 1598.) He "was gane to the north Parts, in Dec. 12, 1598. (Ibid.)

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* The Charter of the College was signed by "George Erle Marshall," on the 2nd of April, 1593. It was approved of by the General Assembly at Dundee on the 24th of the same month, "after being examined by a Committee of their number." (Memorial by Principal Blackwell.) And it was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 35.

† Memorial for Marischal College by Principal Blackwell.

‡ "Nolumus autem Academiæ nostræ præceptores ad novas Professiones transilire, sed ut in eadem professione se exerceant, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendant, dignum suis studiis et ingeniis nanciscantur Præceptorem." (Novæ Academiæ Abredonensis per Comitem Marischallum Regia Autoritate, Erectio et Instructio.) The Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac languages, Physiology (Natural History) Geometry, Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy, were to be taught by the Principal and Masters of Marischal College.

‖ See under Note TT.

§ Life of John Knox, p. 22, 88. Melville's Diary, p. 26.

period is another interesting fact in the history of our national literature. Formerly no instance of this kind had occurred. On the contrary, it was a common practice for the youth of this country, upon finishing their course of education at one of our colleges, to go abroad, and prosecute their studies at one or more of the universities on the continent. Nor did any one think himself entitled to the honourable appellation of a learned man who had not added the advantages of a foreign to those of a domestic education. But after the reformation of the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the erection of the College of Edinburgh, this practice became gradually less frequent, until it ceased entirely, except with those who wished to attain proficiency in law or in medicine. If students in languages, the arts, or divinity, now left Scotland, it was generally to teach, and not to be taught, in foreign seminaries. The same cause which produced this change attracted students from abroad to this country. A few years after Melville went to the university of St. Andrews, the names of foreigners appear for the first time on its records. The number of these rapidly increased; and Scotland continued to be frequented by students from the continent for a considerable time after the original cause of attraction had been removed. Though St. Andrews was the chief place to which they resorted, yet they studied also in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Some of them were persons of noble birth, but the greater part were young men engaged in the cultivation of theology and the branches of learning connected with it. No adequate cause of the fact under consideration can be assigned but the report which had gone abroad of the flourishing state of education in Scotland. It is a mistake to suppose that the foreign students were for the most part Danes, who were induced to visit this country in consequence of the connexion established between it and Denmark by the marriage of James. Some of them were Danes; but a still greater number were French, besides Belgians, Germans, and Poles.*

The number of Scotchmen who at this time distinguished themselves as teachers in foreign universities and schools was great. I have had occasion to speak of some of those who taught in the protestant academies of France; but to give any thing like a proper account of them would lead me into a digression disproportionately large. I cannot however omit mentioning here a literary undertaking in Ireland by two of our countrymen. The state of education in that country had fallen so low that it was with difficulty that an individual capable of teaching the learned languages could be found even in the capital. In the year 1587, James Fullerton and James Hamilton established a school in Dublin. The talents of the two Scotchmen, joined with the most engaging manners, soon procured them scholars. After they had taught privately for five years, they were admitted to professorships in Trinity College, the fabric of which had been recently completed; and they contributed to bring the University of Dublin into that reputation which it quickly acquired. Their labours would have deserved commemoration if they had done no more than educated the celebrated James Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, the great ornament of the church of Ireland, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was one of their first pupils in the grammar school, was conducted through the course of philosophy at the university by Hamilton, and was accustomed to mention it as an instance of the kindness of Providence that he received his education under the two Scotchmen, "who came hither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others." Whether the primate was initiated by them into the principles of the Hebrew language, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency, we are not informed, but they introduced him to the beauties of the classic poets and orators, with which he was captivated in his youth to a degree which we could scarcely have supposed from the tenor of his subsequent studies. * It has been said that Hamilton and Fullerton concealed a political design under their literary undertaking; and that they were sent to Dublin by the Scottish court as secret agents to obtain the consent of the Irish nobility and gentry to James's right of succession to Elizabeth. This is not at all likely. It is much more probable, that the enterprise was entirely literary, and undertaken from the same motives which induced so many of their learned countrymen at that time to seek a foreign field for the exertion of their talents. At a subsequent period James availed himself of the credit which they had gained, and they were employed by him in secret negociations, which they conducted with much ability and success. † The services of both were rewarded. Fullerton was knighted, admitted a gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and resided at court after the accession. Hamilton was created Viscount Claneboy, and afterwards Earl of Clanbrissel; ‡ was entrusted with great authority in Ireland; and in concert with his pupil, the primate, and his countryman, the bishop of Raphoe, shewed favour to such ministers as took shelter in that country from the persecution of the Scottish prelates. ‖ Fullerton and Hamilton were early acquaintances of Melville, § and the former was one of his most intimate and steady friends. ¶ He retained his love of letters, and a partiality for his early studies, after he had exchanged the life of the scholar for that of the courtier. **

In the preceding chapter some account has been given of the state of the inferior order of seminaries in Scotland when Melville came to St. Andrews.†† Since

* See Note CCC.

* Parr's life of Usher, p. 3. Smith, Vita Usserii, p. 16. Dillingham, Vita Laur. Chadertoni, p. 55. There is a letter from Hamilton to Sir James Sempill, (Dublin, May 4, 1612.) in recommendation of Usher, when he went to London to publish his first work. "Clear them (Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Usher) to his Matie that they ar not puritants; for they have dignitaryeships and prebends in the Cathedral churches here." (MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 18.)

† This is confirmed by the account which Dr. Birch gives; although he speaks immediately of negociations with the English nobility. (Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232.) The letter from King James inserted in the Appendix to Strype's Annals, vol. iv. and which Strype supposes to have been written to Lord Hamilton, was addressed, I have no doubt, to James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboy.

‡ Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 257. According to Lodge, he was the eldest son of Hans Hamilton, of Dunlop. Crawford says that Hans Hamilton, *vicar* of Dunlop, was son of Archibald Hamilton of Raploch. (MS. Baronage, p. 265—267: in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 5. 30.)

‖ Life of Mr. Robert Blair, p. 47—52, 64, 80. Life of Mr. John Livingston.

§ In the year 1585 James Hamilton was made Master of Arts at St. Andrews, and in 1586, one of the same name was laureated at Glasgow. I have stated (p. 226.) that Sir James Fullerton was educated under Melville at Glasgow. But it may be added, that in the list of Melville's class-fellows are the names "Jacobus Hamyltoun," and "Jacobus Fullartoun." (See above, p. 384.)

¶ Letter from Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, in Appendix.

** Hoc saxum (a grammatical difficulty) cum diu volvissem, tandem incidi in Jacobum Fullertonum, virum doctum, et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum. Cum eo rem disceptavi, &c." (Humii Grammatica Nova, Part. ii. p. 15.) See also Leochæi Epigram. p. 23. 48. In 1611, Sir James Fullerton was, by the favour of Prince Henry, appointed Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Master of the Privy Purse to the Duke of York. (Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232—235.) His Testament is dated Dec. 28, 1630, and was proved Feb. 5, 1630, O. S. He left no issue, and bequeathed "the estate and interest of the manor of Bifleete," with his leases of the Lead Mines, &c. after paying his debts, to his "deare and well beloved wife, the Lady Bruce." "The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Bruce, Baron of Kinlosse" was his sole executor. (Will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.)

†† See above, p. 363. Comp. p. 382.

that time the number of parochial schools had increased, although in many places they were still wanting, and in others the teachers enjoyed a very inadequate and precarious support. There was as yet no law which compelled the landholders or parishioners to provide them with accommodations or salaries. The persuasions of the ministers and the authority of the church-courts were, however, exerted in supplying this defect. As every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were tried; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established. A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice, long before the act of council in 1616 which was ratified by parliament in 1633. It is a mistake to suppose that the parochial schools of Scotland owed their origin to these enactments. The parliamentary statute has, indeed, been eventually of great benefit. But it would have remained a dead letter but for the exertions of the church-courts; and, owing to the vague nature of its provisions, it continued long to be evaded by those who were insensible to the benefits of education, or who grudged the smallest expense for the sake of promoting it. The reader will find in the notes some facts which throw light on the state of parochial instruction at this period.*

The classical schools had also increased in number, and improvements were introduced into those which had existed from ancient times. Two individuals, who were successively at the head of the High School of Edinburgh, are entitled to our notice here, from the services which they rendered to the literature of their country, as well as the connexion which they had with Melville. Hercules Rollock had received a complete education, and was an excellent classical scholar. After finishing his studies at St. Andrews, and teaching for some time in King's College, Aberdeen, † he went abroad, and studied at Poitiers in France. ‡ On his return to Scotland, he was warmly recommended to the young King by Buchanan; ‖ and it seems to have been in consequence of this recommendation that he was appointed Commissary of Angus and the Carse of Gowrie, which were disjoined from the Commissariot of St. Andrews in the year 1580, and erected into a separate jurisdiction. But the new court was soon suppressed, in consequence of the opposition made to it by the commissary and magistrates of St. Andrews.§ In 1584, Rollock was brought from Dundee,¶ and continued head master of the High School of Edinburgh for eleven years, at the end of which he was displaced in consequence of some offence which was taken at his conduct.** On his removal from the High School he obtained an office in the Court of Session, and was patronised by the King. * He was suspected of being the author of a lampoon against Bruce and the other ministers who were banished at the time of the tumult which happened in the capital; on which account Melville attacked him, in several stinging epigrams, as a mercenary poet, and a starved schoolmaster turned lawyer. Poets are not disposed to brook an affront. Rollock replied; and in a poem, more distinguished for its length than its vigour, denied the charge, and vindicated his character. † Whatever might be his imprudences or personal foibles, he certainly contributed to raise the character of the useful seminary over which he had presided. ‡

Alexander Hume, who succeeded to the rectorship of the High School, if not so good a poet as Rollock, was a superior grammarian, and a more acceptable teacher. ‖ He has himself informed us, that he was descended of the ancient family of the Humes, acquired the knowledge of the Latin language under the well-known Andrew Simson at Dunbar, went through the course of philosophy at St. Andrews, and afterwards spent sixteen years in England, partly in studying at the University of Oxford, and partly in teaching. His theological works shall be mentioned afterwards. While he taught at Edinburgh, his attention was turned to the elementary books which were at that time used in grammar schools, and he was ambitious of improving on the labours of foreigners, as well as of his countrymen, Simson, Carmichael, and Duncan. § His Latin Grammar, on which he had spent many years, and which he published, after submitting it to the correction of Melville and other learned friends, did not give the satisfaction which he expected. This was partly owing to prejudice against innovation, and partly to the author's having sacrificed ease and perspicuity to logical precision in his arrangement and definitions. But, although less adapted for youth, the work displays considerable knowledge of the principles of grammar, and might be useful to teachers and advanced scholars. The privy council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, enjoined it to be used in all the schools of the kingdom; an injunction which was defeated by the interest of the bishops, whose displeasure the author had incurred, and by the persevering opposition of Ray, who succeeded to his place in the High School. ¶

It was during the incumbency of Hume, that the High School of Edinburgh received that form which it has preserved, with little alteration, to the present day. In the year 1598, a code of laws, drawn up by a committee of learned men, and intended to regulate the mode of teaching and the government of the youth, received the sanction of the town-council. The school was divided into four classes, to be taught separately by four masters, including the principal. The boys passed from one master to another at the end of each

* See Note DDD.

† Orem's Description of Old Aberdeen, p. 159.

‡ Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 350, 351. Comp. Buchanani Epist. p. 13, 21. In a MS. Catalogue of Scottish writers, (to be found in the Advocates Library, in the same volume with Charters's Account of Scottish divines) Hercules Rollock is said to have published "Panegyrim de Pace in Gallia constituenda. Pictavi 1576." He had also been some time in England. (Delit. *ut supra*, p. 361.)

‖ Buchanani Epist. p. 29.

§ Record of Privy Council, January 12, 1580.

¶ May 29, 1584. Record of Town Council of Edin. vol. vii. f. 90. On the 17th of April, 1588, his salary was augmented "from 50 to 100 pundis." In his petition for an augmentation, he tells the council, that "upoun informatioun of *Mr. James lawsoun* and other favoreris of lerning he was employet to undertak ye chairge of thair hie schole." (Ib. vol. viii. f. 149, b. 150.)

** Record of Town Council, vol. x. f. 71. Rollock imputes his dismissal to the ignorance of the citizens, who were incapable of appreciating the excellence of his instructions, so superior to those of ordinary pedagogues; and he represents the school as sinking, at his removal, into the barbarism from which he had recovered it. (Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 389.)

* Delit. ut supra.

† Ibid. p. 117. Comp. p. 337. In the catalogue of books presented to the University of Edinburgh, by Drummond of Hawthornden, (p. 24,) is the following article: "Ad Herculem Rollocum responsio Andreæ Melvini. MS autogr." But the MS. is not now to be found.

‡ The magistrates appear to have been sensible of this; for on the 20th of February, 1600, they gave an allowance to "the relict and bairns of Mr. Hercules Rollock." (Council Register, vol. x. f. 270.)

‖ Crawfurd's Hist. of the Univ. of Edin. p. 64. His appointment was on the 23d of April, 1596. (Council Register, vol. x. ff. 75, 76.)

§ "Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, liber secundus. Cantab. 1587." James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, was the author of this work. Andrew Duncan, the author of various grammatical pieces, (Ames, by Herbert, iii. 1515, 1516, 1518.) was minister of Crail, and one of those who were banished to France for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen.

¶ See Note EEE

year; a plan which has not the same recommendations when applied to the teaching of a single language that it has when applied to different languages or branches of science. By the same laws, the Humanity class in the College was also regulated, and Greek was appointed to be taught in it as well as Latin. In the year 1614, a fifth class was established in the High School, and during their attendance on it the boys were initiated into Greek grammar.*

In the year 1606, Hume relinquished his situation in Edinburgh, and became principal master of the grammar school at Prestonpans, which had been recently founded by John Davidson. The exertions which Davidson made to provide for the religious and literary instruction of his parish entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expense he built a church and a manse, a school-house and a dwelling-house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and the founder destined all his heritable and moveable property, including his books, to the support and ornament of this trilingual academy.† Similar endowments were made by others; ‡ and there is reason to think that, in not a few instances, the funds which benevolent individuals bequeathed for the promotion of learning were clandestinely retained, or illegally alienated from their original destination, by the infidelity and avarice of executors and trustees. Several acts of the legislature were made to prevent such abuses.‖

In investigating the progress which science made in Scotland during this period, the first thing which strikes us is the introduction of the Ramean philosophy, and its general substitution in the room of the Aristotelian. The influence which Ramus had in the advancement of philosophy has not, in my opinion, had that importance attached to it by modern writers which it deserves. In forming an estimate of the degree in which any individual has contributed to the illumination of the age in which he lived, it is necessary to take into account something more than the character of his opinions viewed in themselves: we must inquire if they were brought fairly and fully into contact with the public mind, and attend to the circumstances which combined to aid or to neutralize their effect. By a careful examination of the writings of such men as Bruno and Cardan, we may discover here and there a sentiment akin to a truer philosophy; but these sentiments appear to have struck their minds during certain lucid intervals and are buried in a farrago of fantastic, extravagant, and unintelligible notions, which at that period must have had the tendency to discredit them completely with persons of sober thinking. They are to be viewed rather as curious phenomena in the history of individuals than as indications of the progress made by the human mind. There are three grand events in the modern history of philosophy. The first is the revival of literature, which, by promoting the study of the original writings of the ancients, rescued the Aristotelian philosophy from the barbarism and corruption which it had contracted during the middle ages. The second is the emancipation of the human mind from that slavish subjection to authority under which it had been long held by a superstitious veneration for the name of Aristotle. The third is the introduction of, what is commonly called, the inductive philosophy. The two former preceded, and made way for the latter. In bringing about the first a multitude of persons in all parts of Europe had co-operated with nearly equal zeal. The merit of effecting the second is in a great measure due to one individual. The Platonic school which was founded in the fifteenth century did not produce any extensive or permanent effects on the mode of study and philosophizing. It originated in literary enthusiasm; its disciples were chiefly confined to Italy; and they contented themselves with pronouncing extravagant and rapturous panegyrics on the divine Plato. Valla, Agricola,* Vives, and Nizolius had pointed out various defects in the reigning philosophy, and recommended a mode of investigating truth more rational than that which was pursued in the schools. But they had not succeeded in fixing the attention of the public on the subject. The attack which Ramus made on the Peripatetic philosophy was direct, avowed, persevering, and irresistible. He possessed an acute mind, a competent acquaintance with ancient learning, an ardent love of truth, and invincible courage in maintaining it. He had applied with avidity to the study of the logic of Aristotle; and the result was a conviction, that it was an instrument utterly unfit for discovering truth in any of the sciences, and answering no other purpose than that of scholastic wrangling and digladiation. This conviction he communicated to the public; and, in spite of all the resistance which he encountered from ignorance and prejudice, he succeeded in bringing over a great part of the learned world to his views. What Luther was in the church, Ramus was in the schools. He overthrew the infallibility of the Stagyrite, and proclaimed the right of mankind to think for themselves in matters of philosophy; a right which he maintained with the most undaunted fortitude, and to which he may be said to have died a martyr.† If Ramus had not shaken the authority of the long-venerated *Organon* of Aristotle, the world might not have seen the *Novum Organum* of Bacon. The faults of the Ramean system of Dialectics have long been acknowledged. It proceeded upon the radical principles of the logic of Aristotle; its distinctions often turned more upon words than things; and the artificial method and uniform partitions which it prescribed in treating every subject, were unnatural, and calculated to fetter, instead of forwarding, the mind in the discovery of truth. But it discarded many of the useless speculations, and much of the unmeaning jargon respecting topics, predicables, and predicaments, which made so great a figure in the ancient logic. It inculcated upon its disciples the necessity of accuracy and order in arranging their own ideas and in analyzing those of others.‡ And, as it advanced no claims to

* See Note FFF. † See Note GGG.

‡ John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, endowed a school, and made provision for the poor, within his parish. Letter from him to the General Assembly, Nov. 16, 1602: (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 2. 17. f. 156.) "The King's Scole of Dunkeld," founded Feb. 22, 1567, (Reg. of Presentations, vol. i. p. 5.) was ratified by Parliament in 1606. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 313.) ‖ Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 94; vol. v. p. 22.

* Ramus acknowledges that he was indebted for more accurate views of Logic to Rudolphus Agricola, and that he learned them from Sturmius, one of Agricola's scholars. (Præfat. in Schol. Grammat.)

† "Easdem in religionis restitutione judiciorum remoras ætas nostra experta est. Quapropter per Deum optimum maximum, Logicæ artis professores exhortor, ut philosophiæ veritatem pluris quam philosophi ullius authoritatem faciant.—Tales denique sint in Aristotele cognoscendo et interpretando, qualis Aristoteles in Platone fuit. Unum enim id illis exopto, ut Aristoteles ipsi sibi sint, vel Aristotele etiam præstantiores magistri: sicut Aristoteles nimirum Plato alter esse, aut etiam Platone præstantior esse voluit." (Rami Animad. in Organ. Aristotelis, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 66. edit. Francof. 1594.) Those who wish to understand the spirit of Ramus, and the motives which induced him to embark in the cause of philosophical reform, should read the whole of the 13th chapter of the 4th book of his *Animadversiones*. Brucker has given extracts from it. (Philos. tom. v. p. 566—568.)

‡ Bacon was anxious to disclaim connexion with Ramus, whom he calls the "neoteric rebel against Aristotle." *Catalina Cethegum?* But he acknowledges the merits of Ramus on the head of method. "Methodus veluti scientiarum architectura est: atque hac in parte melius meruit Ramus," &c. (De Augm. Scient. lib. vi. cap. ii.) Hooker refers to the system of Ramus in the following passage. Having spoken of the utility of art in advancing knowledge, and of the little progress which had been made in all parts of natural knowledge since the days of Aristotle, he adds: "In the poverty of that other new-devised aid, two things are, notwithstanding, singular. Of mar-

infallibility, submitted all its rules to the test of practical utility, and set this constantly before the eye of the student as the only legitimate end of the whole logical apparatus, its faults were soon discovered, and yielded readily to a more natural method of reasoning and investigation.

The eloquence of Ramus, added to the novelty of his opinions, and the ardour and boldness with which he maintained them, had a fascinating influence on his students. Foreigners, who attended his lectures in the university of Paris, carried his peculiar sentiments along with them to their respective countries. Within a few years after his death his writings were known through Europe; and, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Ramism, as the new mode of philosophizing was called, was publicly taught in some of the principal universities of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Britain.* I formerly stated that Melville studied under him, and that on his return to his native country, he introduced his master's system of logic into the university of Glasgow.† It continued to be taught there under his successor, Patrick Sharp.‡ At St. Andrews, however, it met with the most determined resistance. It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which the name of Aristotle had gained over the human mind, that his philosophy continued long to maintain its ground in the greater part of the protestant schools. When Luther had attacked it with his usual vehemence, his colleague Melanchthon interposed for its protection. From attachment to it, the members of the Academy of Geneva refused to admit Ramus into their number, during the time that Melville resided in that city.‖ It was not until the year 1583, that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave public warning against sentiments subversive of religion contained in books which were put into the hands of all the youth.§ And twenty years after every vestige of papal authority had been abolished in the university of St. Andrews, Melville had almost excited a tumult in it by calling in question the infallibility of a heathen philosopher. But he ultimately succeeded in effecting a reform on the philosophical creed at St. Andrews.¶ Rollock, who became a convert to the new philosophy, introduced it into the College of Edinburgh, in which it continued long to be taught.** The writings of Aristotle were not, however, banished from our universities, and his authority appears to have revived at St. Andrews after Melville's removal.††

Theological learning made great advancement during this period. Formerly no commentary on scripture, and no collection of sermons, had appeared in Scotland. This defect was now supplied by the writings of Rollock and Bruce. The former published commentaries on most of the books of the New Testament, and on some parts of the Old, which were speedily reprinted on the continent, with warm recommendations by foreign divines.* Though they contain occasional remarks on the original, Rollock's commentaries are not distinguished for critical learning, nor do they discover deep research; but they are perspicuous, succinct, and judicious. His treatise on *Effectual Calling* is a compendious system of divinity, and affords a favourable specimen of the manner in which he executed this part of his academical lectures. It shows, among other things, that his understanding was not led astray by admiration of the Ramean logic, and that he did not suffer a superstitious or pedantic regard to methodistic rules to usurp the place of good sense in the arrangement and communication of his ideas. His sermons, which were published from notes taken by some of his hearers, exhibit him in a very amiable light, as "condescending to men of low estate," and keeping sacredly in view the proper end of preaching, the instruction and salvation of the people, and not the display of the learning, ingenuity, or eloquence of the preacher.† Bruce was a man of a stronger mind than Rollock. His sermons, particularly those on the sacraments, are more elaborately composed, more doctrinal and argumentative, more calculated to lead "on to perfection" those who are already grounded in the principles of religion, and whose spiritual senses are "exercised to discern between good and evil." He possessed at the same time the faculty of making himself understood on the most intricate subjects, and his sermons discover the same unction which recommended those of his pious colleague.‡ Rollock's manner in the pulpit was mild, affectionate, and winning: Bruce's was solemn, impressive, and commanding: and, to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which one of his hearers described his prayers,

vellous quick despatch it is, and doth show them that have it as much almost in three days, as if it had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient, the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities, as, everywhere offering themselves, are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be." (Eccles. Polity, book i. § 6.)

* Brucker, Hist. Philos. tom. v. p. 576—581. Bayle, Dict. art. De la Ramée, Note O. Melch. Adami Vitæ Germ. Philos. p. 509. Casp. Brantius, Vita Jac. Arminii, p. 16. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. 352, 527. Ramus's Logic was prelected on at Cambridge in 1590. (Dillingham, Vita Chadertoni et Usserii, p. 15.) And various editions of his works were published in England before the year 1600. (Ames, by Herbert, *passim*.)

† See above, p. 217, 226.

‡ Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 897.

‖ Bezæ Epistolæ, epp. 34, 36. Brantius, Vita Arminii, p. 21, 22.

§ Petrie, P. ii. p. 439.

¶ See above, p. 246.

** Adamsoni Præfat. in Fermæi Annal. Epist. ad Romanos. Crawfurd's Hist of Univ. of Edin. p. 58—60. Bower's Hist. vol. i. Append. No. iii. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an early edition of Ramus's Logic by one of our countrymen: "Rolandus Mackilmenæus Scotus, P. Rami Dialecticæ libri duo. Lond. 1576, 8vo." (De Script. Scot. p. 152.) "Rollandus Makilmane Novi Collegii" was laureated at St. Andrews, Feb. 10. 1569. Editions of the Dialectica were printed at Edinburgh as late as 1637 and 1640.

†† William Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh) who taught as a regent in King's College at the beginning of the 17th century, was a strenuous advocate for the Aristotelian philosophy. (Bayle, Dict. art. *Forbes, Guil.*)

* Beza's recommendation was conveyed in a letter to John Johnston, and is prefixed to "Tractatus de Vocatione—Authore Roberto Rolloco Scoto. Edinburgi 1597."

† "Certaine Sermons vpon severall places of the Epistles of Paul. Preached by M. Robert Rollock—Edinb. 1599." The epistle "To the Christiane Reader," prefixed to these Sermons, was probably written by James Melville, who subscribes the Scottish Sonnets which follow it:

> Thy diuine Doctor deirest now is deid,
> Thy peirles Preicher now hes plaide his part.
> Thy painfull Pastor, quha in love did leid
> Thy little lambes with sweit and tender hart,
> Hes dreed his dayes with sair and bitter smart,
> To purchase pleasand profit unto thee.
> His words, his warks, his wayes, his vertues gart
> Thee get this galne of great felicitie.

By his testament, Rollock appointed such of his manuscripts as should be thought worthy of publication to be dedicated to his friend Sir William Scot of Elie, Director of the Chancery. Scot wrote to Boyd of Trochrig at Saumur: (Edin. Mar. 3, 1609.) "Please to receive Rollocus prayers as he utterit them in pulpit before and after sermons.—I am presently in hand with Rollocus sermons on John's Evangel.—I will earnestly request you to cause print in one great volume all Rollocus Latine works." Speaking of Boyd's works, he adds: "If they were in this country, as I did to Rollocus, their printing should be no charge to you." (Letter, in Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 42: MSS. vol. v.)

‡ Bruce's Five Sermons on the Sacrament were printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1590; and his miscellaneous sermons came from the same press in 1591. Both volumes, as well as a number of Rollock's treatises, were afterwards translated into English. In their original form they are curious as specimens of composition in the Scottish language, within a few years of the time at which it was generally laid aside by our writers.

"every sentence was like a bolt shot from heaven." It is commonly supposed that the public discourses of the presbyterians at this time were protracted to a tedious length. The facts which have come to my knowledge lead to an opposite conclusion; and I have no doubt that the practice referred to was introduced at a later period.*

The Hebrew language being now regularly taught in all our universities, several individuals attained to proficiency in it.† Patrick Symson acquired it in his old age;‡ and his brother, William Symson, undertook to explain one of the abstrusest parts of its philology, in the first work on Hebrew literature which appeared in Scotland.‖

The attention paid to the learned languages laid the foundation for the critical study of the Scriptures. It is to be lamented that the disputes in which the ministers were involved, and the hardships which many of them suffered, should have diverted them from this study at a time when individuals had begun to cultivate it with enthusiasm. Among these Robert Wallace, minister of St. Andrews and afterwards of Tranent, deserves to be particularized. § The only work which Patrick Sharp, principal of the College of Glasgow, left behind him, does not afford a proof of those literary acquirements which it is known he possessed.¶ He was the teacher of John Cameron, whose proficiency in Greek literature excited astonishment on the continent, and whom bishop Hall pronounced "the most learned man ever Scotland produced."** Cameron was a subtle theologian, and displayed much critical acumen in the interpretation of the Scriptures. He was not more distinguished by his writings, than by the circumstance of his having formed the opinions of Amyrauld, who divided the French protestants on the point of universal grace, and of Capellus, who attained to great celebrity as the founder of a new school in Hebrew philology and criticism.* Robert Boyd of Trochrig was a contemporary of Cameron, and like him taught in the academies of France as well as of his native country.† His Prelections on the Epistle to the Ephesians contain some good critical remarks, as well as many eloquent passages; and it is to be regretted that he should have rendered the work heavy and repulsive by indulging, according to a practice then common among the continental commentators, in long digressions, for the sake of illustrating general doctrines and deciding the controversies of the time.

The *Hieroglyphica*‡ of Archibald Symson, which treat of the different branches of zoology referred to in Scripture, shew the learning of the author; but his fancy led him, in this as well as in his other works, to expatiate in the field of allegory.‖ The works of Patrick Symson contain a succinct History of the Christian Church, written in a style which, though not uniformly correct, is spirited, and breathes a classical air. Robert Pont, whose learning was various, had paid particular attention to Sacred Chronology, which he illustrated in several treatises. § Alexander Hume,

* Burnet says that Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh had "a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time." (Hist. of his own Times, i. 27.) But the following extract will show that Forbes's tediousness, even when not carried to this extreme, gave offence to his brethren at an early period. "Nov. 1, 1605.—The said daye Mr. Willeame forbes regent exercesit, quha was cmended. but censurit becaus he techit two hours. Na additione, becaus of the hour was past." (Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen.) Speaking of Bruce, Livingston says: "He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others.—I have heard him say, he hath wearried when others have been longsome in prayer." (Charact. art. *Mr. Robert Bruce.*)

† Wodrow's Life of John Scrimger, p. 18; and Livingston's Charact. art. *William Aird.* In the Nova Fundatio of King's College, and in the Charter of Marischal College, Aberdeen, great anxiety is expressed by the founders that the Hebrew and Syriaç tongues should be carefully taught by skilful professors.

‡ Archibald Simson's Life of Patrick Simson, MS. in the Advocates Library.

‖ "Gul. Simpsonus edidit breves et perspicuas Regulas de Accentibus Hebraicis. 12mo. Londini, 1617." (Sibbald De Script. Scot. p. 7.) This work (which I have not seen) is also mentioned in the *Epistle Dedicatory* to "The Destruction of inbred corruption, or the Christian's warfare against his bosome enemy—by Mr. Alexander Symson late minister of God's word at Merton in Scotland, Lond. 1644." 12mo. The reader may be pleased to see the following extract from that dedication. "The Author (Alexander Symson) was the last branch of that goodly vine that overspread the whole land: his father, Master Andrew Symson, minister of Dunbar, being one of the first that opposed Popery, (under whom some of the ancient Nobilitie, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of Scotland were educated, of whom not a few proved worthy Instruments for the advancement of God's glory in Church and Common-wealth): As his Brothers, Master Matthew who died young; Master Patrick, Minister of Striveling, who wrote *The History of the Church*, thrice printed; Master William, Minister of Dunbarton, who wrote *De Hebraicis Accentibus*; Master Archibald, Minister of Dalkeith, who wrote of the *Creation, Christs seven words on the Crosse, Samsons seven locks of haire, The seven Penitentiall Psalmes, Hieroglyphia animalium terrestrium. &c.* with a *Chronicle of Scotland*, in Latine, not yet printed; Master Abraham, Minister of Norham."

§ Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almel. p. 669.

¶ "Doctrinæ Christianæ brevis explicatio, Authore Patricio Scharpio, Theologiæ professore in Academia Glascvense. Edinbvrgi Excudebat Robertvs Walde-graue, 1599." 8vo. Pp. 287. This is an explication of the first three chapters of Genesis, the Apostles' Creed, Institution of the Lord's Supper, Decalogue and Lord's Prayer.

** Capelli Icon Joan. Cameronis, præf. Oper. Cameronis. Genev. 1642. In 1598, Joannes Cameroun was laureated at Glasgow, and in 1599, he was admitted one of the regents.

* Lewis Capel to Boyd of Trochrig. Sept. 15. 1618: Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 80. Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 896.

† "Robertus Boyd" was laureated at Edinburgh in 1595. To his signature in the Album is added, in another hand, "Min. verb. in Gallia postea prof. theol. et primarius Acad. Glasg. dein Edinb."

‡ "Hieroglyphica Animalivm Terrestrivm, Volatilium, &c. quæ in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur.—Per Archibaldum Simsonum Dalkethensis Ecclesiæ Pastorem. Edin. 1622." 4to. The first part is confined to terrestrial Animals. The second and third parts, which treat of Fowls and Fishes, appeared in 1623. And in 1624, that which relates to Reptiles and Insects followed, under the name of "Tomvs Secvndvs."

‖ Drummond, the poet, appears to have been pleased with the allegorical writings of Symson; as he has encomiastic verses at the beginning of several of them. The following are prefixed to "Heptameron. The Sevin Dayes—by M. A. Symson, Minister at Dalkeith. Sanct-Andrews Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to the Universitie. 1621." sm. 8vo.

God binding with hid Tendons this great ALL,
Did make a LVTE, which had all parts it giuen:
This LVTES round Bellie was the azur'd Heauen;
The Rose those Lights which He did there install:

The Basses were the Earth and Ocean:
The Treble shrill the Aire: the other Strings,
The vnlike Bodies, were of mixed things:
And then His Hand to breake sweete Notes began.

Those loftie Concords did so farre rebound.
That Floods, Rocks, Meadows, Forrests did them heare
Birds, Fishes, Beasts danc'd to their siluer sound.
Onlie to them Man had a deafned Eare.
Now him to rouse from sleepe so deepe and long,
God wak'ned hath the Eccho of this Song.

W. D.

§ "A Newe Treatise of the right Reckoning of yeares and ages of the World—By M. Robert Pont an aged Pastour of the Kirk of Scotland.—Edin. 1599." This is different from his work "De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis. Lond. 1619." Charters also ascribes to him "Chronologiam de Sabbatis. Lond. 1626." His son, *Timothy Pont*, gave great assistance in drawing up the description and maps of Scotland which appeared in Bleau's Atlas. (Memor. Balfouriana, p. 6, 36.) "Mr. Timothie pont minr of Dwnet," and "Mr. Zacharie pont minr of Bowar Wattin, in Carthess," occur in the Books of Assignation and Modification of Stipends for the years 1601—1608.

I find that it was not Robert Pont who married a daughter of John Knox, as I have elsewhere stated by mistake, (Life of Knox, Note LXIII.) but his son, Zachary. This appears from the following documents. "Junij 4, 1607. The session of Sanct Cuthbertis kirk contra Margaret Smith anent the throuche of Mr. Robert Pont hir husband." (MS. in Bibl.

of whom we have spoken as a grammarian, entered the lists as a polemical writer against members both of the Romish and English Churches.* And John Howieson composed an elaborate answer to Bellarmine, the redoubted and far-famed champion of Rome.†

The most learned of the divines who embraced episcopacy received their education during this period. Patrick Forbes of Corse, the relation and scholar of Melville, ‡ and who afterwards became bishop of Aberdeen, wrote an able defence of the calling of the ministers of the Reformed Churches, and a commentary on the Revelation. The discourses of William Cowper, minister of Perth, and afterwards bishop of Galloway, are perhaps superior to any sermons of that age. A vein of practical piety runs through all his evangelical instructions; the style is remarkable for ease and fluency; and the illustrations are often striking and happy. His residence in England, during some years of the early part of his life, may have given him that command of the English language by which his writings are distinguished. ‖ Archbishop Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland was composed at a period considerably later; but as I have been under the necessity of repeatedly calling in question its accuracy, I may take this opportunity of saying, that, as a composition, it is highly creditable to the talents of the author, and is as much superior to the historical collections of Calderwood in point of style and arrangement, as it is inferior to them in accuracy and variety of materials.

The progress of our literature during this period is very discernible in the department of jurisprudence. Besides his edition of the acts of parliament from the reign of James I. Sir John Skene, the Clerk Register, published for the first time, in Latin and in English, a collection of the laws and constitutions of our elder princes. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the title which some of these have to be considered as originally belonging to the Scottish code, or as to the period at which others of them were enacted, it must be acknowledged that the labours of the publisher were meritorious and valuable. He had travelled in Norway, Denmark, and adjacent countries; § and the knowledge which he acquired of the northern languages and customs enabled him to throw light on the ancient laws and legal usages of Scotland, both in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, and in his notes on the *Regiam Majestatem*. * In vigour of mind and in acquaintance with the general principles of law, Sir Thomas Craig excelled Skene, as much as he fell behind him in the knowledge of the ancient statutory and consuetudinary laws of his country.† His book *De Feudis* was the first regular treatise on law composed in Scotland. It is written with elegance and in a philosophical spirit; and the author of such a masterly performance could not fail, during his long practice at the bar, to raise the character of the profession, and to diffuse enlightened and liberal views among his brethren. William Welwood, who was prohibited from continuing his lectures on law at St. Andrews, published several useful and compendious treatises, which entitle him to a place among the juridical writers of the age. His Parallel exhibits a clear but meagre statement of the points of resemblance between the Jewish and Roman codes of jurisprudence. ‡ His tract on Ecclesiastical Processes may be viewed as the first specimen of a *Form of Process*, which the Church of Scotland did not then possess. ‖ His Abridgement of Sea Laws has the merit of being the first regular treatise on maritime jurisprudence which appeared in Britain, and led him to take part in a controversy which called forth the talents and erudition of a Grotius, and a Selden. §

The name of Welwood is also connected with the progress of physics and the arts. He possessed an inquisitive mind; and in all his disquisitions we can trace a commendable desire to convert his knowledge to the good of mankind. ¶ While he taught mathematics at St. Andrews, he obtained from government a patent for a new mode of raising water with facility from wells and low grounds. He afterwards published an account of his plan, and of the principles upon which he calculated that it would produce the intended effect. This publication is a curious specimen of

Jurid. Edin. A. 4. 22.) "Marg. Knox spous to Mr. Zach. Pont minr at boar in Cathnes, wt consent of Mr. Jon Ker minr at Preston, and Mr. Jas Knox, ane of the regents of the College of Edr, receives from Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie 1300 merks." (Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. cvii. 28 May, 1605.) There is a previous deed relating to the same subject, which is signed by "Mr. Jon Ker sone to vmqll Andro Ker of fawdounside witnes." (Ibid. vol. civ. 13 Dec. 1604.)

* An account of his controversy with Dr. Adam Hill, on the article of the Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, may be seen in Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, i. p. 622—624. The following extracts relate to his *Rejoinder*, or second book against Hill. "5 Feby, 1593. The Pbrie appoint thair brether M. Rot and M. Jon Dauidsoun to syt the book writtin be M. Alexr Home concerning that part of the creit He discendit to hell, and to report yr judgement ye xiith of this Instant." "12th Feby. 1593. The said brether reporting yr judgements of the sufficiencie of ye wark hes approuit ye same, and finds it may be prentit." (Record of Presb. of Edinburgh.) His book against the Roman Catholics is entitled, "A Didvction of the Trve and Catholik meaning of our Sauiour his words this is my bodie—by Alexander Hvme Maister of the high Schoole of Edinburgh. Edin. 1602." A collection of practical treatises by him on *Conscience*, &c. was printed by R. Waldegrave, Edin. 1594, 12mo. (See also Wood, ut sup. Ames by Herbert, p. 1515.)

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 201. He is the author of a treatise on conscience, Edin. 1600. Wood, and Charters.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 122. Garden, Vita Joannis Forbesii: præfix. Oper. Forbesii. Wodrow's Life of Patrick Forbes of Corse, p. 2: MSS. vol. ii.

‖ Life of Bishop Cowper, prefixed to his works, Lond. 1623, fol. He was born in the year 1568, and entered the university of St. Andrews in 1580. (Dikaiologie, p. 108.) He was admitted minister of Perth, Oct. 5. 1595. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Session of Perth, by Rev. Mr. Scott.)

§ Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 134.

* When the *Regiam Majestatem* was put to press, "finding non so meit as Mr. James Carmichaell, minister at Haddingtoune—to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults yrin as vsuallie occures in every printing that first cumis from the presse," the Lords of Privy Council applied to his presbytery to excuse his absence from his charge, "the space of tua monethis or thereby." (Letter to the presbyterie of hadingtoune; Oct. 13, 1608: in Lord Haddington's Col.) There is a poem by Carmichael at the end of the Scotch translation of that work.

† Craig has certainly failed in illustrating the peculiar form which the feudal law had assumed in Scotland: and in referring to ancient laws, and to decisions anterior to his own practice, he proceeds usually on the information of his older brethren. But perhaps the censures which a late writer has pronounced on him are too summary and indiscriminate. The charge of ignorance brought against him, for asserting that the civil law had not been taught in this country, will, I apprehend, turn out on examination to be unfounded. (Ross's Lectures on the Law of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.)

‡ "Ivris Divini Ivdæorum, ac Ivris Civilis Romanorvm Parallela.—Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Lvgd. Bat. 1594." 4to.

‖ Its title has been given above. (P. 299.) It was intended to distinguish between the forms of procedure used in civil courts and those which ought to be used in church courts—as to citations—the mode of trial—and appeals.

§ An Abridgment of all Sea-lawes.—By William Welwood, professor of the Ciuill Lawe. London 1613." 4to. It was reprinted, but without the author's name, by Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria*, Lond. 1686. The Latin edition of this Abridgment, which appears to have been published before 1613, I have not seen. That part of it which relates to the controverted question was re-published under the following title: "De Dominio Maris,—Cosmopoli, Excudebat G. Fontisiluius 16. Calend. Januar. 1615." 4to. An edition of it was printed at the Hague in 1663; and in the course of that year there appeared an answer to it by Theod. J. F. Graswinckel, a Dutch lawyer, who wrote also against the *Mare Clausum* of Selden.

¶ He was the author of a treatise of practical theology: "Ars Domandarvm Pertvrbationvm ex solo Dei verbo quasi transcripta constructa. Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Middelbvrgi. 1594." 8vo. Pp. 62. The dedication to John, Earl of Cassilis, "Collegii ad Andreapolin, quod Saluatorianum cognominant Patrono," is dated "Ex Academia Andreana, Calen. Maijs. 1594."

the state in which the science of hydraulics was at that time, and of those experiments by which its true principles came to be gradually discovered and applied.* The chronological works of Robert Pont confirm the testimonies borne to his skill in mathematics and astronomy.† But the individual who left all his contemporaries far behind him in such pursuits, and who reflected the highest honour on his country, was John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of the logarithmic calculation; an invention which has contributed, perhaps more than any other, to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and to multiply discoveries in all branches of natural philosophy; and which at the same time that it establishes the author's claim to genius, proves that he had devoted himself with the most persevering ardour to the study of mathematical science. Previously, indeed, to his making his great discovery, Napier was well known to his countrymen for his profound acquaintance with mathematics, his application of them to the improvement of the arts, and the curious and bold experiments which his active and inventive mind was continually prompting him to make.‡

When the elder Scaliger visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, it did not contain, according to his statement, more than one regular practitioner in Medicine. If we are to judge by this rule, the science must have made great advancement before the close of that century. At this time, however, and down to a much later period, the medical men of Scotland derived their professional knowledge almost entirely from foreign schools. Dr. Peter Lowe, who, after practising in various parts of the continent, and being honoured with the appointment of Ordinary Surgeon to Henry IV. of France, returned to his native country before the year 1598, was the author of a system of Surgery, which exhibits a popular view of the art of healing in his time, interspersed with descriptions of cases which had occurred in his own practice.‖ Dr. Duncan Liddel, whose treatises on various subjects connected with medicine were well received on the continent, was prematurely cut off in the midst of his exertions for promoting science in his native country.§

Among the miscellaneous writers of this period, David Hume of Godscroft, one of Melville's early and most intimate friends, deserves to be particularly mentioned.¶ This accomplished and patriotic gentleman was extensively acquainted with ancient and modern languages, theology, politics, and history. His *Apologia Basilica* is a refutation of the celebrated *Princeps* of Machiavel, and shows that he was a true friend to monarchy, although he had repeatedly exerted himself to check its excesses by his sword and by his pen. Besides its genealogical information, his *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus* contains many useful illustrations of public events, and striking pictures of the manners of the times.* Though often incorrect and loose in its style, it is written with much spirit and naivete, and abounds with reflections, serious and amusing, political, moral and religious, which place the happy temper and virtuous dispositions of the author in a very favourable and pleasing light. The feudal ideas, which were general in his age, and the aristocratic feeling which he inherited as the descendant of an ancient family, are frequently blended with the principles of the reformer and advocate of political liberty, in a way which is both curious and amusing.

Poetry, in all its varieties, was zealously cultivated by our countrymen at this period. In richness of imagery and elegance of diction, Montgomery unquestionably carried away the palm from all his contemporaries who wrote in the Scottish dialect. Among those who devoted themselves to sacred poetry, Alexander Hume possesses the greatest merit. Like most of the poets of that time he is very unequal; but his versification is often fluent, and his descriptions lively and even vigorous.† The *Godly Dream* of Lady Culros younger is not destitute of fancy.‡ James Cockburne is the author of two scarce pieces, which discover a bold but unchastened imagination.‖ As they have not been noticed, so far as I know, by any of our writers, the reader may not be displeased to have the following specimen laid before him. It is part of a description of the scene in the gardon of Gethsemane.

Now had darke silent night, high treasons freend,
Ouermantled all the earth in sable hew:
Wrapt was the Moone in mist that latelie shynde,
The fyrie lampes of heauen themselues withdrew:
Horror and darknesse vylde possest the skye,
The fittest tyme for foullest tragedye.

Within their wings sweete birds their billes they hide
Rockt with the windes on toppes of troubled trees:
Feeld-feeding flocks to cliftes and caues they slide,

* See under Note HHH.

† Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 224. Pont was the intimate friend of the Laird (does he need the false title of *Lord*, or the equivocal one of *Baron?*) of Merchiston:—"honoratum et apprime eruditum amicum nostrum fidelem Christi seruum *Joannem Naperum*." (De Sabbaticorum Annorum Periodis, per Robertum Pontanum, Caledonium Britannum, p. 198. A° 1619.)

‡ Skene, De Verborum Significatione, voc *Particata*. Birrel's Diary, p. 47. Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine, vol. xviii. p. 53; where Napier's "Secret Inventions" are published, accompanied with observations, which go to prove that none of these inventions is incredible. Dempster says that Napier dissipated his fortune by his experiments.

‖ "The Whole Course of Chyrvrgie—Compiled by Peter Lowe Scotchman. Arellian Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgie in Paris—A° 1597." In the dedication of the 2d edition to "Gilbert Primrose Sergeant Chirurgian to the Kings Majestie," &c. (dated "from my house in Glasgow the 20 day of December 1612,") he says: "It pleased his Sacred Majestie to heare my complaint, about some fourteene years agoe, vpon certaine abusers of our Art—I got a priuiledge under his Highnesse privie seale, to try and examine all men upon the Art of Chirurgie, to discharge & allow in the West parts of Scotland which were worthy or unworthy to professe the same."

§ Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 577. Principal Blackwell's Memorial. Liddelii Apotheosis: Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 550. His "Disput. de Elementis" was printed at Helmstadt in 1596; and an edition of his works was published by L. Serranus, Lugd. Bat. 1624.

¶ He was the son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and proprietor of Godscroft in Lammermuir. In one of his Eclogues, he says:

haud frustra tot, docte Menalca,
Carmina fusa tibi: Late nemus omne resultat
Lætitia: nunc upilio, nunc ipse bibulcus
Per juga *Lamyrii*, vel per juga montis *Ocelli*.

In the notes he subjoins the following explanation. "Lamyrii montes sunt in provincia Marchiæ, ubi villula scribentis *Theager*. vulgo *Godscroft*. Ocelli montes [Ochil hills] in Jernia forthæ imminentes ad quorum radices est *Val-acquila* vulgo *Gleneagles*, ipsius nunc habitaculum." (Daphn-Amaryllis, Authore Davide Humio Theagrio Wedderburnensi, p. 17. Lond. 1605.) John Haldane of Gleneagles was married to his sister. (Hist. of Douglas and Angus, ii. 284.) In another of his works are poems by him inscribed "David Humius *Pater*"—"Maria Jhonstona *Mater*"—"Jacobus Jhonstonus, Elphistonius, *Socer*." (Lvsvs Poetici, p. 50, 53.)

* Speaking of Hume, Mr. Pinkerton says: "This writer, who composed his work about the year 1630, has often original and authentic information." (Hist. of Scotland, i. 216.) It is true that Hume lived nearly to the year 1630, and might finish his History in his old age, but he was born between 1550 and 1560. Being the confidential adviser and agent, as well as the kinsman of Archibald (the third of that name) Earl of Angus, he had access to the family papers of that nobleman, and to other valuable sources of intelligence.

† Hymnes or Sacred Songs.—Edinburgh, 1599.

‡ Of the same pious cast as the *Dream*, but inferior to it in versification, is "The Complaint of a Christian Sovle.—Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Charters, 1610." 4to. C. 2. It is subscribed at the close: "M. George Muschet, Minister of the Evangell at Dunning."

‖ The first is entitled, "Gabriels Salvtation to Marie. Made by James Cockbvrne:" The second, "Jvdas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie. The imprint of each is "Edinbvrgh Printed by Robert Charteris—An. Dom. MDCV." 4to. The Dedication to "Jean Hammiltone, Ladie Skirling," is dated "from Camhusnethane." Prefixed are recommendatory verses by "W. A. of Menstrie," *i. e.* William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling.

Such was the raging of the roaring seyes:
No sound of comfort sweete possest the eares,
Saue Serpents hisse, and Crocodilishe teares.

In this sad season Jesus did attend
His Fathers will, and those did him persew,
Brooke Cedron corst, which way well Judas kend,
As was his vse his prayers to renew:
And to the Mount of Oliues he is gone,
With aged Peter, James, and louing Johne.

O gardene gay, greene may thou euer grow,
Let weeping dew refreshe thy withred flowres:
To testifie the teares did ouerflow
The cheekes of him refresht the hearts of ours.
And for his sake thy name be euer neist
In name to that sweet garden of the East.

The poets of Scotland anticipated their sovereign's accession to the throne of England, by adopting the language of that kingdom; and their early efforts of this kind were very flattering. When Melville was removed from Scotland, Drummond of Hawthornden had but recently finished his academical studies, * and had not as yet discovered those talents which ranked him among the first of English lyric poets. But Sir Robert Ayton, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, had already given favourable specimens of their poetical talents. Another Scottish knight and courtier, Sir David Murray of Gorthy, deserves also to be mentioned for the success with which he wrote in English verse. †

But perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature at this period is the enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated by our countrymen. Divines, lawyers, physicians, country-gentlemen, courtiers and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, were originally published, or at least written, at this time. They are of course possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems, composed by natives of Italy. If this was not the classic age of Scotland, it was at least the age of classical literature in it; and at no subsequent period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated. Besides Melville, the individuals who attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature, were Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Jonston, and Hercules Rollock. The poems of Craig do honour to the cultivated taste and learning of their author. Through the foreign garb in which Ayton chose most frequently to appear before the public as a poet, we can easily trace that elegant fancy which he has displayed in his English compositions. If I were not afraid of appearing to detract from the merit of one whose early productions secured the approbation of Buchanan, I would say that Rollock was better acquainted with the language than the spirit of the Roman poets. His description of the miseries of Scotland during the civil war is his most poetical performance. * John Jonston confined himself chiefly to the writing of epitaphs and short pieces, which he has executed with much neatness and elegant simplicity, although he falls short, even in this species of composition, of his kinsman, Arthur Jonston, in terseness and in classic point. † Few of his contemporaries shew a mind more deeply imbued with the genuine spirit of classical poetry than Hume of Godscroft. The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and, if deficient in vigour, his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions. ‡

I am aware that many entertain a very contemptuous opinion of all productions of the kind now mentioned. According to them it is utterly impracticable to write well, or at least to compose tolerable poetry, in a foreign or dead language. They are therefore disposed to discard the whole collection of modern Latin poetry, as unworthy of the name, and consisting merely of shreds from the classics patched into centos. That a great part of it is of this description cannot be denied. But those who are inclined to pronounce this censure indiscriminately upon the whole, would need to be sure that there is no risk of their being placed in the same awkward situation with certain scholars of no mean acquirements in former times, who had a modern poem passed on them for a genuine production of an ancient classic. ‖ After the writings of Sannazarius, Flaminius, Muretus, Buchanan, De l' Hopital, Douza, and Balde, not to mention many others scarcely inferior to them, it seems too late to come forward with

My Soule praise thou *Iehouas* holie Name,
For he is great, and of exceeding Might,
Who cloth'd with Glorie, maiestie, and Fame,
And couered with the garments of the light,
The azure Heauen doth like a Curtaine spred,
And in the depths his chalmer beams hath layd.

The clouds he makes his chariot to be,
On them he wheeles the christall Skies about,
And on the wings of *Æolus*, doth Hee
At pleasour walke; and sends his Angels out,
Swift Heraulds that do execute his will:
His words the heauens with fric lightnings fill.

The Earths foundation he did firmelie place,
And layd it so that it should neuer slyde,
He made the Depths her round about embrace,
And like a Robe her naked shores to hide,
Whose waters would o'rflow the Mountains high,
But that they backe at his rebuke doe flie.

* "Gvilielmvs Drummond" was laureated at Edinburgh in the year 1605. The regent of his class was Mr. James Knox. (Record of the Univ. of Edin.)

† "The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Mvrray. Scoto-Brittaine. Lond. 1611." 8vo.—Along with this was published, "Cælia, containing certain sonnets."—"A Paraphrase of the CIV. Psalme, by David Murray. Edinburgh, Printed by Andro Hart. Anno Dom. 1615." 4to. Sir David was Governor to Prince Henry. He was a son of Robert Murray of Abercairny, and brother of John Murray, minister of Leith, an intimate friend of Melville's. (Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Melvini Epist. p. 151.) His Paraphrase begins thus:

* "I send you the papers of the late M. Hercules Rollock which you desired. And because I am not acquaint with Mr. Anderson, send me a receipt of them, either from you or him. Saumure, March 5, 1619." (Mark Duncan to Boyd of Trochrig: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.)

† A very beautiful poem by John Jonston, entitled, *Mors Piorum*, is added, among others, to his work in prose, entitled, Consolatio Christiana, p. 103—106. Lugd. Bat. 1609.

‡ Hume has given a specimen of a poem which he composed at fourteen years of age. (Daphn-Amaryllis, p. 22—24.) And he refers to the presages which Buchanan formed from his early effusions. (Delit. I. 381.) His poem, entitled *Aselcanus*, is dedicated "Ad Andræam Melvinvm."—Patriæ alterum decus Melvine—delictorum veniam te peto literarium Dictatorem et nominatim illi.—Si condonas, condonata putem Musis et Apollini.—Vides quid tibi tribuam; certe, quantum nec Romano pontifici in peccata, jus." (Lvsvs Poetici, p. 85.) *Aselcane* was the name of one of Hume's sons, (Record of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans. Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. cclx. July 3, 1617; and vol. cclxxxvii. August 11, 1619.) See under Note PP.

‖ D'Alembert furnishes an instance somewhat different. In the course of his argument against the cultivation of ancient learning, he had jeeringly repeated the exclamation of an enthusiast for the classics, *Ah! had you but understood Greek!* But not contented with wielding the weapon of ridicule, he rashly ventured upon classical ground, and mentioned one Marinus, a modern writer in Latin, who, in his opinion, had "approached as near as possible to Cicero." One of D'Alembert's opponents, after producing examples of wretched Latinity from Marinus, concludes by turning the philosopher's sarcasm against himself: *Ah! Sir, had you but understood Latin!* (Klotzii Acta Literaria, vol. v. part. iv. p. 446.)

the assertion, that it is impossible to produce tolerable Latin poetry in modern times. Indeed, considering the applause which these productions have received from the best judges, the assertion amounts to this, that we cannot now perceive the beauties of the classical poetry of Rome. I have no doubt that if even the best of modern Latin poems had been submitted to the judgment of Horace, he would have found them chargeable with many blemishes which our eye cannot detect; but I have as little doubt that, instead of rejecting them with the fastidious disdain of some recent critics, that master of the art of Poetry would have pronounced them wonderful efforts, and enlarged in their favour, the indulgence which he was disposed to shew to the compositions of his contemporaries:

Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis.

There is one thing that is overlooked in the reasonings of many on this subject. They are not aware of the degree of attention which was paid to the Latin language, and the advantages which the learned had for attaining a perfect acquaintance with it, in the sixteenth century. The use of the vernacular tongues was strictly prohibited in all schools and colleges; and from the age of six to sixteen the youth spoke and heard nothing but Latin. In their epistolary correspondence, and even in their ordinary conversation, the learned made use of the same medium of communication. They chose to write in it in preference to their native language; and, judging from their compositions in both, it is evident they had a greater command of the former than of the latter.

The circumstance last mentioned furnishes one of the strongest objections against the practice in question. And it must be confessed, that it is much easier to prove that the writers of the sixteenth century attained to excellence in Latin composition, than it is to vindicate that engrossing attention to the language by which they were able to reach that excellence. It led them to neglect the cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages. It tended to produce servile imitation, and to give a spiritless uniformity to literary productions. And by forming men of letters into a separate cast, it prevented them from exerting an influence over the minds of the people at large, and deprived literature of those advantages which flow from the free circulation of ideas and feelings among all classes of the community. But whatever disadvantages might result from this practice, we must not overlook the important advantages with which it was attended. We never ought to forget, that the refinement, and the science, secular and sacred, with which modern Europe is enriched, must be traced to the revival of ancient literature; and that the hid treasures could not have been laid open and rendered available, but for that enthusiasm with which the languages of Greece and Rome were cultivated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The passion for writing in these languages, in verse as well as in prose, is to be viewed both in the light of an effect and a cause of the revival of letters. When we consider the rude state in which the different languages of Europe then were, and that the number of readers in any country was extremely small, we will cease to wonder that men of letters should have chosen so generally and so long to make use of a highly cultivated tongue, recommended to them by so many powerful associations, and in which their writings could be read and understood by all the learned in every nation. Besides, the great attention paid to those studies, although it retarded the improvement of modern languages, contributed ultimately to carry them to a higher pitch of cultivation than they would otherwise have attained. The accurate knowledge of the general principles of language which was thus acquired (and which cannot be so well acquired in any other way as by the study of dead or foreign languages) came to be applied to the vernacular tongues, which, at the same time that they were polished after the example, were enriched from the resources of the most refined and copious languages of antiquity. The writers of that age display an elegance of taste and an elevation of sentiment, which give them an unspeakable superiority over their predecessors, and which are to be ascribed in a great measure to their familiarity with the works of the ancients. Before passing a severe censure on the avidity with which ancient letters were then prosecuted, it would be but justice also to consider the important discoveries which were made at the same time, and the stimulus which was given to the human mind in the general search after truth. Nor should it be forgotten, that the study of the languages of Greece and Rome was combined with the study of the eastern tongues, which, in addition to its throwing much light on the sacred scriptures, laid open an entirely new field of taste and inquiry, has proved subservient to political purposes of the greatest magnitude, and promises to be still more extensively useful in promoting the improvement and regeneration of the largest and most populous regions of the globe.

The general question respecting the advantages of classical learning is not now before us. Suffice it to say here, that the fears which have been expressed of its tendency to injure genius by checking originality of thought, and religion by begetting a spirit and ideas of an unchristian complexion, are in a great degree fanciful and exaggerated. Its principal opponents have not been found in the first ranks of genius, nor have they been distinguished for their attachment to Christianity. On the other hand, the greatest and best authors whom Britain has produced have been familiar with it; and although novelty and accidental causes may give a temporary fame to attempts which proceed on an avowed disregard of the works of the ancients, our fine writers will find it necessary at last to invigorate their genius, and purify their taste, by dipping in those fountains which helped to confer immortality on their predecessors.

The facts which have been pointed out in the course of this brief review, will, it is hoped, assist the reader in forming an idea of the state of our national literature at this period. They may perhaps convince him, that Scotland was not so late in entering on the career of literary improvement as is commonly imagined; that she had advanced at the time of which we write, nearly to the same stage as the other nations of Europe; and that if she did not afterwards make the progress which was to be expected, or if she retrograded, this is to be imputed to other causes than to want of spirit in her inhabitants, or to the genius of her ecclesiastical constitution.

In asserting that Melville had the chief influence in bringing the literature of Scotland to that pitch of improvement which it reached at this time, I am supported by the testimony of contemporary writers of opposite parties, as well as by facts which have been brought forward in the course of this work. The study of letters introduced by the Reformation, suffered a severe check from the confusions in which the country was involved for a number of years. Many of those who had the charge of education left the kingdom, and such as remained, being discouraged by want of support and patronage, desisted from their labours, or contented themselves with a perfunctory discharge of their duty, without making the exertions necessary for their own improvement and the advancement of knowledge. Attempts to effect a reform on the old literary establishments had repeatedly failed from want of zeal in the patrons, and prejudice or aversion to labour on the part of the teachers. The arrival of Melville imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, ena-

bled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and his example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had at first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged. And though he did not himself cultivate several of the branches of study which are included in the preceding sketch, yet he stimulated others to cultivate them, by the ardour with which he inspired their minds, and by the praises which he was always ready to bestow on their exertions and performances.

I conclude with a single remark, containing the chief reason which induced me to undertake this work, and to devote so much time and labour to its execution. If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville.

NOTES

TO THE

LIFE OF ANDREW MELVILLE.

Note A. p. 221.

Of the family of the Melvilles.—The name and family of *Melville* are mentioned in Scottish charters as early as the middle of the twelfth century. It is agreed on all hands that they were of foreign extraction; and the opinion of Mr. Chalmers, that they were of "Anglo-Norman lineage," is the most probable; although he does not appear to have any good authority for asserting that the first of the family who came to Scotland was called *Male*. (Sibbald's Fife, 390. edit. 1803. Crawfurd's Peerage, 324. Nisbet's Heraldry, edit. 2. App. p. 28. Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 524. ii. 806.)

Next to the principal family in Mid-Lothian, the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary Sheriffs of Kincardine, figure the earliest on record of any of that name. They were mentioned in royal charters, now missing, by David II. and Robert III. (Robertson's Index of Charters, p. 34, 141.) The family of Dysart were either among the earliest cadets or the eventual male representatives of the Glenbervies. "Johannes Malveyn de Disart" is mentioned Feb. 6, 1457. (Chart. of Arbroath.) David II. on the 6th April of the 30th year of his reign, confirmed a charter, by which "Christiana de Mallavilla domina de Glenbervy" granted "Johanni de Mallavilla consanguineo meo et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis has terras *in baronia de Glenbervy* videlicet *Liegevin*, &c." (Regis. Davidis Secundi, Lib. i. No. 116.) On the 20th of Jan. 1572, a Charter of Confirmation was ordained to be made, (which passed the Great Seal in the same year,) "Ratefieand ye Charter donation and gift in it contenit maid be his lovit Thomas Melville of Dysart to James Melvill of *Liegavin* his sone and apperande air his airis and assignais of all and haill ye landis and baronie of Dysart, &c.—lyand wyᵗin ye Scherifdome of forfare, &c." (Register of Signatures, vol. iii. fol. 66.) These two charters and the lands of *Liegavin* connect the family of Dysart with the Melvilles of Glenbervy, as their ancestors. It also appears from these, and from other documents, that the lands of *Dysart*, belonging to the Melvilles of that title, lay in Angus, and not in Fyfe, as I was at first inclined to think. That the Melvilles of Baldovy were of the family of Dysart appears from a Charter of Confirmation granted Feb. 9, 1505: "Joanni Melvill de Disart hæredibus suis et assignatis super cartam sibi factam per Joannem Scrymgeor de Bawdovy de data 20 die Januarii 1505 de totis et integris terris suis de *Bawdovy* cum tenentibus jacentibus infra Vicecomitatum de Forfar, &c." (Great Seal, Lib. xiv. No. 197; comp. Lib. xv. No. 170.)—For these ancient notices of the families of Glenbervy and Dysart I am indebted to John Riddell, Esq. Advocate.

I have said in the text, that the Melvilles claimed affinity to the royal family. The subject of this memoir has alluded to this claim in such a manner as to leave little doubt that he believed its justice, and that he was not altogether devoid of the feelings of family pride. Dr. John Forbes of Corse has preserved a curious extract of a letter which Melville wrote him from Sedan, containing a copy of verses which he had sent to King James from the Tower, and stating that both he and Forbes derived their extraction from *John of Gaunt*. The reader must excuse me from tracing his genealogy to that redoubted prince; but I shall give the passage, as it stands in a note to the dedication of Bishop Forbes's "Tractatus Apologeticus de legitima vocatione Ministrorum in Ecclesiis Reformatis: Comment. in Apocalyp. p. 175, Amstel. 1646." The words in Italics are those of Dr. Forbes.

"*Cognationis istius via est per* M. THOMÆ MICHAELIS *consanguinitatem cum clarissimo illo beatæ memoriæ* D. ANDREA MELVINO, *S. Theologiæ quondam Andreapoli in Scotia, & postea Sedani ad Mosam, publico professore, qui mihi, Heidelbergæ sacris studiis operam danti, anno Domini* 1614. *suam mecum & cum nostra familia, & cum Regia etiam domo consanguinitatem, his epistolæ suæ verbis explicabat;* 'Sic enim magno Britanniæ Regi a nobis e Londinensi & Cæsarea arce transmissa habet historica veritas;

An fraudi, an laudi, quod avito sanguine tangam
Immortale tuum, Rex Iacobe, genus:
Quid tecum mihi, Quinte, atavus communis utrinque,
Idem abavi proavus, Sexte, utriusque tui,
Deliciæ humani generis, gentisque Britannæ:
Stirps Regum, & radix regni utriusque tui.

Is est Johannes Beaufort, Johannis Gandavensis, qui natus Gandavi, filius, Edvvardi tertii nepos, Henrici septimi & Jacobi tertii proavus; Jacobi quinti tam paternus quàm maternus, atque adeò meus itidem atavus; Regibus Gallis, Anglis, Scotis oriundus, Scotorum & Anglorum deinceps Regum progenitor; unde & tu etiam per proavum tuum, avunculum meum, Patricium Forbesium, genus paternum ducis. Vides igitur, mi Forbesi, ut genus amborum findat se sanguine ab uno, eoque regio. Sed absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce D. N. J. C. δι ὃ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ.' *Hæc Andreas Melvinus*, 17. *Aug.* 1614."

Note B. p. 221.

Of the Melvilles of Baldovy.—In a letter to his nephew, Melville mentions the laird of Dysart (Diserti comarchus) as the chief of their branch of the family. (Melvini Epist. 294.) "Thomas Lichtoun of Ullischeon with consent of Jhone Lichtoun my son settis and for ferme maill lettis to an honⁿˡ man Thoˢ Melvill fear of Disart and to Jonet Scrimegeor his spouse the schadrw [schadow ?] third of Disert unwadsett.—Subscribed at Montrois 5 March iᵐvᶜ fourty and twa yeirs before thir witnes honoⁿˡ men Richard Melvill of Baldovy Jhone Ogilvy provest of Montrois Jhone Panter burges of the same Maister Walter Melvill and Schir Jhone Gilbert notar public." (Reg. of Contracts of Commissariat of Sanct And.) The teinds of Baldovy belonged to St. Mary's College: "Baldivy set 12 or 14 years since to David Melvill for 8 lb. 5s. without grassum." (Royal Visitation of Univ.

of S. Andrews, A. 1599.) David Melville having fallen under mental derangement, his brother, James Melville, minister of Kilrinny, was in 1592 appointed tutor to him. (Inquis. de Tutela, num. 1239.) "Feb. 7. 1595. Caus perse-wit be David Melville burges of Dundie ag^t David Melville of Baldovie and Mr. Ja^s Melville his tutor—makand mention that upon 24 April 1586 the said David Melvill of Baldovie became obleist to have payit to Thomas Melvill now callit Mr. Tho^s Melvill lauchfull sone to umq^le Tho^s Melvill of Dysart 100 or an annual rent of 10 merks furth of the lands of Baldovie, &c." (Act Buik of the Commissariat of S. Andrews.)

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Melville of Baldovy married Helen, daughter of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, and of Lady Helen Lindsay Crawford. (Douglas's Peerage. i. 165.) Richard Melville was succeeded by Mr. Andrew Melville, proprietor of Baldovy, and minister of Maretoun, who died in 1641. His brother, Mr. Patrick, was served heir to him Dec. 6, 1642. (Inquis. Retorn. *Forfar*, num. 275.) In 1717 the estate became the property of Colonel Scott of Comiston. (Charters *penes* Mr. Carnegie, the present Proprietor.)

Melville always wrote his name *Melvinus* in Latin, and he is often called *Melvin* in English. Hence some have concluded that *Melvin*, and not *Melvine*, was his proper name. But they are merely different modes of pronouncing the same family appellation. (Rudd. Index Nom. Propr. adj. Buch. Hist. voc. *Malavinius*. Inquis. De Tutela, num. 714.) Accordingly we find Lord Melville repeatedly called "the Lord Melven." (Lamond's Diary, 201-2.) The same was corrupted still farther into *Melin*; (Ib. 284-5.) just as *Colville* was prononnced *Colven* or *Colvine*, (Ib. 188, 197. Inquis. Gen. num. 7392.) which in some parts of the country is corrupted still farther into *Colin*. This variety in the appellation occurs in the earliest charters granted by the family, or in which they are mentioned. "Galafridus de *Mailvyn*" grants to the church of Dunfermline "ecclesiam de *Mailvyn*," with common pasture "in villa de *Mailvyn*." In another, "Galfridus de *Malvein*" grants "ecclesiam de *Malevill*;" and in this charter occur the names of "Willi. de *Malevill*" and "Gregorius de *Malvill*." (Registrum Cœnobii de Dunfermline, p. 516, 519. MS. Bibl. Fac. Jur. Edin. See also Sibbald's Fife, 392. edit. 1803.)

Note C. p. 222.

Grammar Schools and Elementary Books.—"About the fyft yeir of my age the grace buik was put in my hand, and when I was seivine lytle y^r of haid I lernit at hame. Therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother Dauid about a yeir and a haff in age abone me and me togidder to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his to scholl, a guid lerned kynd man whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr. Wilya Gray minister at Logie Montrose.—There wes a guid nomber of gentle and honest mens berns in the cowntrey about weill treaned vp bathe in letters godlines and exercise of honest geams. Ther we learned to read the catechisme and prayers par ceur also nottes of scripture efter the reiding y^r of.—We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, with the Vocables in Latin and frenche, also dyvers speitches in frenche, w^t the reiding and right pronunciation of y^t toung. We proceidit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer, therew^t was ioyned Huntera Nomenclatura, the minora Colloquia of Erasmus and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epist of Horace. also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam. he haid a verie guid and profitable form of resoluing the authors he teached grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax. bot aa for me the trewthe was my ingyne and memorie was guid aneuche, bot my iudgmēt and vnderstanding was as yit smored and dark, sa that the thing qlk I gat´was mair by rat ryme nor knawlage. Ther also we haid the air guid and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to leepe, to swoum, to warsell, to proue pratteiks, everie ane haifling his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme indeed giff our negligence and unthankfulness haid not moued God to schortene it, partlie be deceying of the number qlk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest qlk the Lord for sine and contempt of his Gospell send vpon Montrose distant from or Logie bot twa myles, so y^t scholl skalled, and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs." (Melville's Diary, p. 15, 16.)

"Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose, finding of God'a guid providence my auld mother Mariorie gray, wha parting from hir brother at his marriage had takin vpe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose. to hir I was welcome again as her awin sone. The maister of the scholl a learned honest kynd man whom also for thankfulness I name Mr Andro Miln minister at sedness. he was verie skilfull and diligent. the first yeir he causit ws go throw the Rudiments againe, y^refter enter and pass throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian, y^rw^t we hard phormione Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition. Efter y^t entered to the secund part and hard y^rat the Georgics of Wirgill and dyvers uther things.—The lard of Done mentioned befor dwelt oft in the town and of his charitie interteined a blind man wha haid a singular guid voice. him he causit the doctor of our scholl teache the wholl Psalmes in miter w^t the tones y^rof and sing them in the Kirk, be heiring of whome I was sa delyted y^r I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones y^rof in miter, qlk I haiff thought euer sensyne a grait blessing and comfort." (Ib. p. 19, 20.)

The following paper contains information as to the early elementary books prepared for the Scottish youth.

"Ane letter maid to maister W^m Nwdrye his factouris and assignaris Mackand mentioun, That quhair ye said maister Will^m hes set furth, for ye better instructioun of young chyldrene in ye art of grammer, to be taucht in scholis, diuerse volumes following That is to say Ane schort Introductioun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for y^e commodius expedition of yame yat ar desirous to read and write the Scottis toung, Orthoepia trilinguis, compendiariæ latinæ linguæ notæ, Calographiæ index, Tables manuall brevelie introducing y^e vnioun of y^e partis of orisoun in greik and latene speichis with thair accidencis, Meditationes in gramaticam dispauterianam, Meditationes in publium memographum et sapientum dicta, Trilinguis literaturæ Syntaxis, Trilinguis grammaticæ quæstiones, Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and latene, Ane regement for educatioun of young gentillmen in literature et virtuous exercitioun, Ane A B C for scottis men to reid the frenche toung with ane exhortatioun to y^e noblis of Scotland to favour yair ald friendis, The geneologie of Inglische Britonis, Quotidiani Sermonis formulæ, E Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta."—Special licence granted to him for the sole printing of the above for the space of ten years, &c. At Edinburgh, August 26, 1559. (Register of Privy Seal, Vol. xxx, fol. 5.)

Note D. p. 222.

Ante-Reformation in Scotland.—Notwithstanding the learned and useful labours of several foreign writers, justice has not yet been done to the history of, what may be called, the ante-reformation. Considering the honour which it does to England, it is surprising that no individual of that nation has attempted accurately to trace the progress of that light which was struck out by Wicliffe, and the influence which his opinions had in exposing established errors, and in exciting and maintaining a spirit of opposition to the abuses of the Church of Rome, both in Britain and on the Continent. What a meagre and uninteresting life have we of the English Proto-Reformer, the most wonderful man of his age, or who had appeared in the world for many centuries! And, since the meritorious labours of the martyrologist Fox, what has been done to connect the exertions of Wicliffe with those of Tindal and Cranmer? although there is scarcely a city in England, I am persuaded, whose records would not furnish an accession to the materials for such a work already deposited in her public libraries.

It is known, from our common histories, that the sentiments taught by Wicliffe were embraced by many respectable families in the south-west parts of Scotland. (Knox, Hist. 2. Spots. 60.) Before the year 1500, Murdoch Nisbet, being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the

New Testament in manuscript (of Wicliffe's translation, no doubt) which on his return he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and acquaintance during the night. This was preserved as a legacy in his family till the end of the seventeenth century. (Life of John Nisbet in Hardhill, p. 3.) Gordon of Earlstoun was an early favourer of the disciples of Wicliffe, and had in his possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language, which was read at meetings held in a wood near to Earlstoun house. (Wodrow, ii. 67.) Some additional particulars respecting these witnesses for truth are contained in a rare poem, by John Davidson: A Memorial of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh and his wife, Elizabeth Campbell. (Edin. 1595.)

But to be plainer is no skaith,
Of surname they were Campbells baith:
Of ancient blood of the Cuntrie
They were baith of Genealogie:
He of the Shirefs house of Air
Long noble famous and preclair:
Scho of a gude and godly stock
Came of the old house of Cesnok:
Quhais Lard of many yeares bygane,
Professed Christs religion plaine:
Yea eighty yeares sensyne and mare,
As I heard aged men declare:
And als a cunning Scottish Clark,
Called Alisius in a wark
Written to Jaines the fifth our king,
Dois this man for his purpose bring:
Quha being to the scaffold led
In Edinburgh to have thold dead,
For Christs Evangell quhilk he red,
By James the fourth from death was fred:
Some says death was alswel prepard
For Priest and Lady as the Lard:
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory:
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie:
Who our religion so oft cald
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald:
When euen in Scotland we may see
It hes bene mair than thrise fiftie:
As by the storie ye may knaw
Of Resbt burnt before Paul Craw
The thousand yeare four hundredthe five,
In Perth, while Husse was yet aliue.
(A Memorial, &c. sig. A 6.)

Spotswood says, that John Resby, an Englishman, was "de schola Wicliffi." Petrie, by mistake, says he was "burnt at *Glascow*." (Hist. 557.) Paul Craw, burnt at St. Andrews in the year 1432, was a native of Bohemia. (Spots. 56.) At a Congregation of the University of St. Andrews, held on the tenth day of June 1416, it was enacted that all who commenced masters of arts should swear, among other things, that they would resist all adherents of the sect of *Lollards*. "Item Jurabitis quod ecclesiam defendetis contra insultum lollardorum, et quibuscunque eorum secte adherentibus pro posse vestro resistetis." (Rec. of University.)

Some interesting particulars respecting the early state of the reformation in Fifeshire are given in the second edition of the Biographia Britannica from a MS. in the possession of the family to whose ancestor they relate. John Andrew Duncan, a son of the laird of Airdrie, in Fife, was induced by youthful ardour to leave the University of St. Andrews in 1513, along with some of his fellow-students, and to join the standard of James IV. at the head of a few of his father's tenants. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Flowden. Being a young man of gallant appearance, he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey, and when carried into Yorkshire was suffered to reside at large in the town of Beverley, with Mr. Alexander Burnet, a near relation of his mother. Burnet, who was a zealous Wicliffite, found his young kinsman disposed to listen to his religious principles. A spirit of inquiry, with a passion for exposing to contempt the abuse of reason and religion, had already distinguished young Duncan at St. Andrews. His conversation with Mr. Burnet raised to a degree of enthusiasm the aversion he had before conceived against some of the absurdities of the Church of Rome. Upon the termination of the short contest with England, he returned to his native country; but, having joined the party that opposed the regency of the Duke of Albany, he was soon obliged to return to Beverley. His friend reproved him for abetting factions in which neither the religion nor liberties of his country had any concern; and having exacted from him a promise that he would reserve his activity for a better cause, gave him his daughter in marriage. When Albany took his final departure into France, Duncan returned to Scotland, and passed about ten years in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity at Airdrie, and in literary intercourse with the members of the neighbouring University of St. Andrews. The opinions and spirit of the reformers were now more openly avowed, and the house of Airdrie became occasionally the resort of the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Reformation in Scotland, who was insidiously drawn into a dispute at St. Andrews by the artificers of Beaton, and in 1527 fell a sacrifice to the malice and bigotry of his persecutors. The young laird of Airdrie, who suspected the event, and had been himself threatened, armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St. Andrews by night, most probably with the view of rescuing his friend, and carrying him off to some place of safety. But his small party was surrounded, and himself apprehended by a troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Angus, who had married his sister. It is doubtful whether Duncanson engaged in this enterprise from a desire to preserve the life of his brother-in-law, or to obtain his property, which Duncan, being forced to leave the country, made over to his sister's children. (Biog. Brit. v. 492.)

Such is the account given in the Biographia, on the authority of the MS. history of the family. I have reason to think that some of the particulars are not correctly stated. It is stated that Mark Duncan, doctor of medicine and professor of philosophy at Saumur in the beginning of the 17th century, was the grandson of John Andrew Duncan, and was born in England. But the truth is, that this learned man was a native of Scotland. This appears from the verses of his son, Mark, (known in France as a wit and a soldier by the name of *De Cerisantes*,) prefixed to a work of his father's. (Marci Duncani Institut. Logicæ, 3tia Salm. 1643.)

Ecce Caledoniis Dvncanvs natus in oris,

And again, addressing the book:

Scotia cumprimis pernice adeunda volatu,
Namque patrem tellus edidit illa tuum.

If any other proof of this fact be wanting, it is supplied by the following document. "Carolus, &c. Certum facimus et testamur prenominatum Marcum Duncanum legitimum ex legitimo matrimonio et generosis parentibus, oriundum esse, splendidisque familiis tam a paterno quam a materno genere descendisse, patre scilicet generoso viro Thomæ Duncano de Maxpofle infra Vicecomitatum nrum de Roxburgh, avo etiam generoso viro Joanne Duncano de Logie infra Vicecomitatum nrum de Perth," &c. &c. (Litera Prosapiæ Marci Duncani Medicinæ Doctoris in inclyta civitate Salmuriensis in Gallia, Oct. 5. 1639. MSS. Diplom. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 26. p. 23.) A letter from Mark Duncan ("A Saumure le 14 d'Aoust 1639") requesting this attestation of his pedigree, and another from his son, Fr. Duncan Sainte Helene, are preserved among the Scots-tarvet Papers. (Ibid. A. 3. 19, Nos. 82, 87.)

Note E. p. 223.

Of Melville's academical education.—The following is the matriculation list for the year in which he entered the university.

Decimus Rectoratus Mgri Joannis Douglasii, præpositi Novi Collegii Mariani 1559.

Nota Incoporatorum sub eodem Anno suprascripto, scilicet 1559.

In Novo Collegio Mariano	In Collegio Leonardino
Thomas Maytlande	Joannes Gordoun
Jacobus Lundie	David Leirmonth
Robertus Lundie	Robertus Leirmonth
Michael Wemis	Valterus Heclyng
Joannes Ramsay	Gulielmus Collace
Andreas Mailuile	Andreas Symsone
Joannes Moncur	Archibaldus Hoige
Jacobus Lowsone	Gulielmus Braidfute
Jacobus Hāmyltoun	Thomas Beggart
Duncanus Skeyne	Archibaldus Bankheid
Jacobus Fullartoun	David Houesone
	Johannes Roull

"None (says Dr. Lee) are mentioned as having entered St. Salvator's College this year, but in 1560 there are more in that seminary than in both the others; or to speak more correctly, in 1560 there are *seven* in St. Mary's, *four* in St. Leonard's, and *seventeen* in St. Salvator's.—There is a red line under *Jacobus Lowsone*. I have reason to believe that this was drawn by the pen of Andrew Melville, as there are some marginal notes throughout the volume, which appear to me to be in his handwriting, all in red ink. Similar lines are drawn under such names as *Robertus Kilpont*, *Johannes Rove*, and *Johannes Robertsoun*, in 1545."

That Melville took his degrees at St. Andrews, is attested by his nephew. (Diary, p. 33.) This is not authenticated by the records of the university, which are defective at this period. In 1562 there are only *five* bachelors, and in 1563 *eight* masters of arts. In 1564 there is no list of either bachelors or masters.

Note F. p. 226.

Civil Law prohibited to be taught in the University of Paris.—The author of "Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque," (tom. ix, pp. 245—6. à Paris, 1780,) says, that Roman Law was taught in the University of Paris from the first discovery of the Pandects, and that Budæus was appointed professor of it in the Royal College by Francis I. I suspect that Budæus never held that situation. It is true, that occasional lectures on this science were delivered at Paris. (See above, page 226.) But these were of an extraordinary kind, similar to "shagling lectures" in England, (Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, vol. i. col. 43.) which were read by individuals who obtained a dispensation to this purpose, in consequence of the celebrity which they had obtained in their profession. The writer above referred to endeavours to explain away the prohibition of Honorius III. by alleging that it refers only to ecclesiastics; but it is sufficient to read the papal decree to be satisfied that it does not admit of such an interpretation. It proceeded not only on the ground of the University of Paris being properly a seminary of theology, but also upon the assumed fact, that causes were not decided in that part of France upon the principles of Roman Law. (Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. iii. 96.) In 1562, a request was presented, in behalf of certain students, driven by the civil war, from the other French universities, that the doctors of canon law should be permitted to read lectures on civil law. But it was not granted. In 1568, a permission of this kind was granted, on the powerful consideration, that young men were in danger of imbibing heretical opinions at the other seminaries; but in 1572, the universities of Orleans, Poitiers, &c. obtained a decree, prohibiting the canonists of Paris from granting licenses to advocates. This decree, though superseded for some time, was finally confirmed in 1579. (Ib. tom. vi. p. 552, 658, 662, 727.) The author of *Mélanges* (ut sup. p. 248.) insists, but without good reason, that the *ordonnance* of Blois in 1579 merely prohibited the taking of a degree in civil law, unless the person, at the same time, graduated in canon law.

The following facts and illustrations, for which I am indebted to Dr. David Irving, will set the matter in a clearer light. In the year 1220, Pope Honorius the third strictly prohibited the civil law from being taught in Paris, or any place adjacent. "Sane licet sancta ecclesia legum seculari-um non respuat famulatum, quæ æquitatis et justitiæ vestigia imitantur: quia tamen in Francia et nonnullis provinciis laici Romanorum imperatorum legibus non utuntur, et occurrunt raro ecclesiasticæ causæ tales, quæ non possint statutis canonicis expediri; ut plenius sacræ paginæ insistatur: firmiter interdicimus, et districtius inhibemus, ne *Parisiis*, vel civitatibus, seu aliis locis vicinis quisquam docere vel audire jus civile præsumat." (Decret. Gregor. ix. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. § 28.) The spirit of this law is sufficiently explained in an *ordonnance* of Philippe le Bel, issued in the year 1312. "Ut autum liberius ibidem studium proficeret theologiæ, primogenitores nostri non permiserunt legum sæcularium, seu juris civilis, studium ibidem institui, quinimo id etiam interdici, sub excommunicationis pœna per sedem apostolicam procurarunt." (Terrasson, *Hist. de la jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 442.)

That the same prohibition continued in force during the sixteenth century, is clearly evinced by an anecdote of the great civilian Cujacius. The civil wars having obliged him to relinquish his station in the university of Bourges, he retired to Paris; where he could not be permitted to read lectures on the civil law without a special dispensation. By an *arrest* of the Parliament of Paris, dated on the second of April 1576, he was authorized to teach in the university and in conjunction with the professors of the canon law, to confer degrees in his own faculty. "Ladite Cour, attendu la qualité du tems, et sans tirer à conséquence, a permis et permet audit Cujas faire lectures et profession en droit civil en l'université de Paris, à tels jours et heures qu'il sera par lui avisé, avec les docteurs-régens en droit canon en cette ville: permettant audit Cujas et docteurs donner les degrés à ceux qu'ils trouveront avoir fait cours le tems requis, et selon que par l'examen ils les auront trouvés capables: validant ce qui aura été fait en cette part, comme si fait avoit été en l'une des autres universités fameuses de ce royaume." This *arrest* may be found at the end of Terrasson's History of Roman Jurisprudence.

The prohibition of teaching the civil law at Paris was soon afterwards renewed by the *ordonnance* of Blois, issued in the year 1579; and it was only removed by an edict which the Parliament registered on the eighth of May 1679.

Note G. p. 228.

Of Henry Scrimger.—It has been stated by different writers that this learned man was allied to the ancient and honourable house of Diddup. His genealogy may be more exactly traced from the diary of James Melville. That writer, in speaking of Scrimger, calls him "my eam." (Diary, p. 35.) The word *eam* or *eme* (from the French *amie*, a friend or relation,) had then the appropriate meaning of *uncle*. Thus, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar, is called *eme* to the Earl of Mar, and in the same document he is called his *uncle*. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 158, 159. comp. 101, 102.) Again, James Melville calls Alexander Young "my cousing" (Ib. p. 26.) and we know that Young's mother was sister of Henry Scrimger's. (See above, p. 231.) Now James Melville's mother was "Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the laird of Glaswell for the time." (Diary, p. 14.) It is proper, however, to state, that the only ground which I have for saying that *Walter* was the name of the father of Henry Scrimger, is the following: "Oct. 1. 1549. Jacobus Scrymgeor hæres Walteri Scrymgeor de Glaswell patris." (Inquis. Spec. Retorn. *Perth*, num 8. comp. num. 40.)

Scrimger distinguished himself at the university of St. Andrews. In the register of graduations for the year 1534, after "Rotulus graciosus," containing the names of three who obtained the degree of master "propter importunas supplicationes," there follows: "Rotulus istorum sequeciu rigorosus secundum rigorem examinis et meritorum. Hen. Scrimgeor pūs." intimating that he was placed at the head of the list, not in virtue of his rank, but in consequence of his having submitted to a strict examination. In 1533, when he passed bachelor, he is marked *d.* or *dives*, and of St. Salvator's college.

It appears from his preface to the Greek text of Justinian's Novells, that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin version of that work, as well as annotations on it. His edition is mentioned with commendation by several civilians. Cujas

says: "In postrema editione Novellarum, quam Henricus Scrimgerus vir doctissimus hoc anno procuravit, qua re equidem pro mea parte ei multum me debere confiteor." (Cujacii Observ. p. 167. Col. Agrip. 1591, 8vo.)

The only other work which he appears to have published, was a history of the case of Spira. It was printed along with the narratives of the same case, written by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Matthæus Gribaldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title: "Francisci Spieræ, qui quod susceptam semel Euangelice ueritatis professionē abnegasset, damnassetq; in horrendā incidit desperationem, Historia, A quatuor summis uiris summa fide conscripta, cum clariss: uirorum Prefationibus, Cælii S. C, & Jo. Caluini, & Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia: in quibus multa hoc tempore scitu digna grauissimē tractantur. Accessit quoq; Martini Borrhai, de usu quem Spieræ tum exemplum, tum doctrina efferat, iudicium. 2 Petri 2. Satius fuisset eis non cognouisse uiam iustitiæ," &c. 12°. p. 200, including Index, besides seven leaves at beginning: A to M in eights. It has neither name of printer, place, nor date, but was probably printed at Basil in 1550 or 1551. At p. 62, Scrimger's narrative commences: "Exemplum memorabile desperationis in Francisco Spira propter abiuratam fidei confessionem Henrico Scoto autore." And extends to the end of p. 95. It begins: "Citadella est agri Patauini municipium non ignobile. in eo Franciscus Spira fuit, homo, cum inter suos imprimis honestus ac locuples," &c. Speaking of Scrimger's narrative, Cœlius Secundus Curio says, in his preface; "Alterius explicator et scriptor Henricus est natione Scotus, homo doctus, disertus, grauis, et quod ad historiā scribendam requiritur maximē fidelis et bonus."

Scrimger left his library to his nephew, Peter Young, whose brother Alexander brought it to Scotland. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4.) Buchanan, at Young's desire, offered his MSS. to Christopher Plantin to print. (Epist. xii. xiii.) Casaubon obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those of Polybius, when he published his editions of these authors. (Casaub. Epist. p. 182, 306. edit. Almel.) he speaks very highly of them in his letters to Young, but has been accused of not duly acknowledging his obligations in his printed works. It appears from Casaubon's letters that Scrimger was allied to Henry Stephens by marriage. (Comp. Maittaire, Stephan. Hist. p. 238, 249.) A letter of Scrimger's is inserted in that work. (P. 239.) The following is the most particular account that I have met with of the ancient authors on whom he left notes, and of the number of manuscripts of each from which he collected his various readings.

Demosthenem cum quinque Manuscriptis diversis
Thucydidem cum duobus
Herodotum cum 2bus
Strabonum cum 3bus
Gorgiam Platonis cum 1°
Arrianum de gestis Alexandri cum 2bus
Xenophontem cum 3bus
Plutarchi Opuscula cum 3bus
Ejusdem Vitas cum 2bus
Phornitum et Palefutum, (Phornuthum et Palæphatum) cum antiquo plane diverso ac prope alio ab impresso.
Harpocrationem cum 1°
Eusebii historiam Ecclesiasticam, Theodoreti, Socratis et aliorum 2bus multis locis non solum emendatam, sed integris fere paginis auctam
Animadversiones in Diogenem: in Platonem: in Laertium: in Euclidem; in Athenæum: in Herodianum: in Theonis sophistæ progymnasmata: in Diodorum Siculum: in Lysiæ λογον επιταφιον: in Apollonium gramaticum: Heliodori Ethiopica.

(Dav. Buchananus De Scriptoribus Scotis Illustribus, num. 54. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 34.)

To this list may be added (from Dempster, 587.) "Basilicō libros," and (from Tanner) "Ciceronis Philosophica."

The following verses to his memory are by an unknown poet.

Scrimgerus vitam exegit ter lustra quaterna
Tresque annos, testæ fictilis hospes ovans,
Scotia cui natale solum, fatale Geneva,
Gallia Atheneum, Roma magisterium,
Amphitheatrum orbis totus, Germania census,
Doctrinarum orbis laus, patria alma polus.
(D. Buch. ut supra, num. 54.)

Note H. p. 231.

Of a suppressed political tract of Beza.—The following extract from the records of the city of Geneva relates to this tract. "30 dit (Juillet, 1573.) Livre de Monsieur de Beze défendu. Monsieur de Beze aiant compose et fait imprimer un livre, intitulé *De Jure Magistratuum*, lequel aiant été examiné par les Seignrs Varro, Bernard et Roset, il fut trouvé que ledit livre n'étoit pas de saison, quoi qu'il ne contient rien que de vrai; mais parce qu'il auroit pu causer des troubles, on en suprima l'impression de même que les exemplaires qui en avoient été deja faicts." (Recueil de diverses particularitéz concernant Geneve, p. 123. MS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

Though suppressed by order of the senate, copies of this work got abroad; and it was frequently reprinted, both in Latin and French. The first edition is sometimes mentioned as printed in 1573, and sometimes in 1574. (General Dictionary. His. and Crit. vol. x. p. 311, 327.) In 1576, it was printed in French and in Latin. In 1578, a French edition appeared with the following title: "Du droit des Magistrats sur leur subjets. Traicté très necessaire en ce temps, pour avertir de leur devoir tant les Magistrats que les subjets: *publié par ceux de Magdebourgh l'an* M. D. L.: & maintenant reveu & augmenté des plusieurs raisons & examples." De Thou and Bayle were both deceived by the words here printed in Italics, and concluded that this was a new edition, with additions, of a book published in 1550. But these words were inserted by the publisher for the purpose of concealment; no such book was published in 1550; and this is merely another edition of the treatise *De Jure Magistratuum in subditos, et officio subditorum erga Magistratus*, originally printed at Geneva in 1573. (See the Critique on Bayle's Dissertation on the Book of Stephanus Junius Brutus, by the Parisian Editor of his Dictionary, § xi. xxxiii.) It is inserted in a collection of political tracts by Joan Nicol. Stupanus, Professor of Medicine at Basil, printed at Montbelliard, in 1599; and in a valuable historical work, entitled, "Mémoires de l'Estat de France, sous Charles ix." (tom. ii. p. 483—522. Anno 1578.)

The learned are now agreed in ascribing the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* to Hubert Languet. But Beza was long suspected of being the author of that work. The first writer, so far as I know, who named him as the author of the treatise *De Jure Magistratuum*, was Sutcliffe, in one of his controversial pieces against the Presbyterians. This was denied by some of the defenders of Beza. John Beccaria, who wrote a refutation of it in 1590, supposes it to be the production of a lawyer,—"versatum in literis humanis, præsertim historiis, atque si divinare licet legulcium, in divinis haud adeo multum." (Refut. cujusdam Libelli, p. 9.) The extract which I have given at the beginning of this note shows that Sutcliffe was right in his conjecture.

The treatise is well written and well reasoned. The principles which it maintains are the same with those of the *Vindiciæ*: indeed Languet's work is properly an enlargement of Beza's. But the latter is more guarded than the former, both in the questions which it agitates, and in the language which it holds upon them. It is however far from being undecided or evasive. The following propositions, among others, are advanced and confirmed by reason, Scripture, and history: That the authority of God only is absolute and unlimited; that when irreligious or unjust commands are laid on us we are not merely to decline obeying them, but also to act in such a manner as to discharge our duty to God and our neighbour; that every kind of resistance by subjects to their superiors is not unlawful and seditious; that rulers are created for the people and not the people for rulers; that a just resistance by arms is not inconsistent with christian patience and prayer; ("I extol Christian patience as a distinguished virtue; I detest sedition and every kind of confusion; I acknowledge that prayer and repentance are proper remedies against tyranny, when it is sent by God

as a judgment and a scourge: but I deny that, on this account, it is unlawful for a people oppressed by manifest tyranny to use other just remedies along with prayer and repentance;") that it is the duty of all to oppose those who endeavour to usurp dominion over their fellow-citizens: that a usurper may become a lawful magistrate, by obtaining the consent of the people; that magistrates may be resisted though they should not be deposed; that inferior magistrates, though installed by the sovereign, do not depend upon him but upon the sovereignty of the state, and that they, and the estates or Parliament of a nation, who are appointed as a check on the supreme magistrate, may and ought to restrain him when he violates the laws and becomes tyrannical; that all kings are bound, either by express or tacit agreement, to rule justly and for the good of the people; that the public good and the rights of the people are paramount to those of any individual, however exalted; that though private persons are not warranted in ordinary cases to resist rulers by force, yet they may apply to inferior magistrates for redress, and concur with the estates of a kingdom in imposing restraints upon tyrants, or in emancipating themselves from the yoke of tyranny; and that although religion is not to be planted or propagated by arms or force, yet when the true religion has been established in any nation by public authority, or when the liberty of professing it has been obtained, it is lawful to maintain and defend it by force against manifest tyranny, and so much the more because what relates to conscience and the souls of men is of greater importance than mere secular concerns. (Memoires de l'Estat de France, ut supra.)

This appears to be the book to which Hotoman refers in a letter to Jaques Capel de Tilloy, (7th Jan. 1575) "Nudius Octavus a Chambert tres buccinatores in foro Ducis Sabandiæ et Senatus interdixerunt, ne qui seum libellum (Franco-Galliam) *et novum alterum de magistratibus et veritate* vendere aut domi habere, legere, contrectare auderet." (Hotomanorum Epistolæ, p. 46, 47. Amstel. 1700.) In another letter he mentions, that the magistrates of Geneva would not permit the last named work, nor even the Life of the Admiral, to be published within the bounds of their jurisdiction. (Ibid. p. 49.)

Note I. p. 231.

Melville's Panegyric on Geneva.—This is contained in a poem entitled, "Epitaphium Jacobi Lindesii, qui obiit Genevæ, 17. Cal. Jul. 1580." (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 123.)

Celtarum crudele solum, crudelia tandem
Regna dolis Italorum atris, & cæde recenti
Carnificum dirorum infamia, (Sequane qua se
Obliquat flexu vario, qua Matrona Belgas
Irrigat: immitesque Liger, tristesque Garumna
Permutat populos: & gurgite sanguinis alti
Qua Rhodano se jungit Arar, sua flumina miscens
Purpurea: exanimesque artus laniataque membra
Matrumque, infantumque ævi discrimine nullo,
Aut sexus teneri; vastum protrudit in æquor
Piscibus impastis pastum monstrisque marinis)
Exuperas gressu impavidus, certusque salutis:
Jam Genevam, Genevam veræ pietatis alumnam,
Florentem studiis cælestibus omine magno
Victor ovans subis: ac voti jam parte potitus
Jam Bezæ dulci alloquio Suadæque medulla,
Et succo ambrosiæ cœlesti, & nectaris imbre
Perfusus; jam Danæi* immortalia dicta,
Cornelique† Palæstinas, Portique‡ Sorores
Grajugenas: jam Serrana‖ cum lampade, Fait§
Phœbæas artes geminas, clarumque Perotti¶
Sidus, Gulardique jubar,* lumenque Pinaldi,†
Et Stephani‡ Musas varias operumque labores,
Necnon ingentis Calvini ingentia fata,
Et magnum atque memor Keithi‖ magni, atq; sagacis
Glaspæi§ desiderium, sanctique Collessi¶
Edoctus.——

* Lambert Danée, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, and afterwards at Orthes in Bearn, and at Leyden.

† Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus, Professor of Hebrew at Geneva.

‡ Franciscus Portus, Professor of Greek there.

‖ Jean de Serres (Serranus) one of the pastors of the territory of Geneva in 1572, and Rector of the Protestant College of Nismes in 1578. He was distinguished as a historian, and suspected, but apparently with injustice, of engaging in measures hostile to the protestant interest by embarking with those who were called *Reconcilers*.

§ Antoine de la Faye (Faius) Pastor and Professor of Theology at Geneva. He was Doctor of Medicine.

¶ Charles Perrot, Pastor and Rector of the Academy at Geneva.

Note K. p. 233.

Specimen of Melville's method of private tuition.—"That quarter of yeir I thought I gat greitter light in letters nor all my time befor: whowbeit at our meitting in my convent I thought I could haiff taked to him in-things I haid hard as he did to me as a master of arts. bot I perceivit at annes yt I was bot an ignorant babble and wist not what I said nether could schaw anie vse yrof bot in clattering and crying. he fand me bauche in the latin toung, a pratler vpon precepts in logick w'out anie profit for the right vse, and haiffing soum termes of art in Philosophie w'out light of solid knawledge. yit of ingyne and capacite guid aneuche wherby I haid cunned my dictata and haid them ready aneuche. he enterit yrfor and conferrit wt me sum of Bowchanans Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace qlk twa namlie Virgill was his cheiff refreshment efter his graue studies, wherin he lut me sie not onlie the proper latin langage and ornaments of poesie bot also mair guid logik and philosophie than ever I haid hard befor. I had tean delyt at the grammar schole to heir red and sung the verses of Virgill taken wt the numbers yrof (whowbeit I knew not what numbers was till he tauld me) and haid mikle of him par ceur, bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a comedie of Tyrence wt me schawing me that ther was bathe fyne latin langage and wit to be lernit. yt of langage I thought weill bot for wit I merveld and haid nocht knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentares of Cæsar comending him for the simple puritie of the latin toung. also Salust and read wt me the coniuration of Cateline. He had gottin in Paris at his by coming Bodin his method of historie qlk he read ower him selff thryse or four tymes yt quarter, annes wt me the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik Grammar, qlk he put in hand of Clenard causing me vnderstand the precepts onlie and lear the παραδειγματα exactlie; the practise wherof he schew me in my buik going throw wt me that Epistle of Basilius and causing me lern it be hart bothe for the langage and the mater. yrefter to the new Testament and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean comfortable places of the epistles namlie the Romans. And last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding declynations and pronons and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinius grammar qlk he haid wt him, and schew me the vse of the Dictionair also qlk he haid of Reuclins** wt him. And all this as it war bot pleying and craking, sa yt I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation bathe that quarter and yrefter, nor ever I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

(Melville's Diary, p. 37, 38.)

* Simon Goulart, Pastor of Geneva, and well known as a writer, and the correspondent of Scaliger, Du Plessis, &c.

† Monsieur Pinauld, Pastor of Geneva, (Epistres Franc. à M. de la Scala. p. 122, 267, 447.)

‡ Henry Stephens, the learned printer of Geneva.

‖ William Keith, son of Lord William Keith, and brother of George Earl Marischal, who was unfortunately killed during an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gaulter, and other foreign literati honoured his memory with elegies.

§ George Gillespie was a Regent in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and died at Geneva. The Records of the University (Jan. 6. 1575) mention that the Rector presented the accompts,—"vice M. Georgii Gillaspie, quæstoris facultatis artium, causata ejus decessu in Galliam."

¶ William Collace, a Regent in St. Leonard's College. (See above, p. 223, 232.) "Not long efter (the summer of 1575) Mr Andro receavit Letters from Monsieur du Bez, and therin amangis the rest, '*Collaccus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*' This was my guid regent quha efter the ending of our course had gean to france and coming to Geneva ther died, a great loss to the kirk of God in his countrey, for he was solidlie learnit, hartelie addicted to divinitie, with a sincear zellous hart." (Melville's Diary, p. 42.)

** *John Reuchlin*, or Capnio, published his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary (the first ever composed by a Christian or in Latin) in the year 1506. But perhaps Melville used the Dictionary translated from Hebrew by *Anthony Reuchlin* in 1554, and of which an abridgment by Lucas Osiander appeared in 1569.

Note L. p. 233.

Early State of University of Glasgow.—At the solicitation of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, Pope Nicholas V. granted a bull, dated the 7th of January 1450, constituting "a General Study for theology, canon and civil law, the arts, and every other useful faculty," at Glasgow; and granting to it all the rights and privileges belonging to the University of Bologna. In the following year a body of statutes for its government was prepared by the bishop and his chapter, which, together with the papal bull, were confirmed, in 1453, by a Royal Charter from King James II. During the first two years of its erection more than a hundred individuals were incorporated into it; but the most of these were not young men commencing their studies, but secular or regular ecclesiastics, who became members chiefly for the sake of the honour attached to a learned corporation, or of the immunities to which it entitled them. The annals of the university are sufficiently copious in information respecting its government, but they are almost entirely silent as to what is more important, the means of instruction which it provided, and the mode in which that instruction was conveyed. So far as we can collect from scattered hints, it would seem that there was no stated or regular teaching in the higher faculties. The zeal of individuals prompted them to read occasional lectures, the continuance of which depended on the caprice of the hearers, whose attendance on them was optional. "On the 29th of July, 1460, a venerable man, Master David Cadyow, precentor of the church of Glasgow, and Rector of the university, read, in the Chapter-House of the Predicant Friars of Glasgow, at nine o'clock *ante meridiem*, the title or rubric in the third book (of the Canon Law) *De vita et honestate clericorum*, in the presence of all the clergy and masters; and he continued at the pleasure of the hearers." On the same day, and in the same house, Master William de Levenax read a title in the Civil Law. The first notice of any lecture on theology is at a much later period. "On the 23d of March, 1521, a religious man, Father Robert Lile, of the order of Predicant Friars, Bachelor of Theology, and Prior of the Convent of Glasgow, began, *pro forma*, to read a lecture on the fourth book of the Sentences, in the foresaid Monastery, in presence of the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and the rest of the masters; John Ade, Professor of Theology, and Provincial of the whole order of Scotland, presiding at the time." The want of salaries to the professors was doubtless one great reason of the rarity of these lectures. Bishop Turnbull died before he had an opportunity of carrying his munificent purposes into execution;* and the defect was not supplied by his successors, or by the government. With the exception of certain small perquisites paid at promotions to degrees, the university, as such, was destitute of funds, and the professors of divinity, and of canon and civil law, depended for their support on the benefices which they held as ecclesiastics in various parts of the kingdom.

Happily more attention had been paid to the inferior branches of learning. These were taught at an early period; for the records mention the admission of a regent of philosophy within two years after the erection of the university. "Congregatione facultatis artium tenta, &c. 1452, 28°. Julij, supplicavit venerabilis et religiosus vir Dominus Alexander Geddes, licentiatus in theologia, monachus de Melross, pro licentia exponendi textum Aristotelis pro ——— cujus supplicationi facultas favorabiliter inclinata illam quam petiit salvis suis privilegiis duntaxat sibi contulit potestatem." (Act. Fac. Art. Glasg.) This was the usual way of admitting a regent to teach a course of philosophy. It is probable that Bishop Turnbull had founded the Pædagogium, or College, in which the students of the liberal arts lived together with the masters who superintended their education. They resided in a house situated on the south side of the Rottenrow, until a benefaction from Lord Hamilton enabled them to remove to the situation which the college occupies at present. By means of donations and bequests from different individuals, a moderate provision was made for the continuance of regular instruction in the college. Chaplainries, for the benefit of the regents, were founded at different times. Thomas Arthurlie bequeathed a tenement to the college. And in 1557, Archbishop Beatoun gave to it the vicarage of Colmonell, which, with the glebe acres, is valued, in the old Rental Book, at £44. 13s. 4d. (Records of University; and Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Appendix.) Some idea may be formed of the nature of the instruction given from the lists, at the end of this note, which contain the titles of books presented for the use of the regents.

The University of Glasgow, from its peculiar constitution, necessarily suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation than the other learned establishments of Scotland. The professors in the higher branches being all supported by their livings in the church, and adhering to the old religion, successors could not be appointed to them owing to the total want of salaries. It was so far a favourable circumstance that John Davidson, the principal of the college, embraced the reformed doctrines, and continued his academical labours. By this means the most valuable, though not the most dignified, part of the academy was preserved from extinction. But it also suffered materially from the fraudulent alienation, or the unjust seizure of its slender revenues. To remedy this evil, the friends of the college obtained from Queen Mary, in 1563, a grant under the Privy Seal, founding bursaries for five poor scholars, and bestowing certain houses and lands for their support during the time of their education. (Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow; Appendix.) In 1572, the Town Council of Glasgow, perceiving "that the college had fallen into decay for want of funds, and the study of the arts was nearly extinguished in it through poverty," bestowed on it rents which were deemed adequate for the support of fifteen persons. It might be supposed that these gifts would have been sufficient to place the college on a respectable footing, but all that could be made good, from the whole of the funds, did not amount to more than three hundred pounds Scots annually.

The following extracts from the records, containing lists of books taught at the university, were obligingly sent me by Dr. Macturk, Professor of Church History at Glasgow.

Congregatione facultatis artium tenta, &c. anno Domini 1475 tertio die mensis Novembris presentati fuerunt, &c.

Eodem Anno Reverendus in christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Johannes, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia, Episcopus Glasguensis, infrascriptos donavit libros Pedagogio Glasguensi ad usum et utilitatem Regentium inibi pro tempore existentium.

In primis unum volumen in pergameno in quo continentur textus Phisicæ Aristotelis completus, quatuor libri de cœlo et mundo, duo de Generatione, quatuor Metheororum, liber de causis proprietatum elementorum, Liber de Mundo, liber de lineis indivisibilibus, Liber de inundatione fluvii, Item liber de Bona fortuna, Epistola quædam Aristotelis ad Alexandrum, tres libri de anima, Liber de sensu et sensato, Liber de Memoria et Reminiscentia, Liber de Sompno et Vigilia, Liber de longitudine et brevitate vitæ, Liber de spiritu et respiratione, Liber de morte et vita, Liber pe motu animalium, Liber de progressu animalium, Liber de Phisonomia, Liber de Pomo, Liber de

Spiritus et animæ, Item liber de vita Aristotelis.

Item in alio Volumine Papirio donavit idem Reverendus Pater. In primis quoddam Scriptum continens questiones super octo libros Phisicorum Item questiones super tribus libris de cœlo et mundo Item questiones quasdam super tribus libris Metheororum Item quasdam questiones super duobus libris de Generatione Item quasdam questiones super tribus libris de anima Item quasdam questiones super libro de sensu et sensato Item quasdam questiones super libris de memoria et reminiscentia sompno et vigilia Item quasdam questiones de longitudine et brevitate vitæ.

Sequuntur libri quos donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in facultate artium in Pædagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ venerabilis vir Magister Duncanus Bunch quondam Canonicus Glasguen et in dicto loco principalis Regens.

In primis unum volumen bene ligatum in Pergameno in quo continentur textus predicabilium Purphurii, (*sic*) textus Aristotelis super veteri arte, Liber sex principiorum Gilberti Porritani, Liber Divisionum Boetii et liber Thopicorum ejusdem et textus Aristotelis super nova Logica complete.

* D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scot. Art. De D. Turnbullo: MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin. Bishop Turnbull died in 1454.

Item in alio papirio volumine Textus super tribus Libris Aristotelis Item in eodem duo libri Elencorum rupti in fine Item duo libri Posteriorum Item commentum alberti super Phisica Aristotelis in Pergameno Item questiones Phisicales in parte magistri Joannis Elmir Item duo libri de generatione

Item in uno volumine questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item in uno volumine questiones super libro de anima cum tribus libris Metheororum cum quibusdam aliis excerptis

Item in uno volumine Textus Metaphisicæ complete in Pergameno

Item Glossa Petri Hispani secundum usum Magri Joannis Elmir super quinque tractatibus

Item in alio volumine duo libri de Anima

Item questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item questiones super octo libris Phisicorum

Item una Biblia in Pergameno parvo volumine litera optima complete Scripta.

The books mentioned in the following list were presented in the year 1483.

Sequunter libri quos Donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in Facultate artium in Pedagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ Johannes Browne canonicus Glasguen et in dicto Pedagogio olim Regens.

In primis unum Volumen in quo continentur tres libri de cœlo et mundo, Duo libri de Generatione et corruptione, Libri methorum, tres libri de anima de sompno et vigilia Item aliud Volumen continens questiones logicales complete Item unum Volumen in quo continentur auctores Philosophiæ Naturalis et Moralis cum sex principijs, tractatus de Spera et Algorismo cum quibusdam moralibus questionibus Item volumen unum continens questiones metaphisicales. Item unum volumen continens glossam Magistri Petri Hispani Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex tractatus Petri Hispani cum textu Porphyrii Item unum volumen antiquum in quo continentur questiones de anima Item Glosa Petri Hispani super certis tractatibus Item volumen in quo continentur octo libri Metaphisicæ Item tractatus super textum Purphyrii cum aliquibus questionibus Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex libri Ethicorum Item unum volumen in quo continentur questiones sancti Thomæ super certis libris Phisicæ Item scriptum super quibusdam libris Phisicorum Item Scotus secundum librum Purphyrii et scriptum Johannis Burlaw in uno volumine Item primus tractatus super suppositionibus Item super diversis dubiis Item unum volumen quod incipit Utrum Logica sit Scientia, &c.

Note M. p. 233.

Distinguished persons educated at the University of Glasgow.—Bishop Elphingston's name is in the list of those who were incorporated in 1551, at the first opening of the university. It is written simply "Willus Elphinstoun," from which it is probable that he entered as a student, and had then no title or office in the church.

Willielmus Manderstoun proceeded Bachelor of Arts, at Glasgow, 4th November, 1506. (Annales Fac. Art.)—Dec. 1525. Guill. Manderston, Scotigena, Licent. in Medic. Rector universitatis Parisiensis. (Bulæus.)—Wilelmus Manderston, Doctor in Medicina, Rector de Gogar, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, anno 1530. He is the author of the following work: "Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia opusculū ex variis autoribus per magistrum Guillelmū Mäderston Scotū nuperrime collectū: Et pro secunda impressione cum nouis additionibus ab eodem appositis recusum.—Vœnundantur in ædibus Gormontianis." It is dedicated by the author "reuerēdo in christo patri & domino: domino Jacobo Beton; sancti Andree archipresuli: ac totius Scotie primati & cancellario suoq mecenati." Prefixed to it are a copy of Latin verses by William Grayme of Fintree, and an epistle in prose with the inscription, "Robertus Gra. medicinae amator praeceptori suo vilelmo Manderstō apollonie artis professori peritissimo." The colophon, on fol. cclx. is in these words: "Explicit opusculum in morali philosophia bipartitū a magistro Guillelmo Manderston Scoto diocesis sācti Andree nuperrime impresum Parthisiis Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo quingentessimo vicessimo tertio, Die vero decima quarta Januarij." In small 8vo.

The first edition of this book was printed "Parrhisijs 1518," in 4to. at the same press. The colophon states that it was "nuperrime collectū dum regeret Parisiis in famatissimo diuæ Barbaræ gymnasio," a. d. 1518. 14 kal April. The work itself is very jejune. There is an earlier book by Manderston, which I have not seen: "Tripartitum epithoma doctrinale & compendiosum in totius dialecticæ artis principia. Lutetiæ Paris. 1514." 4to.

Extracts respecting Major and Knox have been given from the records, in Life of John Knox, vol. ii. p. 465—467, 4th edit.—In 1514, we find "Dauid Melwyn principalem regentem Glas." David Melville went to St. Andrews, and from 1517 to 1520 he is frequently mentioned in the records of that university, under the designation "Dauid Maillwill Regentem Principalem Pedagogii Sanctiandreæ."

"*John Ade* sacre theologie professor" is mentioned in the registers of Glasgow, 29 March, 1521; and on the 23 March, 1521, (i. e. 1522,) John Ade, or Adamson, provincial of the order of predicant friars, or Dominicans, presided at a theological lecture and disputation in the university. Hector Boece informs us, that he was the first person who received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the newly erected University of Aberdeen; and that as a provincial of the Dominicans he introduced a salutary reform into that religious order. (Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. & Murth. See also Milne's Hist. of Bishops of Dunkeld.) In 1506, Robert Park, prior of the predicant friars at Perth, gives a charter "cum consensu & assensu rev. patris David Andreæ prioris provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ."—August 20, 1517, "Rc. Lile prior fr. pred. burgi de Perth" grants a charter with consent "ven. pr⁹ nr⁹ fratris Johannis Adamsone prioris provin. nr⁹." Adamson was dead in 1526, for in that year we find ord. "Johannes Gresoun prior provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ." (Transcripts from Charters of the Convent of Blackfriars at Perth, by the Rev. Mr. Scott, in Advocates Library.)

The following entries appear to relate to the Superintendent of Lothian.—"Die Sabbati xxvii June 1534 Incorporati—Dnus Johannes Spottiswood *servus*, &c."—8 Feb. 1535 "Dominus Joannes Spottiswood" proceeded bachelor.—1536. "Electi fuerunt quatuor intrantes viz. Magr Joannes Spottiswood, &c." In the same year and in 1543, he was chosen one of the deputes of the Rector. (Annales Fac. Art. et Annales Univ.)

David Beaton (afterwards Cardinal) was matriculated of this univeriity on the 26th of October, 1511.

The names of the following young men of rank occur in the lists of incorporati, or matriculated students.

Oct. 24th 1457 Andreas Stewart Subdecanus Glasguen frater illustrissimi Regis Scotorum Jacobi secundi

A. 1473 Joannes Stewart filius comitis de levenax et dni de Dernly

1482 Mattheus Stewart filius primogenitus et heres nobilis et potentis dni comitis de levenax et dni de Dernly

1488 Alex. Stewart filius Comitus de levenax
Rob. Stewart filius ejusdem comitis
Patricius Grahame filius german. comit. de Montrose

1489 Gavinus Douglas filius dni de Drumlanrig

1492 Alexander Erskyne filius dni de Erskyne studens.

Under the year 1495 is the following minute, in the *Annales Collegii Facultatis artium:* "Eodem Anno processerunt ad gradum Bachallariatus sub Magistro Patricio Covyntre, Alexander Erskyne, filius dni de eodem, qui et gloriosum actum celebravit et solus ingentes expensas fecit;"—that is, he gave a splendid feast to the university at his laureation.

1510 Joannes Stewart magister de levenax filius et apparens heres Matthei com. de levenax et dni de Dernle.

1534 Joannes Campbell filius comit. de Argile

1553 Joannes Cunynghame filius comit. de Glencarne.

It was the custom at Glasgow for every bursar to give *a silver spoon* upon his being admitted to the college table.

Note N. p. 233.

Queen Mary's grant to the College of Glasgow.—This is antedated in the common accounts of the university. It was "given under our prlvie seale at Glasgow the thretteno of Julij the zeir of God 1mvc thre score and thre zeiris."—"ffor samickle as within the citie of Glasgow, ane college and

universitie was devisit to be hade, quarein the zouth micht be brocht up in lettres and knawlledge, the comoun welth servit and vertue incressit, off the quhilk college ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit, the rest thairof alsweill dwellingis as provision for the puir bursouris and Maisteris to teche, ceissit Sua that the samin apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor any wyse to be reknit ane establissit fundation And we for the zele we beir to lrēs and for the gude will we have that vertew be incressit within our realme, have foundit and erectit and be thir our lrēs foundis and erectis five puir children bursouris the said college to be callit in all tymes cuming bursouris of oure foundation and for furnessing and provesion to be maid to the saidis five bursouris." It gives and grants certain lands, mailes, &c. belonging to "the freiris predicatouris within the said citie." The deed further states that the queen intends "als to mak the said college to be provydit of sic ressonable living that thairin the liberale sciences may be planlie teched siclike as the samyn ar in utheris collegis of yis realme Sua that the college foirsaid salbe reputet oure fundation in all tyme cuming And to that effect we ordane that quhenever the maister thairof or any of the bursouris of the samyn happenis to deceiss That utheris in thair roumes be placit be us and o^{r} successouris That the memorie of the said gude will we beir to vertew may remane to the posterities to cum." (Records of the University of Glasgow.)

Note O. p. 235.

A Dream.—"The collage had monie pleyis in law depending y^{t} yeir and M^{r} Piter blakburn was œconomus and speciall acter. yit because the æstimation of M^{r} Andro was graitter, he desyrit him at certean perempter dyettes to be present in Ed^{r}. ffor sic a dyet being to go to Ed^{r} M^{r} Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning heavie and grim lyk. being inquyrit by the principall what ealed him, he answerit I haiff dreamed an vnsell* dream and I am some thing solist after it. What is it sayes he. Me thought we war sitting at our collag burde and a cup full of barmie drink befor ws. I luiked to the cup and I thought I saw a read heidit tead leap out of it and craled vpe vpon the wall, the qlk I percewed and dang down and tramped vnder my feit. And as I turned I saw an other lepe out also, quhilk whowbeit I followed it gat away in a holl out of my sight. Be not solist says he M^{r} Piter I will interpret your dream and warrand the interpretation trew for a pynt of wyne. for suthe says the vther and it be guid a quart. The collage burd and cup is our collage leiving; into the quhilk twa read nebbit teades hes intrusit them selff. They ar the twa read neased competitours of our collage against the quhilk yie haiff presentlie the actiones viz. Jhone Grame the first, whom yie persewing at this dyet clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law yie sall ding down and overcome. the vther is the read faced commissar M^{r} Archibald Beaton, wha by syme wyll sall eschew presentlie and win away. Assure thy selff man thow sall find it sa. M^{r} Piter lauches and sayes, he was worthe the wyne whow euer it was. for the twa men war verie read and tead lyk faced for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass; for they brought hame a notable decreit of reduction of a few of the freires yeard aganist Jhone Grame, and the vther by moyen and ernist solistation gat the action delayit and brought to arbitriment." (Melville's Diary, p. 49, 50.)

* unhappy or ominous.

Note P. p. 237.

Act of the Privy Council respecting Alexander Cuninghame's submission.

Apud Sanctandrois xxix^{o} Julij anno lxxx^{o}

Anent o^{r} souerane Lordis lrēs raisit at the instance of Maister James meluile ane of the Regentis of the vniuersitie of Glasg^{w} Makand mentioun That quhair Alex^{r} Cūninghame zounger of clonbey^{t} burges and induellar of Glasgow vpoun the xx day of Junii instant being at his tabill at dennar w^{t} certane utheris threatnit and showit be mony despitefull wordis to be revendgit of the said Mr. James for correcting of Alex^{r} Boyd his scollar And continewing the rest of that day in his malicious mynd and boisting langage quhill efter nyne ho^{rs} at ny^{t} And findand then occasioun to put his foirtho^{t} ewil mynd to executioun he houndit out the said Alex^{r} Boyd to stryke the said Mr. James w^{t} ane battoun q^{lk} battoun wes gevin to him be the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame And the said Mr. James beand cūand throw the hie kirkzard of Glasgow to the college w'out ony kynd of armo^{r} Belevand na ewill to haue bene done to him by ony persoun The said Alex^{r} Boyd be the persuasioun and hounding out as said is of the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame perseuit and strak at the said Mr. James behind his bak w^{t} the said battoun q^{lk} straik he echewit be his suddane turnīg about At q^{lk} time the said Alex^{r} Boyd being effrayit and astonisheit be the saidis Mr. James wordis and countenance drew him self asyde luiking for the assistence of the said Alex^{r} Cuninghame quha to performe his weikit interpryis come rynand vpon the said Mr. James w^{t} ane drawin swird in his hand sweiring and boisting w^{t} many vglie aithis that he sould hoch and slay him calling him oftymes knaif and saying that he wes ouir pert to ding that boy. lyke as in deid the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame had not there faillit to haue bereft the said Mr. James of his life gif be godis providence he had not bene stayit ffor the q^{lk} caus he being persewit thaireftir befoir the recto^{r} and assesso^{rs} of the said vniuersitie and baillies and counsale of the citie of Glasgw. At last he wes fund be thame to haue done wrang in trubling persewing of the said Mr. James in maner foirsaid and thairfoir ordanit to cum to the place quhair he offendit to haue acknawledgit his falt and to haue askit the said Mr. James and the haill vniuersitie pardoun and forgifnes q^{lk} the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame not onlie refusit and refuissis to obey and fulfill being requirit thairto Bot still boistis and bragis to attempt forther iniurie and inuasioun of the said Mr. James Sua that be this forme of doing discipline is ordinarie exercises interruptit and the myndis of the zouth drawin away fra thair studyis quhairvpoun alsua further inconvenient is abill to follow w out his hienes and the lordis of secreit counsale proyvde tymous remeid And anent the charge gevin to the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame To haue compeirit personallie before o^{r} souerane lord and lordis of secreit counsale at a certane day bipast to haue ansrit to this complaint and to haue hard and sene ordo^{r} taikin anent the same as appertenit vnder the pane of Rebellioun and putting of him to the horne w^{t} certificatioun to him and he failzeit vtheris lrēs sould be direct simpl^{r} to put him to the horne like as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lrēs Quhilkis being callit and baith the saidis partiis compeirand personalie Thair ressonis and allegationis togidder w^{l} the said decreit gevin and pronūcit be the foirsaidis judges and thair assesso^{rs} being hard sene and considerit be the saidis lordis and they rypelie auisit thairwith The Lordis of secreit counsale In respect of the said decreit Ordanis the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame To compeir in the hie kirkzard of Glasgw quhair the speciall falt wes cōmittit vpoun the sevint day of August nixt to cum betuix foure and fyve houris eftir none And thair bairheidit to confes his said offence first to the rector in name of the vniversitie and baillies in name of the toun and to the said Mr. James partie offendit And to ask God and thame forgifnes thairof and to tak thame be the handis in signe and taikin alsweill of his humiliatioun as reconsiliatioun And to purge him that he wes not steirit vp thairto be na maner of persoun Or ellis that he entir his persoun in ward within the castill of blaknes w^{t} in xlviij houris eftir the said sevint day of August And remane thairin thaireftir vpoun his awin expensis ay and quhill he be fred be o^{r} souerane lord vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to the horne with certificatioun to him and he failzie the saidis xlviij houris being bipast he salbe incontinent y^{r}efter denūcit his ma^{tes} rebell and put to the horne and all his movabill guidis escheittit to his mat^{es} vse for his contemptioun.

Note Q. p. 237.

Reparation of the Cathedral of Glasgow.—The following extract from the Records of the Town Council shews the interest which the Magistrates took in this business.

Die xxi^mo Mensis Augusti Anno Domini &c. lxxiv.
Statutum

The quhilk day The provost, baillies and counsale wi ye Dekyns of the crafts and divers utheris honest men of the town convenand in the counsal here and havand respect and consideration to ye greit decaye and ruyne y^t ye hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, thro^t taking away of the leid, sclait and uther gray^t thereof in yis trublus tyme bygane sua y^t sick ane greit monument will allutterly fall down and decay w^tout it be remedit. And because the helping y^rof is sa greit and will extend to mair nor yai may spair And yat yai ar no^t addetite to ye uphalding and repairing y^rof be ye law zet of thair awn free willis uncompellit and for ye zeil yai beir to ye kirk of meir almouss and liberallity sua yat induce na practick nor preparative in tymes coming, conform to ane writing to be mead thereanent All in ane voce hes consentit to anc taxt and imposition of tua hundreth punds money to be taxt and payit be ye township and freemen yairof for helping to repair ye said kirk and halding of it waterfast and for casting and making thereof hes apointit yir persons following viz the Dekyn of ilk craft John Arbuckle, Thomas Normant, Matthew Watson flesher, Patrick Howe litster, Robert Muir merchand, William Maxwell, David Lindsay Elder, Andr. Baillie, Robert Steuart, Master Adam Wallace, George Herbertson, John Fleming, William Hiegate, Robert Fleming, Thomas Spang and Johne Lindsay and to convene on Tysday next for endyng y^rof.

It appears from the Records of the Kirk Session that the ministers zealously co-operated with the magistrates.—December 7, 1586. It was appointed that the provost, bailies, and deacons of crafts, and ministers of Glasgow, convene in the college kirk to give their advice and judgement anent repairing the High Kirk.—Jan. 25. 1588. The session appoints commissioners to the General Assembly to desire a commission with license to [from?] the King's Majesty for reparation of the High Church of Glasgow the best way the town and parish of the same may.—March 7. The Commissioners appointed by the King's Majesty anent repairing the High Kirk, and hail brethren of the kirk-session of Glasgow thinks guid that the laigh steeple be taken down to repair the mason work of the said kirk, and that the bell and clock be transported to the high steeple and that the kirk have a quinzee left at the steeple foresaid for the relief thereof. (Could this be the order which occasioned the riot referred to by Spotswood? If so, it happened ten years after Melville left Glasgow.)—Aug. 1. The session desire the council to send commissioners to the Assembly, as for other things to seek the Assembly's assistance for obtaining at the King's hand and counsel money for helping and upholding the parish kirk at Glasgow: or else to get a new commission to entertain the kirk with itself as it may best.—Dec. 29, 1603. The records mention a right Mr. David Weemes had made to him from the dean and chapter of Glasgow to pursue the gentlemen in whose hands services of money were laid by the said Dean and Chapter for repairing, and beautifying and decoring the Metropolitan kirk of Glasgow.—The records abound with resolutions and orders to the same effect. (Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of Mr. David Weemes, p. 5, 6, MSS. vol. iii.)

Note R. p. 237.

Library of the University of Glasgow.—A list, entitled *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ publicis Sumptibus Academiæ empti*, beside such works as those of Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustine, contains,

The hail Actes of Parliament.
The Bible of Govan and College.
Historia Scotorum manuscripta, autore G. Buchanano. Empti sunt opera Thomæ Jackei quæstoris Academiæ 1577.
Thesaurus linguæ Græcæ Henrici Stephani quatuor voluminibus ab heredibus Andreæ Polwarti emptus, &c.
Ex dono viri boni Thomæ Jackæj
Ambrosii Opera fol.
Gregorii Romani Opera duob. voluminib.
Maister Peter Blackburne anc of the Regentis of the College at his departing to Aberdein left and gave to the College as follows
Anc new gnäl Cart stentit upon buirdes sett out be Gerardus *Jode* Antuerpiæ 1575.
Tabulæ Vessalii with this inscription anatomes totius ære insculpta delineatio. fol. magno Paris cıɔ. ıɔ.-lxv.

The names of some scholastic books follow, and on the margin is "Ex dono Petri Blackburni ante decessum 8 Nouemb. 1582."

A list of 33 volumes consisting of the works of the fathers, Erasmus, Pagninus &c. has this note prefixed, "Decimo Junij 1581. D. Jacobus Boydæus, Episcopus Glasguen. has omnes Collegio Glasg. testamento reliquit."

14 July 1586 "Magister Archibaldus Craufurd Rector universitatis & ab Eglischem, in monumentum τῆς φιλομουσίας," presented to the College "Platonis Opera" and "Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible."

A list of books to the number of 60 or 70 volumes is preceded by this note: "Libros hosce sequentes ipsa vetustate notabiles Collegio Glasguësi testamento legavit reverendus senex M. Johannes Huesonus Ecclesiæ Cambuslangensiæ pastor anno 1619."

The list of books presented to this College by Buchanan may be seen in Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, Append. No. 8. 2d edit.

Note S. p. 242.

Jerom on episcopacy.—Nothing has proved more puzzling to the *jure divino* prelatists, who feel a great veneration for the fathers, than the sentiments which St. Jerom has expressed, in various parts of his writings, concerning the origin of episcopacy. A very curious instance of this occurs in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. That learned and masterly writer enters into an elaborate reply to the objections which the presbyterians have raised from Jerom's assertion, that the superiority of bishops to presbyters arose from custom rather than divine institution. In the middle of this reply the following singular sentence occurs: "*This answer to Saint Jerom seemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of some words of restraint; yet I satisfie not myself, in my judgement it would be altered.*" (Eccl. Polity, book vii. sect. v. p. 11. Lond. 1661.) It will be obliging if some of the admirers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will examine this passage, and furnish a key to its meaning, and to the design with which it was introduced. In the mean time they are welcome to any assistance which they can derive from the following explication. It is known that the last three books (including the *seventh*) of the Polity were not published during the life-time of the author. In looking over his manuscript, what he had written on this part of the subject appeared to Hooker *dangerous*: he retouched it and qualified his expressions, but still his answer *satisfied not himself*; it required yet to be altered: and to keep this in mind he made a jotting of it on the margin. The manuscript coming into the hands of Dr. Gauden, bishop of Exeter, he introduced the marginal note into the text and published both together. We may easily conceive how "the *judicious* Hooker" would have felt at seeing his acknowledgment of his perplexity in answering this objection thus ignorantly and rudely exposed to the public eye. Yet the blunder has been retained in all the editions which I have seen, from that of 1661 down to that which was lately printed at Oxford! The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the books on which candidates for holy orders are examined; but this does not necessarily imply that either they or their examinators have made themselves masters of its meaning and contents.

Dr. Gauden, in his gasconading style, boasts of the service which he has performed for the Church of England, and the confusion with which he has covered her enemies, by publishing the posthumous books. "After this Phœnix of learning and grace, and prudence and eloquence, had collected this fair pile of his Ecclesiastical Polity—himself perished amidst his great undertakings:" And "his antagonists, finding themselves—sorely wounded—by this great archer in his five first books—received some comfort in this that they escaped the shot of his last three—and found, as it is by some imagined, some artifice so long to smother and

conceal them from the publique." (Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 23.) But honest Isaac Walton tells a more tragic tale. After Hooker's death, two puritan ministers, having obtained admission into his study, "burnt and tore" many of his writings; and his wife having confessed this to archbishop Whitgift, "she was found next morning dead in her bed." Walton goes on to tell a number of other stories, the design of which is to shew that the posthumous works were altered. (Walton's Lives, by Zouch, p. 248—263.) He does not however refer to the passage under consideration, but to those places in which sentiments concerning political liberty too liberal for High Church are advanced. (Eccl. Pol. B. viii. 191—195.) With respect to these, it may be remarked, that expressions of the very same import occur in that part of the work which was published by Hooker himself. (Ib. B. i. p. 19, 21. edit. ut sup.) "The *seventh* book (says Dr. Gauden)by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers, or known manuscripts of Mr. Hooker's, is undoubtedly his own hand throughout." (Life of Hooker, p. 26.)

Note T. p. 250.

Of Beza's treatise De triplici Episcopatu.—I have not seen the original work, but have now before me a copy of a translation of it into English. It is entitled, "The Jvdgement of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas, concerning a threefold order of Bishops, with a Declaration of certaine other waigtie points, concerning the Discipline and Government of the Church." C in eights. The running title is "The Jvdgement of a Learned man." Strype says, it was printed in the year 1580, and John Field was supposed to be the translator. (Annals, ii. 629.) It contains the questions transmitted by Lord Glamis, the Chancellor of Scotland, which are six in number, and appear to be printed at full length. The second, which relates to *Councils*, states the objections which some urged against them, and which went to prevent entirely the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies, unless when called for special purposes by the prince.

Note U. p. 251.

Scottish press and edition of the Bible.—The following is one of the articles in a petition which the Assembly presented to the Regent in the month of August, 1574. "Item It is understand to the Generall Assembly be credible report of certain learned men lately arrived within this countrey that a french printer of the best renowned this day, nixt Henricus Stephanus, being banished with his wife & family from his countrey, hath offered unto them to come in Scotland & to bring with him three thousand franks worth of books, and to print whatever he should be commanded, in so much that there should not be a book printed in French or Almain, but once in the year it should be gotten of him If he might have sure provision of a yearly pension of three hundreth merks, which indeed is ane offer so comfortable to the countrey & kirk that it ought not to be overseen That his G. will consider the same offer and take order therewith." (Cald. MS. ad an. 1574.)

I know no printer to whom this description agrees so well as *Andreas Wechelius*. He was the son of *Christianus Wechelius*, a celebrated Parisian printer; and having embraced the reformed opinions, escaped the Bartholomew massacre under the protection of Hubert Languet, the ambassador of the court of Saxony. Wechelius quitted France in 1573, and established himself at Frankfort, where many valuable editions of the classics, corrected by the learned Sylburgius, proceeded from his press. (Peignot, Dict. Raison. de Bibliographie, tom. ii. 342—3.) It is probable that Melville, on his return from Geneva, had an interview with him, and brought home the information of his willingness to settle in Scotland.

Among the "Articles proponit to his Matie and counsal" by the commissioners of the General Assembly, in July, 1580, is the following. "9. Because yr is great necessitie of a printer within this countrey, and yr is a stranger banischit for religion callit Vautrolier yt offers to imploy his labour in ye said vocation for ye weill of ye countrey It will please your G. & counsell to take ordour heirin as your G. thinks meit and to give licence & privilege to him for yt effect if it salbe thocht expedient be your G. & counsell." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 98.)

"Robert Lekprevik Imprentar in Edr" obtained, on the 11th of January, 1567, the exclusive privilege, for twenty years, of printing all books in Latin or English, necessary "for the weill and commoditie of the lieges of this realme and als all sic thingis as tend to ye glorie of God." This was renewed on the 11th of Nov. 1570, with the specification of "the buke callit donatus pro pueris, Rudimentis of Pelisso, The actis of parlt maid or to be maid, The cronicle of this realme, The buke callit regia majestas, The psalmes of Dauid with the Inglis and Latine catechismes les & mair, The buke callit the Omeleis for readaris in kirkis, Togidder with ye grammer callit ye generall grammer to be vsit within the sculis of ye realme for eruditioun of ye youth." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxvii. fol. 27. vol. xxxix. fol. 34.) He also obtained a license for twenty years, to print "all and haill ane buke callit ye Inglis bybill imprented of before at Geneva." (Reg. of Privy Seal, April 14, 1568.)

The first edition of the English Bible printed in Scotland came from the press of Bassanden and Arbuthnot, in folio. In the month of March, 1575, articles of agreement were given in to the General Assembly, and approved by them, bearing: "Imprimis, Anent the godly proposition made to the Bishops, Superintendents, Visitors and commissioners in this general assembly, by Alexander Arbuthnot, merchant burges of Edinburgh and Thomas Bassenden printer and burges of the said burgh for printing and setting forth of the Bible in the English tounge, conform to the proof given and subscribed with their hands, its agreed betwixt this present assembly and the said Alexander and Thomas that every Bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in Albis for 4 pound 13 shill: 4 pennies, keeping the character of the saids proofs delivered to the Clerk of the Assembly."—"Item the kirk hath promised to deliver the authoretic copy which they shall follow unto them betwixt and the last of Aprile." Certain persons were appointed to oversee the copy, but they merely corrected such errors of the press as had crept into former editions, and adhered to the translation which had been made and first printed at Geneva. "Mr. George Young, servant to my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline," corrected the proof-sheets. Robert Pont composed the Kalendar. (Wodrow's Life of Smeton, p. 5—8.) The New Testament was printed first, and bears on the title-page: "At Edinbvrgh Printed by Thomas Bassandyne, M. D. LXXVI. Cvm Privilegio." Bassanden died before the completion of the work; and the title prefixed to the Old Testament is "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament:—Printed in Edinbvrgh Be Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie, dwelling at ye kirk of feild. 1579. Cvm Gratia et Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

The Dedication to the young king is dated "From Edinburgh in our general assemblie the tent day of Julie 1579.—now quhe as being conenit in our generall assemblie, this holy boke of God callit the Bible, newly imprentit, was brocht before vs be the prenter thereof Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and trauailes worthie to be remembred in this behalfe) and desyrit to be dedicat to zour Hienes with a conuenient preface in our common Scottis language, we cold not omit nor neglect the occasion offrit to do the same.—O quhat difference may be sene betwene thir daies of light, quhen almaist in eucrie priuat house the buike of Gods lawe is red and vnderstand in oure vulgaire language, and that age of darkness quhen skarslie in ane haill citie (without the Clostres of the monkes and freyres) culde the buke of God anes be founde, and that in ane strange tongue of latine not gud but mixed with barbaritie, usod and red be fewe, and almaist vnderstand or exponit be nane. And quhen the false namit clergie of this Realme, abusing the gentle nature of zour Hienes maist noble Gudshir of worthie memorie made it an cappital crime to be punishit with the fyre to haue or rede the new testament in the vulgare language, zea and to make them to al men mare odius, as gif it had bene the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named new testamentares."

Note Y. p. 252.

Apud Halieruidhous xviij° ferij
Anno etc. lxxx^{ij}^{o}.
Sederunt

Colinus ergadie comes
Jacobus comes de arrane
Dauid comes de craufurd
Joannes comes de Montrois
Joannes comes de mortoun
Jacobus comes de glencairne
Jacobus d^{us} de down
Thirlstane
Commendatarius de Culros
Caprintoun
Clīcus reg^{ri}
Murdocairny
Prior de blantyn
Segy
M^{r} of requeistis.

Mr. andro Meluile chargeit to ward.

Forsamekle as maister andro meluile provest of y^{e} new colledge of Sanctandrois Being callit befoir the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, And he comperand personalie wes inquirit vpoun certane thingis laid to his charge spokin be him in his sermon maid in y^{e} kirk of Sanctandrois vpoun the day of Januar last bypast, offensiue and sklanderous to y^{e} kingis maiestie, Eftir sindrie alledgeances maid be y^{e} said M^{r}. andro for declyning of y^{e} judgment and protestationis tending to y^{e} same effect. At last being inquirit gif a minister speiking in pulpett that q^{t} salbe alledgit to be treasoun aucht to be tryit yairfoir y^{e} king in y^{e} first instance or not, Ansuerit yat altho^{t} y^{e} speiche wer alledgit to be treasoun zit y^{e} tryell in y^{e} first instance aught not to be befoir y^{e} king bot befoir y^{e} kirk, Q^{r}upon his hienes and his secreit counsale, ffindis yat his hienes and not y^{e} kirk is Judge in y^{e} first instance in caussis of tressoun q'sumeuir, And in respect of y^{e} said maister androis proceidingis and behaveor sa oft declyning his maiesteis judgment And Sua refuising to acknauledge his hienes royall estait and auc^{tie}, As alsua to obiect aganis y^{e} witnessis sūmond for the tryell of y^{e} said mater, Clamyng to y^{e} priuiledge of certane actis of parliament and secreit counsale concerning y^{e} iurisdictioun of y^{e} kirk Quhilkis being producit red and considerit wer fund to contene na sic priuiledge nor libertie grantit to y^{e} kirks to cognosce in materis of tressoun in the first instance as wes alle^{t} be him Ansuering alsua maist proudlie irreuerentlie and contemptuously that y^{e} lawis of God w^{t} y^{e} lawis and practik obseruit within yis cuntrie were peruertit and not obseruit in this cais, And last yat he had spokin all yat he had to say adherand to his former protestationis His maiestie w^{t} auise of y^{e} saidis lordis of his secreit counsale In yir respectis declaris y^{e} said maister andro to be worthie to be cōmittit to ward in his hienes castell of blaknes and forder pvneist in his persoun and gudis at his hienes will, Thairfoir ordanis Lres to be direct to y^{e} mas^{r} of counsale or vther officear of armes To pas and in his hienes Name and auc^{tie} Cōmand and charge y^{e} said maister andro meluille, To pas and entir his persoun in ward w^{t}in y^{e} said castell of blaknes, Thairin to remane vpoun his awin expensis during his hienes will And ay and quhill he be fred be his maiestie within ten houris nixtefūr he be chargit y^{r}to vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to y^{e} horne, and gif he failze y^{t}in y^{e} saidis ten houris being bypast to denūce him his maiesteis rebell and put him to y^{e} horne, And to escheit and inbring etc. And that ane L^{re} be direct for his ressait in ward, w^{t}in y^{e} said castell. (Record of Privy Council.)

Note AA. p. 265.

Presentation of the principalitie of v^{e} new College of S^{t} And. To M^{r} Johne Robertsoun.

Ure soverane lord ordanis ane lrē to be made vnder the previe seall bering y^{t} forsamekle as his mat^{tie} being surelie informite of the depairting out of the realme of Mr Andro Melven principall of y^{e} new Colleige callit the pedagoge in Sanctandrois and of ane number of maisteris & regentis yairof quha hes passit out of this realme and in ane maner laift y^{e} said Collaige voad & dissolat of all lairning doctrene and instructioun to y^{e} grite preiudice of y^{e} schoillis and decay of gud lrēs w^{t}in this realme and his mat^{tie} being of gud mynd and dispositione to fortefie mentenc & aduance y^{e} curs of lairning incress of gud letters and vertew w^{t}in the realme and speciallie to sie y^{e} said Collaige and pedagoge restorit redintegrat and restablisit in godlie *(sic)* and exerceiss yairof Thairfoir and for y^{e} effect foirsaid his mat^{tie} hes w^{t} y^{e} aduyse of y^{e} lord and consall^{r} *(sic)* Patrik bischope of Sanctandrouz quhois predicessors foundit & erectit y^{e} said Collaige to place qualefeit & lairnit men to be masteris yairin. And specialie Mr Johne robertsoune quho is remanent and actuall maister of auld to be principall Mr yairof to nominat present and admit Bursaris and pur scoillars yairin to tak ordor for y^{e} rentis fruttis dewteis profeittis emolumentis of the said Collaige of y^{e} crope & zeir of God 1^{m} v^{c} fourscoir four zeiris And sic lyk zeirlie in tyme cuminge And to appoint sik personis as yai pliss for y^{e} ingadering and inbringinge of the saidis rentis and fruitis for sustentat^{one} of the saids Mr^{s} regents and bursars for instructing of y^{e} youtheheid in gude literature and science and to do all & sundrie thingis y^{t} belangs to the ry^{t} and dew administracione of the said Collaige firm & stabill halding q'sumever the said bischope shall do yairin anent the premissis. Ordaninge the lordis of o^{r} secreit counseill and session to direct lrēs of horning vpone ane supt^{e} chairge of ten dayis alanarlie at y^{e} instance of The said bischope Mr Johne robertsoune and sik vders as saill be appointit be y^{am} for y^{e} inbringing of y^{e} saidis rentis of y^{e} crope & zeir of God foirsaid and siclyk zeirlie in tyme cūming to the effect aboūwritten discharging be yir pnts all vders economus intromet̄es factors or vdis personis q'saeuer tittill gift or licence of factorie preceding y^{e} dait of yir pnts to intromet or vplift ony of y^{e} fruits rentis profeits & emolumētis of y^{e} said Collaige in maner aboūwriten y^{t} y^{e} tenantis taxmen fewars farmoners and parochinars of the kirkis and landis annexit to the said Collaige reddelie ans^{r} obay and mak thankfull paymēt of y^{e} said rentis of y^{e} said crop & zeir of God to yam yair factors and servitors alanerlie and y^{t} y^{e} said lrē be extendit &c. Subscriuit at holyrudhous ye xxvi day of februar Anno d^{n} 1584 yeiris. (Register of Presentations to Benefices. Vol. ii. f. 124.)

Note BB. p. 267-8.

Royal Charges to Melville.—At Halyrud- Sir. Andrew Melvill.
house the 26 day of May the year of God 1586 years, the Kinga Maj. and Lords of Secret Council having consideration of the disordered estate of the Universitie of S^{t} Andrews, occasioned for the most part be the Dissention and Diversitie betwixt Patrick Bishop of S^{t} Andrews, and M^{rs} Andrew and James Melvills Masters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the Kirk, Division of the said Universitie, and decaying of Learning, and all virtuous exercise within the same, speciallie of theologie, whereof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this Realme, albeit be occasion of the said Diversitie and variance, the ordinar profession thereof has been discontinued thir two years bygane to the great encouragement of the adversars of the true and Christian Religion, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme for the eversion thereof, and the erection again of Antichristian papistrie, condemned be God, and be his Hienes Lawes, for repressing of whose practices, and continuing of the Exercise of Theologie within the said Universitie in the mean time, his H. with advice foresaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to pass immediatelie to Angus, Merns, Perth, and other parts of the North where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuites to be, to conferr with them, and travell so far as in him lyes to reduce them to the true and Christian Religion presently professed and acknowledged be his Maj. and this whole realme, and in case he shall find them obstinate, to delate them to his Maj. and his Secret Council to be tane order with according to his H. Lawes and Acts of Parliament, enduring the which time and travell, his Hieness has dispensed, and be the tenour hereof dispenses with his ordinarie profession, and exercise within the said New Col-

ledge, and appoints the same to vaike untill his returning, Commanding in the mean time the said Mr James to attend upon his own place for the instruction of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answer to God and his H. and to the Intent, that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that Universitie, his Hieness with advice forsaid ordeans and commands the said Bishop to teach weeklie two Lessons of Theologie within S. Salvators Colledge one upon Tuesday, and another upon Thursday everie week, beginning upon the first tuisday of Junie next, and so continuing ay and while his Maj. take further order thereanent and that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flock whereunto he is astricted be the late Conference, and that Letters be directed hereupon if need be, charging everie one of the said persons to do accordingly as they will answer to his Maj. upon their obedience at their uttermost charge and perril.

Extractum ex Libris Actorum Secreti Concilii per me Joannem Andro Clericum Deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.

Joannes Andro.

(Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6. 17. p. 219.)

The following charge taken from Calderwood, (MS. vol. iv. 8.) is corrected by another copy which Wodrow has inserted in his Life of Andrew Melville. (MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

Principall and Masters of the New Colledge, we greet you well. For as much as we are informed certainly, That upon the Sundays, you assemble to your selves, a number both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English Tongue, and inveigh against the late Agreement. q^ch^ by the advice of the G. Assembly, was appointed for the Quietnes of the Kirk and Realm; q^r^by great inconveniencys may ensue: specially the Division of the members of the university, Gentlemen and Burgesses, who by y^t^ means are abstracted from their parish kirk and pastors there; We willing that no such occasion should ensue, and for the wellfare and quietnes of the Toun and kirk there have By thir presents tho^t^ Good, That ye contean yourselves within the Bounds of your own vocation & calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the Instruction of the youth and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to y^e^ people of the parish. we gave our commandment to Mr. Andreu Melvill returning to the Colledge, that he should not in any sort preach to the people; wherein if either ye or he contineu we will take further order in time coming, that our appointment be not so lightly regarded. Thus we committ you to God, From Hallyroodhous the 4. of Feb. 1586.

James Rex.

Note CC. p. 285.

Of James's conduct on the Execution of Queen Mary.—Lord Hamilton having been employed by Courcelles, the French ambassador, to speak to James of his mother's danger; "The kings answere was, that the Queene, his mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed; ffurther that having bound her selfe to the Queene of England to doe nothing againste her, she ought to have kept her promise: notwithstandinge that he woulde no waye faile in his dutie and naturall obligatione he ought her." To Sir George Douglas, who represented to him how discreditable it would be to him to allow Elizabeth to put his mother to death, the king said that he knew "she bore him no more good will than she did the Queene of England—and that in truth it was meete for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and servinge of God." The Earl of Bothwell being asked by the King what he should do if Elizabeth asked his consent to proceed against his mother, said, "yf he did suffer it he were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; whereat the Kinge laughed and said, he would prouid for that." (Courcelles to the King of France, Oct. 4, 1586.) "The nobilitie believe indeed that ther is some secrete intelligence betweene the Queene of Englande and the Kinge, which is the rather confirmed becaus the Kings Secretare and Grawe were onlie made privie to the said Keiths instructiones," &c. (Same to same, Nov. 30.) The Master of Gray's embassy confirms them in this opinion, "and that the Kinge of Scotts will not declare him selfe openly against her (Elizabeth) though his mother be put to death, vnlesse the Queene and the Statts would deprive him of his right to that crowne, which himselfe hath vttered to Earl Bothewill and Chevaleire Seaton." (Dec. 31.) Alexander Stewart, sent in the company of the ambassadors "with more secret charge," had said to Elizabeth, "were she even deade, yf the king at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him doges and deare." On being informed of this, "the kinge was in marvilose collore and sware and protested before God that yf Steuard came he would hange him before he putt off his bootes, and yf the Queene medled with his mothers life, she should knowe he would follow somewhat else then dogges and deare." (Feb. 10.) Courcelles expresses his fears that if Mary's execution should happen, James would "digeste it as pattently as he hath done that which passed betweeu the Queene of England and Alexander Stuard, whose excuse he hath well allowed, and vseth the man as well as before." (Feb. 28.) On the arrival of the intelligence of Mary's execution, Courcelles "believeth in truth that the king is greatly afflicted with this accidente." (March 8.) But when Gray was banished, the Queen's death was not mentioned among the grounds, "lest he should have accused others." And when the Estates twiee requested the King to revenge his mother's death, and offered their lives and fortunes in the cause, he merely "thanked them, and said he would open his intentions afterwards."—(June 6. and August—)

The above quotations are made from "Ane Extracte gathered out of Monsieur Courcelles Negociation in Scotland from 4th October 1586, to 28th September 1587:" in the possession of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Lothian. This is, I presume, the same with that in Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 233. It is very singular that nearly a month should have elapsed before Mary's execution was known at Edinburgh. In the year 1585, when Stirling was taken by the banished lords, Elizabeth's ministers at London had intelligence of the fact within forty-eight hours after it happened.—(Melville's Diary, p. 165.)

Note DD. p. 302.

Of Melville's Poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark.—The title of this poem is "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitvm in Coronatione Reginæ. 17. Maij 1590. Per Andream Meluinum. Pro. 16. 13. Iustitia stabilit thronum Regis. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde graue An. Dom. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regali." 4to. five leaves. The poem is republished in *Delitiæ Poetarvm Scotorum.* tom. ii. p. 71—76. On the back of the title-page of the original edition are the following lines, in which the author apologizes for the haste with which the poem was composed and published, and ingeniously alludes to the late voyage of the royal bridegroom.

Ad Regem.

Quod feci dixique tuo, Rex inclyte, iussu,
Ecce iubes volitet docta per ora virum.
Jussisti quod here, ego hodie: cras ibit in orbem:
Et properatum adeo præcipitabis opus?
Præcipita. per me ire licet quo authore volasti
Trans mare. Sors eadem fors erit: vrget amor.

James must have been pleased with the conceit expressed in the two concluding lines, and with the following address in the poem itself, which pays a flattering compliment to his gallantry in braving the winter sea, and to (what he was no less proud of) his poetical achievements:

Ferguso generate, poli certissima proles,
Quot reges tulit olim orbis, quot regna Britannus,
Tot regnis augende hæres, tot regibus orte,
Tot reges geniture olim fœlicibus astris,
Lætus in optatæ sanctis amplexibus Annæ:
Annæ, cuius amor te tot vada cerula mensum,
Tot scopulos, tot præruptas saxa ardua rupes,
Tantam Hyemem, tot fœta feris et inhospita tesqua
Raptauit, gelidisque morantem distulit oris,
Quam procul a patria, ac populo regnisque relictis

Note Y. p. 252.

Apud Halieruidhous xviii^{i} fer^{ii}
Anno etc. lxxx^{iijo}.
Sederunt

Colinus ergadie comes
Jacobus comes de arrane
Dauid comes de craufurd
Joannes comes de Montrois
Joannes comes de mortoun
Jacobus comes de glencairne
Jacobus d^{ns} de down
Thirlstane
Commendatarius de Culros
Caprintoun
Clīcus reg^{ri}
Murdocairny
Prior de blantyn
Segy
M^{r} of requeistis.

Mr. andro Meluile chargeit to ward.

Forsamekle as maister andro meluile provest of y^{e} new colledge of Sanctandrois Being callit befoir the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, And he comperand personalie wes inquirit vpoun certane thingis laid to his charge spokin be him in his sermon maid in' y^{e} kirk of Sanctandrois vpoun the day of Januar last bypast, offensiue and sklanderous to y^{e} kingis maiestie, Eftir sindrie alledgeances maid be y^{e} said M^{r}. andro for declyning of y^{e} judgment and protestationis tending to y^{e} same effect. At last being inquirit gif a minister speiking in pulpett that q^{t} salbe alledgit to be treasoun aucht to be tryit yairfoir y^{e} king in y^{e} first instance or not, Ansuerit yat altho^{t} y^{e} speiche wer alledgit to be treasoun zit y^{e} tryell in y^{e} first instance aught not to be befoir y^{e} king bot befoir y^{e} kirk, Q^{r}upon his hienes and his secreit counsale, ffindis yat his hienes and not y^{e} kirk is Judge in y^{e} first instance in caussis of tressoun q'sumeuir, And in respect of y^{e} said maister androis proceidingis and behaveor sa oft declyning his maiesteis judgment And Sua refuising to acknauledge his hienes royall estait and auc^{tie}, As alsua to obiect aganis y^{e} witnessis sūmond for the tryell of y^{e} said mater, Clamyng to y^{e} priuiledge of certane actis of parliament and secreit counsale concerning y^{e} iurisdictioun of y^{e} kirk Quhilkis being producit red and considerit wer fund to contene na sic priuiledge nor libertie grantit to y^{e} kirks to cognosce in materis of tressoun in the first instance as wes alle^{i} be him Ansuering alsua maist proudlie irreuerentlie and contemptuously that y^{e} lawis of God w^{t} y^{e} lawis and practik obseruit within yis cuntrie were peruertit and not obseruit in this cais, And last yat he had spokin all yat he had to say adherand to his former protestationis His maiestie w^{t} auise of y^{e} saidis lordis of his secreit counsale In yir respectis declaris y^{e} said maister andro to be worthie to be cōmittit to ward in his hienes castell of blaknes and forder pvneist in his persoun and gudis at his hienes will, Thairfoir ordanis Lres to be direct to y^{e} mas^{r} of counsale or vther officear of armes To pas and in his hienes Name and auc^{tie} Cōmand and charge y^{e} said maister andro meluille, To pas and entir his persoun in ward w^{t}in y^{e} said castell of blaknes, Thairin to remane vpoun his awin expensis during his hienes will And ay and quhill he be fred be his maiestie within ten houris nixtefūr he be chargit y^{r}to vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to y^{e} horne, and gif he failze y^{in} y^{e} saidis ten houris being bypast to denūce him his maiesteis rebell and put him to y^{e} horne, And to escheit and inbring etc. And that ane L^{re} be direct for his ressait in ward, w^{t}in y^{e} said castell. (Record of Privy Council.)

Note AA. p. 265.

Presentation of the principalitie of v^{e} new College of S^{t} And. To M^{r} Johne Robertsoun.

Ure soverane lord ordanis ane lrē to be made vnder the previe seall bering y^{t} forsamekle as his mat^{tie} being surelie informite of the depairting out of the realme of Mr Andro Melven principall of y^{e} new Colleige callit the pedagoge in Sanctandrois and of ane number of maisteris & regentis yairof quha hes passit out of this realme and in ane maner laift y^{e} said Collaige voad & dissolat of all lairning doctrene and instructioun to y^{e} grite preiudice of y^{e} schoillis and decay of gud lrēs w^{t}in this realme and his mat^{tie} being of gud mynd and dispositione to fortefie mentene & aduance y^{e} curs of lairning incress of gud letters and vertew w^{t}in the realme and speciallie to sie y^{e} said Collaige and pedagoge restorit redintegrat and restablisit in godlie *(sic)* and exerceiss yairof Thairfoir and for y^{e} effect foirsaid his mat^{tie} hes w^{t} y^{e} aduyse of y^{e} lord and consall^{r} *(sic)* Patrik bischope of Sanctandrouz quhois predicessors foundit & erectit y^{e} said Collaige to place qualefeit & lairuit men to be masteris yairin. And specialie Mr Johne robertsoune quho is remanent and actuall maister of auld to be principall Mr yairof to nominat present and admit Bursaris and pur scoillars yairin to tak ordor for y^{e} rentis fruttis dewteis profeittis emolumentis of the said Collaige of y^{e} crope & zeir of God 1^{m} v^{c} fourscoir four zeiris And sic lyk zeirlie in tyme cuminge And to appoint sik personis as yai pliss for y^{e} ingadering and inbringinge of the saidis rentis and fruitis for sustentat^{one} of the saids M^{rs} regents and bursars for instructing of y^{e} youtheheid in gude literature and science and to do all & sundrie thingis y^{t} belangs to the ry^{t} and dew administracione of the said Collaige firm & stabill halding q'sumever the said bischope shall do yairin anent the premissis. Ordaninge the lordis of o^{r} secreit counseill and session to direct lrēs of horning vpone ane supt^{n} chairge of ten dayis alanarlie at y^{e} instance of The said bischope Mr Johne robertsoune and sik vders as saill be appointit be y^{am} for y^{e} inbringing of y^{e} saidis rentis of y^{e} crope & zeir of God foirsaid and siclyk zeirlie in tyme cūming to the effect aboūwritten discharging be yir pnts all vders economus intrometters factors or vdis personis q'saeuer tittill gift or licence of factorie preceding y^{e} dait of yir pnts to intromet or vplift ony of y^{e} fruits rentis profeits & emolumētis of y^{e} said Collaige in maner aboūwriten y^{t} y^{e} tenantis taxmen fewars farmoners and parochinars of the kirkis and landis annexit to the said Collaige reddelie ans^{r} obay and mak thankfull paymēt of y^{e} said rentis of y^{e} said crop & zeir of God to yam yair factors and servitors alanerlie and y^{t} y^{e} said lrē be extendit &c. Subscriuit at holyrudhous ye xxvi day of februar Anno d^{n} 1584 yeiris. (Register of Presentations to Benefices. Vol. ii. f. 124.)

Note BB. p. 267-8.

Art warding Sir. Andrew Melvil.

Royal Charges to Melville.—At Halyrudhouse the 26 day of May the year of God 1586 yeara, the Kinga Maj. and Lords of Secret Council having consideration of the disordered estate of the Universitie of S^{t} Andrews, occasioned for the most part be the Dissention and Diversitie betwixt Patrick Bishop of S^{t} Andrews, and M^{rs} Andrew and James Melvills Masters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the Kirk, Division of the said Universitie, and decaying of Learning, and all virtuous exercise within the same, speciallie of theologie, whereof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this Realme, albeit be occasion of the said Diversitie and variance, the ordinar profession thereof has been discontinued thir two years bygane to the great encouragement of the adversars of the true and Christian Religion, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme for the eversion thereof, and the erection again of Antichristian papistrie, condemned be God, and be his Hieness Lawes, for repressing of whose practices, and continuing of the Exercise of Theologie within the said Universitie in the mean time, his H. with advice foresaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to pass immediatelie to Angus, Merns, Perth, and other parts of the North where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuites to be, to conferr with them, and travell so far as in him lyes to reduce them to the true and Christian Religion presently professed and acknowledged be his Maj. and this whole realme, and in case he shall find them obstinate, to delate them to his Maj. and his Secret Council to be tane order with according to his H. Lawes and Acts of Parliament, enduring the which time and travell, his Hienesa has dispensed, and be the tenour hereof dispenses with his ordinarie profession, and exercise within the said New Col-

ledge, and appoints the same to vaike untill his returning, Commanding in the mean time the said Mr James to attend upon his own place for the instruction of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answer to God and his H. and to the Intent, that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that Universitie, his Hieness with advice forsaid ordeans and commands the said Bishop to teach weeklie two Lessons of Theologie within S. Salvators Colledge one upon Tuesday, and another upon Thursday everie week, beginning upon the first tuisday of Junie next, and so continuing ay and while his Maj. take further order thereanent and that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flock whereunto he is astricted be the late Conference, and that Letters be directed hereupon if need be, charging everie one of the said persons to do accordingly as they will answer to his Maj. upon their obedience at their uttermost charge and perril.

Extractum ex Libris Actorum Secreti Concilii per me Joannem Andro Clericum Deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.

Joannes Andro.

(Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6. 17. p. 219.)

The following charge taken from Calderwood, (MS. vol. iv. 8.) is corrected by another copy which Wodrow has inserted in his Life of Andrew Melville. (MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

Principall and Masters of the New Colledge, we greet you well. For as much as we are informed certainly, That upon the Sundays, you assemble to your selves, a number both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English Tongue, and inveigh against the late Agreement. q^ch^ by the advice of the G. Assembly, was appointed for the Quietnes of the Kirk and Realm; q^r^by great inconveniencys may ensue: specially the Division of the members of the universsity, Gentlemen and Burgesses, who by y^t^ means are abstracted from their parish kirk and pastors there; We willing that no such occasion should ensue, and for the wellfare and quietnes of the Toun and kirk there have By thir presents tho^t^ Good, That ye contean yourselves within the Bounds of your own vocation & calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the Instruction of the youth and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to y^e^ people of the parish. we gave our commandment to Mr. Andreu Melvill returning to the Colledge, that he should not in any sort preach to the people; wherein if either ye or he contineu we will take further order in time coming, that our appointment be not so lightly regarded. Thus we committ you to God, From Hallyroodhous the 4. of Feb. 1586.

James Rex.

Note CC. p. 285.

Of James's conduct on the Execution of Queen Mary.—Lord Hamilton having been employed by Courcelles, the French ambassador, to speak to James of his mother's danger; "The kings answere was, that the Queene, his mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed; ffiurther that having bound her selfe to the Queene of England to doe nothing againste her, she ought to have kept her promise: notwithstandinge that he woulde no waye faile in his dutie and naturall obligatione he ought her." To Sir George Douglas, who represented to him how discreditable it would be to him to allow Elizabeth to put his mother to death, the king said that he knew "she bore him no more good will than she did the Queene of England—and that in truth it was meete for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and servinge of God." The Earl of Bothwell being asked by the King what he should do if Elizabeth asked his consent to proceed against his mother, said, "yf he did suffer it he were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; whereat the Kinge laughed and said, he would prouid for that." (Courcelles to the King of France, Oct. 4, 1586.) "The nobilitie believe indeed that ther is some secrete intelligence betweene the Queene of Englande and the Kinge, which is the rather confirmed becaus the Kings Secretare and Grawe were onlie made privie to the said Keiths instructiones," &c. (Same to same, Nov. 30.) The Master of Gray's embassy confirms them in this opinion, "and that the Kinge of Scotts will not declare him selfe openly against her (Elizabeth) though his mother be put to death, vnlesse the Queene and the Statts would deprive him of his right to that crowne, which himselfe hath vttered to Earl Bothewill and Chevaleire Seaton." (Dec. 31.) Alexander Stewart, sent in the company of the ambassadors "with more secret charge," had said to Elizabeth, "were she even deade, yf the king at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him doges and deare." On being informed of this, "the kinge was in marvilose collore and sware and protested before God that yf Steuard came he would hange him before he putt off his bootes, and yf the Queene medled with his mothers life, she should knowe he would follow somewhat else then dogges and deare." (Feb. 10.) Courcelles expresses his fears that if Mary's execution should happen, James would "digeste it as pattently as he hath done that which passed between the Queene of England and Alexander Stuard, whose excuse he hath well allowed, and vseth the man as well as before." (Feb. 28.) On the arrival of the intelligence of Mary's execution, Courcelles "believeth in truth that the king is greatly afflicted with this accidente." (March 8.) But when Gray was banished, the Queen's death was not mentioned among the grounds, "lest he should have accused others." And when the Estates twiec requested the King to revenge his mother's death, and offered their lives and fortunes in the cause, he merely "thanked them, and said he would open his intentions afterwards."—(June 6. and August—)

The above quotations are made from "Ane Extracte gathered out of Monsieur Courcelles Negociation in Scotland from 4th October 1586, to 28th September 1587:" in the possession of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Lothian. This is, I presume, the same with that in Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 233. It is very singular that nearly a month should have elapsed before Mary's execution was known at Edinburgh. In the year 1585, when Stirling was taken by the banished lords, Elizabeth's ministers at London had intelligence of the fact within forty-eight hours after it happened.—(Melville's Diary, p. 165.)

Note DD. p. 302.

Of Melville's Poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark.—The title of this poem is "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitvm in Coronatione Reginæ. 17. Maij 1590. Per Andream Meluinum. Pro. 16. 13. Iustitia stabilit thronum Regis. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde graue An. Dom. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regali." 4to. five leaves. The poem is republished in *Delitiæ Poetarvm Scotorum*. tom. ii. p. 71—76. On the back of the title-page of the original edition are the following lines, in which the author apologizes for the haste with which the poem was composed and published, and ingeniously alludes to the late voyage of the royal bridegroom.

Ad Regem.

Quod feci dixique tuo, Rex inclyte, iussu,
Ecce iubes volitet docta per ora virum.
Jussisti quod here, ego hodie: cras ibit in orbem:
Et properatum adeo præcipitabis opus?
Præcipita. per me ire licet quo authore volasti
Trans mare. Sors eadem fors erit: vrget amor.

James must have been pleased with the conceit expressed in the two concluding lines, and with the following address in the poem itself, which pays a flattering compliment to his gallantry in braving the winter sea, and to (what he was no less proud of) his poetical achievements:

Ferguso generate, poli certissima proles,
Quot reges tulit olim orbis, quot regna Britannus,
Tot regnis augende hæres, tot regibus orte,
Tot reges geniture olim fœlicibus astris,
Lætus in optatæ sanctis amplexibus Annæ:
Annæ, cuius amor te tot vada cerula mensum,
Tot scopulos, tot præruptas saxa ardua rupes,
Tantam Hyemem, tot fœta feris et inhospita tesqua
Raptauit, gelidisque morantem distulit oris,
Quam procul a patria, ac populo regnisque relictis

Tam propior Phœbo, Musis lucem annue nostris,
Dum canimus decus omne tuum, decus omne tuorum,
Rex Iacobe, decus Musarum et Apollinis ingens.

The theme of the *Stephaniskion* is the right government of a kingdom. After a description of the cares which environ a crown, and the small number of those who have swayed the sceptre with credit to themselves and benefit to their people, whose names, according to the saying of an Asiatic monarch,

Una omnes inscribi uno posse annulo, et unâ
Includi gemma, fulvum quæ dividit aurum;

the poet inquires into the causes which incite men to covet this dangerous eminence,—the secret impulse of nature, the innate desire of distinction, consciousness of talents or of birth, thirst for personal glory or family aggrandizement, patriotism, and that more exalted and sacred flame which seeks, by a faithful administration of a terrestrial kingdom, to obtain a celestial and unfading crown.

Vis arcana naturæ, et conscia fati
Semina:
Levat alta laborem
Gloria, celsi animi pennis sublimibus apta.
Quid studium humani generis? quid viuida virtu
Ignauæ impatiens vmbræ atque ignobilis oti?
* * * * * *
Et prædulce decus patriæ: populique Patrumque,
Vel bello quærenda salus, per mille pericla,
Mille neces, et morte ipsa quod durius usquam est?
Quo patriæ non raptet amor cœlestis, & aulæ
Ætheriæ, æterna regem quæ luce coronat?

The prince described is of course a patriot king: but the author does not maintain, (as Archbishop Adamson had accused him of doing,) that popular election is the only legitimate mode of investing a prince with the sceptre:

Seu lectus magno e populo, seu natus avito
In solio, vel lege nova, vel more vetusto,
Sortitus sceptrique decus regnique coronam.

He does not touch the harsh string of resistance to rulers who abuse their power, but he strongly reprobates, and condemns to the Stygian lake whence it ascended, the pestilential principle, that kings are born for themselves, and that their will is their law:

Stat regi, ut regni Domino, pro lege voluntas:
Talia dicta vomit diris e faucibus Orcus.
* * * * * *
Est pecus, est pejor pecude, est fera bellua, soli
Qui sibi se natum credit: qui non nisi in ipso
Cogitat imperium imperio: qui denique secum
Non putat ipse datum se civibus, at sibi cives.

The marriage of James, with its attendant solemnities, was celebrated by other poets besides Melville. Among these were Hercules Rollock, and Adrian Damman. "De Avgustissimo Jacobi 6. Scotorum Regis, & Annæ—conjugio: 13. Calend. Septemb. 1589 in Dania celebrato:—Epithalamivm Ad eamdem Annam, Serenissimam Scotorum Reginam. Hercule Rolloco Scoto auctore. Edinburgi Excudebat Henricvs Charteris. 1589." Ten leaves in 4to. "Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis A Bisterveld Gandavensis—Edinburgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde-graue. An. Dom. 1590." I in fours. This last collection consists of a Greek and Latin poem on the marriage, and of Latin poems on the storm which drove the Queen to Norway, the King's voyage, the coronation, and the public entrance into Edinburgh. Prefixed to the work are encomiastic verses by Melville in Latin, and by Robert Pont in Latin and Greek. Damman gives a poetical description of the ceremony of the Coronation, in the course of which he praises the sermon preached by Galloway, and especially the prayer offered up by Bruce.

Conticuere iterum, versisque ad Sacra Ministris,
Brucius assurgit, vir nobilis, inque togati
Classe Ministerij nullo pietatis & æqui
Laudibus inferior, precibus Solemnia sanctis
Commendare Deo, Christumque in vota vocare
Incipit. & prudens animi, linguæque disertus.

He gives the following flattering description of Melville, and the part which he acted in the solemnity:

Altisonis stat pausa tubis: strepitusque silescit
Gaudia testantis populi: quum denique surgit
Nobilis eloquio, doctrinaque inclytus omni,
Divinâ imprimis; qui multus Apollinis antra,
Antra rosis, violisque, et anethi picta corymbis,
Lymphæ ubi limpidulo trepidant pede, rite frequentat,
Meluinus, grandique ad Regem carmine fatur
Ausonio, monitisque docet prudentibus artem
Imperij.

It appears from Damman's account, that Melville pronounced his poem immediately after the crown was placed on the Queen's head, and not before that ceremony was performed, as James Melville has stated in his Diary.—Damman was not a Dane, as is commonly supposed. He was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent and had taught Humanity in that city. (Anton. Sanderus, De Gandavensibvs Erudit. Fama Claris, p. 13. Antv. 1624.) Sanderus says he went to Scotland at the invitation of Buchanan. "Tandem a Georgio Buchanano ad Nobilem iuventutem politissimis litteris imbuendam accersitus in Scotiam fuit." Others say that he came to Scotland in the retinue of Queen Anne. He afterwards taught for some years as professor of Humanity in the College of Edinburgh, and acted as Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland. (Crawfurd's Hist. of the Univ. of Edinburgh, p. 35, 40. Epist. Eccles. et Theolog. p. 35—38. Amst. 1704.)

Note EE. p. 275.

Of Patronage and Popular Election—"Ordinarie vocation consisteth in Election, Examination, and Admission.—It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall Congregation to elect their minister.—For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this libertie with all care must be reserved to every severall Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers." (First Book of Discipline, head iv.) "Election is the choosing out of a person, or persons, most able, to the office that vakes, by the judgement of the Eldership, and consent of the Congregation, to which shall be the person, or persons appointed.—So that none be intrused upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferiour person, without lawful election, and the consent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk, and good order craves. And because this order, which Gods word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices used in the Popes kirk, we desire all them that truely feare God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices together with the effect thereof have flowed from the Pope and corruption of the Canon law onely, in so farr as thereby any person was intrused or placed over kirkes having *Curam animarum*; and for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same and to the said liberty of Election, they ought not now to have place in this light of Reformation." (Second Book of Discipline, chap. 3. and 12.)

At the first General Assembly, "the kirk appointit the electioun of the minister, Elders and deacons to be in the publick Kirk, and the premonition to be vpon the sonday preceiding the day of the Electioun." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 2.) In June, 1562, it was concluded, "tuiching persones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without nomination of the people, and dew examination and admission of the Superintendent." (Keith, 513.) An act of Assembly, April, 1582, for correcting disorders produced by ambition, covetousness, and indirect dealing in entering to the ministry, concludes thus: "this act no wayes to be prejudiciall to laick patrones and y^r presentatiouns, vnto y^e tyme y^e lawes be reformed according to the word of God." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 123, b.) On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishoprics to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen. The General Assembly, in August, 1588, petitioned his Majesty against this; "inhibiting in y^e meantyme all com-

missioners and presbyteries y^t they in no wayes give collatioun or admissioun to any persons presentit be y^e saids new patrons as is above speit (specified) unto y^e nixt general assemblie of y^e Kirk." (Ib. f. 153, a.) Among the articles of an overture approved by the Assembly in May, 1596, was the following: "Thridlie because be presentatiouns many forciblie are thrust in y^e ministrie and vpoun congregatiouns y^r utteris y^rafter they were not callit be God, it wald be provydit y^t none seik presentatiouns to benefices without advyce of y^e presbyterie within y^e bounds q^r of pbrie (sic) lyis, and if any doe in y^e contrair they to be repellit as rei ambitus." (Ib. f. 178, a.)

Such was the law of the church. The practice appears to have varied somewhat in different places. Sometimes the General Assembly or the presbytery of the bounds nominated or recommended a minister, either of their own accord, or at the desire of the session or congregation. In some instances the election was by the session, or by the session and principal persons of the parish, and in others by the votes of the congregation at large. Sometimes the congregation elected the individuals themselves; at other times they nominated electors from among themselves: and at other times they referred the choice to the presbytery. But in whatever way this was conducted, the general consent of the people was considered as requisite before proceeding to admission, and the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was acceptable to the parish. On the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddington, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination, but Mr. James Carmichael having produced and read the act of Assembly 1562, they relinquished their claim. (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, August 15, 1601.)—The following is the account of the election of Robert Bruce to be minister of St. Andrews:

"Die xxi^o mensis Maii anno Ixxxix^o.

The q^lk day being appointit to y^e electioun of ane minister and fallow laborar w^t M Robert Wilkie minister in y^e functioun of y^e ministrie in this congregation, fur^t of y^e nyne personis efter specifyt viz. nominat be y^e town vniversite & landward parochenaris; to witt M^rs Robert Bruce Jhone Cauldcleuche W^m Marche nominat be y^e town, M^r Johne Malcom alex monipenny & M Jhon Auchinlek nominat, be y^e universite, and M^rs Nichol Dalgles Jhone Dauidsoun & Robert Dury nominat be y^e gentill men & paroshenaris upon land. Comperit ane ry^t hono^ll man James Lermouth of Darsy provest of S^t And^os M Wm Russel bailze Thomas Lentroun & Patrik Gutherie commissioners for y^e town & Patrik Bonkill y^e common clerk M James Wilkie rector of y^e universite, M David monypenny deane of facultie, M Andrew Meluill Mr principall of y^e new College, and M W^m Cranstoun maister in y^e auld college commissioneris for y^e said universite, and hon^u men Sir George Douglas of Elenehill kny^t James Wod of Lambeletham, James Hay chalmerlane of y^e priore of St An^dos Patrik Dudingstoun portioner of Kincapill, Andrew Wod of Stray^rwethy & M Alex Jarden of Smyddy grein commissionaris for y^e gentillmen and paroshinaris vpoun land. Quha all w^t ane voce efter ernest incalling on y^e holy name of God, electit & chusit y^e said Mr Robert Bruce as ane man maist meet habill and quhalifyt minister and fallow laborar in y^e ministrie w^t y^e said Mr Robert Wilkie And y^e saidis haill commissionaris hes aggreit y^e ilk ane of thame to witt, y^e towne, universite & paroshenaris vpon land send w^t all diligens y^r supplication in y^e maist feruent maner to y^e said M Robert Bruce to cum & occupy y^e said office in and upon him conforme to y^e said fre election." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews.) On the demission of Mr Robert Wilkie, who was appointed principal of St. Leonard's College, "The maist speciall of the haill parochin alsweill to land as bur^t being convenit, efter ernest incalling upon y^e holy name of God, electit & chusit all w^t ane voce w^tout discrepans or variance Mr David Blak, quha wes specialie recommendit to thame be y^e generall kyrk, pastor and minister to this congregation." (Ib. Nov. 11, 1590.)

Mr. Andrew Forester, minister of Corstorphin, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and presentation of it to himself by the king, confessed, after some interrogatories, "that bay y^e dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be his foirknowledge and accepted be his consent." The presbytery found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and "becaus be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the generall assembly deceming sic personis as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure w^tout foirknowledge and consent of the kirk to be Rei ambitus, of the q^lk fault he is to be tryit befoir his judge ordinarie." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 5, 1597.)

The parishioners of Aberlady requested the presbytery, "that ane lite my^t be maid of qualifeit men and sent to teache in their paroche kirk upon seueral sabboth dayes per vices, To the end y^t y^e Brethrene of the presbyterie w^t their consent my^t out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr. Andrew Blackhall younger being put on the leet was suspected to be *reus ambitus*, and ordained to make his purgation. He satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation, "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was myndit to accept of the same w^tout y^e special advyse of presbyterie." (Ib. from January 21, to March 17, 1602.) The presbytery "finds the said Mr Andro not to be Reus ambitus;" but still they came to the following resolution.

"At Haddingtoun y^e 24 Martij 1602.

The q^lk day y^e brethrene being to noiate and elect ane of the thrie y^t was vpon y^e Lite for aberladie to be placit as pastour thare, before y^t y^e said mater suld be put in voting tho^t meit y^t Mr Andro Blackhal suld subscryve y^e submissioun following.

I Mr Andro blakhal younger am content to put and presētlie puts y^e gift and presēntat^oun of vicarage of aberladie obtainit in my name in y^e hands of y^e presbyterie of hadingtoun to use it as thay think gude.

Sic Subscribitur

M A Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure in the case of an unpopular presentee occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of episcopacy. In 1621, Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king a presentation to the parish of Northberwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what is "ther lyking or approbation" of him. Commissioners, accordingly, attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported "in name of the whole people that thei ware not content w^t Michael Gibbert, and that universallie y^e people had no lyking of him and thawcht him not meit for that place." The presbyterie having taken him on trials, "commends and allows his gift and holie affectioun, juges him able to enter in the ministrie q^r it sall please God to call him w^t consent of the congregation, but in respect of the place of Northberwick q^tunto the generall assemblie haldin at Aberdein hes thawcht meit an man of singular gifts of authoritie and experience Also in respect of y^e commissionars of the said parochin of Northberwick dissenting y^rfra we thinke him not meit for y^t place of Northbervick." It was ordained accordingly that a letter should be written to "My lord of St. androis bearing the presbytries judgement anent the said Michael Gilberts not qualification for northberwick." On the 5th of September, the presbytery received the following answer from the archbishop.

"Loving brithren I haue receaved yor ltre tutching michael Gilbert q^rby I perceaue y^t he is not be zow fond meit to be receavit in that kirk. but I must pray zow in yor answair to forbeir the consideration of y^e kirk at leist the mention of it in your writt because as I formarlie wrote if he be fund meit to be an minister I cannot shift but giue collatioun as I am requyrit. he is presentit to that kirk y^rfor directit to be tryit by zow. if he be not fund meit it exoners both zou & me To say so in generall that Michael Gilbert being presented be his Ma. for such a kirk and directed by me to be tryed by zou ze find him not qualifeit And no more then this being I sall desyr zow speedilie to acquent me whom ze wold chuse with consent of the parochin and I sall doe the best I can to haue zou satisfeit for I shall be loith to admitt any whom ze by yo^r judgement finds not qualefeit to anie of yo^r kirks and certainlie wold we in

planting haue this regard to consider y^e^ qualities of men ther prudence as weill as y^r^ teiching whom Chrysestome in some place requyris as necessarie in a pastor o^r^ kirk wold be in an better estate & o^r^ calling not so exposed to contempt as it is, but thes I leaue and for the present commits zow to God

rests your assured brother
St. Andrews."

The presbytery took the bishop's hint, and made an act declaring simply the presentee's "non sufficiencie," but after some delay, they received instructions from the bishop (Feb. 5, 1622.) to proceed with Gilbert's settlement; on which they came to this conclusion, "that in regard of the opposition made already by the peopill and in regard of the slander and contempt that may be given in publick to the ministrie urging the people to yield unto y^t^ q^lk^ no wayes they will do, that the mater be delayed to such opportunities as the arch B. may bespek." (Ib. from June 27, 1621, to February 5, 1622.) the presentee, however, ultimately prevailed; for on the roll of members of Presbytery in 1624 is "Michael Gilbert min^r^ of Northbervick."

The consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that John Davidson should de settled as a minister of Saltpreston and Pannis, "ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the tounes foirsaids come and shew their gude lyking of Mr Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbyterie, (met at Tranent) desyring us maist earnestly w^t^ any voyce," &c—"Thanks returned to my lord of Newbottle" whose concurrence in the settlement had been requested by the presbytery. (Ib. Oct. 29—Dec. 24, 1595.) Oftener the consent of the congregation was reported to the presbytery by commissioners. The reader may be pleased to see the following copy of a formal written call, which is the earliest document of the kind that I have met with.

"Vnto zo^r^ godlie W. of the presbyterie of hadingtoun humlie menis and schawis we zo^r^ bretherne the pro^m^ [parishioners] of Gullane w^t^ the speciall consent of our pastor Mr thomas makghe that q^r^as it hes pleisit God in the age infirmitie and often diseisis of our said pastor to offer occasion of support to him and to vs both be Mr Androw Makghe his sone of quhome we having had pruiff and tryall the twa zeiris bygane dois testifie his doctrine to be sound sensible & edfying his lyff and conversatioun to be honest and unrebukeable In respect q^r^of haueing gude expectatioun y^t^ he salbe ane profitable instrument amangis vs for advancement of goddis glorie and our awin salvatioun Hes w^t^ ane voyce thoucht expedient maist ernistlie to requeist zo^r^ wisdomes to proceid w^t^ that diligence zo^r^ w. sall think maist expedient to the admission and ordinatioun of the said Mr Andro to the office of ministerie within our congregatioun That being warrandit be y^e^ outward calling and authoritie of the kirk he may be answerabill to our said expectatioun in the synceir preaching of goddis word ministring of ye sacraments discipline and all vther externall benefites of y^e^ kirk according to the reull of the said word and commoun practise of the reformit kirk w^t^in this cuntrey Unto quhome in the lord ane and all we promise fay^t^fullie our concurrance and obedience to the vttermost according to o^r^ dewtie And zo^r^ godlie w. answ^r^ humlie we beseich

Sic Subscribitur	Mr thomas Makghe minister of gullane
Ro^t^ hepburne	George Ker
Alex^r^ tod	P Levingtoun of Saltcottis
Mr Mark Hepburne	Ro Congilton of that ilk
George Dudgeoun	Walter Ker
Andro Robesone	George Halyburtoun
Williame Marsheall	Daniel broun
Jhone sinclair	Michael tod
James Sandilands	
George Walker	
George sseveis	
Thomas Wilson	

This is the mynd of the hayll rest of the pro^m^ y^t^ cannot subscryvo as thai haue testifyit be thair consent quhen thair voittis wes requyrit desyring me notar vnderwritten to subscrive in thair names.

Ita est Joannes Craik notarius publicus ad premissa requisitus testem his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus."
(Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 7, 1597.)

Note FF. p. 278.

Riot against Melville at St. Andrews.—The summons raised at the instance of Mr Andrew Melvill principal of the New College of St Andrews, and Mr David Makgill of Nisbet his Majesty's advocate states, "that upon the fourt day of Junij instant, the said Mr Andro being vnder medicine w^t^in his chalmer of the said college, lippeing for nae violence—Mr David Methven &c. convocat and assemblit togidder be the ringing of the comoun bell the haill ceitie for the maist part of the said citie bodin in feir of weir with quhom they come to the said college and in maist barbarous and insolent maner brak up the back and foir yettis y^r^of clam the wallis of the same and preisit violentlie to haue brokin up the said Mr. androis chalmer dur lyke as thay brak up w^t^ ane lang Jeist the bak stair of his said chalmer vpoun set purpois and deliberatioun to have slayne and murdriest him within his said chalmer quhilk thay had not faillit to have done were not be the providence of God and the mediatioun and travellis of the magratis of the said citie thair rage and fury wes sum quhat mitigat lyk as thay in deid remanit w^t^in the said college and about the same the space of tua houris togidder suting the said Mr androis lyff uttering all the tyme mony injurious speches saying we have now gottin the occasioun we lang socht let us tak it and mak us qwyte of this man that troublis ws ay"—The Lords ordayn master William Russel and William Leirmont two of the Bailies of St Andrews to enter into ward in the Castle of Blacknes and remain there until they give up the names of the chief persons concerned in the riot,—and ordain the provost and members of Town Council to subscribe a Band obliging themselves and their Successors to preserve all the members of the universitie "harmeless and skay^t^less."—And they further decern that such of the rioters as had been summoned and have not appeared, shall be denounced rebels. (Record of Privy Council, 23 Junij 1591.)

The following extract from the Record of the Burgh Court of St. Andrews relates to the circumstance mentioned in the text as having given occasion to the riot. The act is crossed in the Record, and on the margin is the following official note: "Die vigesimo quarto mensis Augusti 1591. This Act delcit w^t^ consent of y^e^ prowest baillies and counsell. J Bonde Scriba." The act runs thus:

"Mr Andro Malwill & y^e^ Town

Curia Burgalis civ. S^ti^ Andreæ tenta in prætorio ejusdem per honorabiles viros Thomam Lentroun Magistros Gulielmum Cok et Gulielmum Russell ballivos dictæ civitatis, die Veneris quarto die Mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo.

The q^lk^ day in presence of the baillies of this citie Mr Robert Weilkye principal of St Leonardis College w^t^in ye citie of St And^s^ renunciand expreslie be y^r^ presentis all previleges exemption and immunitie or jurisdictioun that he may pretend in y^e^ contrair heirof And submitting him in this caice to y^e^ jurisdiction of the provest and baillies of y^e^ citie of St And^s^ alenerlie and w^t^ him David Dalgleisch and W^m^ Muffat citineris of y^e^ said citie Ar becum bound oblist and actitat for thaim y^r^ airis & successoris conjunctlie and severallie for Maister Andro Mailweill rector of y^e^ Universitie of St And^rs^ That in caice it may be fund and tryed y^t^ Maister Johne Cauldcleuch ane of y^e^ prencipall Maisteris of y^e^ New College quha hes schott and deidlie woundit Davit Trumbull ane nytbour of this citie w^t^ ane arrow q^t^bye he is in danger of his lyfe to be anye tyme heirefter w^t^in y^e^ boundis of y^e^ said College in anye pairt they sall present him to y^e^ justice for underlying of our Soverane lordis lawis he being requyrit be y^e^ prte stewart or y^e^ ballies of y^e^ said citie my lord being w^t^in y^e^ college for y^e^ tyme of his requlsition And w^t^in y^e^ boundis of y^e^ said College for y^e^ fact foirsaid under y^e^ paines of ane thousand ponds to be aplyit to sic uss as y^e^ provest balleis & counsaill of y^e^ said citie sall think expedient And y^t^ y^e^ said Mr Andro rector foirsaid renunciand in lyk maner be thir prntes expresslie all previlege exemptioun & immunitie y^t^ he may pretend in y^e^ contrair in this caice allenerlie sall be answerable to y^e^ Stewart of regalitie of St Andr^s^ y^e^ provost and baillies yrof as law will in caice he sall be querrellit heirefter be anie of y^e^ said David Trumbullis friendis under paine foirsaid In

presence of Mr. Piter Rollock Bischope of Dunkell Mr Wm Mairch ane of y^e regentis in St Leonardis College David Watsoun Mr David Russell deane of gild And Mr Patrick Mailuill ane of y^e M^rs of y^e new Col. and Jhon Mair w^t uthris diverss."

Note GG. p. 279.

Constitution and procedure of Kirk-sessions.—In speaking of the election of Elders and Deacons, we ought to keep in mind that formerly it was annual. At St. Andrews, when the time of election approached, the session made up a list of persons to be nominated for office during the ensuing year, and caused this to be read from the pulpit, accompanied with an intimation that the session would meet on a certain day to hear objections against the persons nominated, and to receive the names of any others that might be proposed as better qualified. The election succeeded to this. The Session sometimes appointed electors, and at other times they acted as electors themselves; in which last case the individuals to be chosen, if already in the session, were successively removed. (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, Oct. 8 & 15, 1589; Jan. 12, 1590; and Nov. 28, 1593.) This was also the practice at Glasgow. (Extracts from Rec. of Kirk Sess. of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28.) "Oct. 22, 1609. The Bishop compeared and intimat, the Synod had for sundry and good respects concluded and ordained that the Elders and Deacons in all Sessions shall hereafter be chosen by the ministers. The Session approves." (Ibid. p. 29.) At Edinburgh the election was popular. (Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 267, 268.) The General Assembly, April, 1582, sanctioned this mode of election. "Concerning a generall ordour of the admissioun to y^e office of elders referris it to the ordo^r usit at Ed^r q^lk we approve." (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 124, b.) In the parish of the Canongate, or Holyrudhouse, the members of Session were chosen by the communicants at large. "Julcy 28, 1565. The q^lk day y^e names of y^e faithful that be in the lyt of y^e Eldars was geiven wp be y^e auld kirk to be proclamit be y^e minister and to be chosen on Sonday come aucht dayes."—"The fourt day of August. The q^lk day the efternone at y^e sermone y^e haill fay^tfull woted in chesing y^e elders and diacons."—"The 11th day of Aug^t. The q^lk day it is ordanit y^t y^e eldaris and deaconis as efter followis present thameself to y^e kirk and set in y^e place appontit for thame to resawe thair office. The q^lk day it is ordanit y^t y^e minister warn oppenlie in y^e pulpell all thois y^t communicates to y^e puirs to come to y^e tobo^t on tisday y^t nixt comes at 7 ho^rs in y^e morning to heir y^e compts of y^e deacons of thair resait and how it is destrybutit." (The Buik of the Kirk of Canagait.)

The statement made in the text respecting the civil punishments inflicted on delinquents is justified by the minutes of the last named Session. An unmarried woman having confessed her pregnancy, "Thairfoir *the baillies assistane the assemblie of y^e kirke* ordanis hir for to depart furt of y^e Gait within 48 hours heirefter, under y^e pain of schurging and burning of y^e scheike." (Buik of the Kirk of Canagait, Sept. 31, 1564.) In all instances in which any civil penalty is added this form of expression is used.—The following minute refers to the determining of controversies by *arbitration*. "Dec. 8, 1565. The q^lk day it is ordanit the communion to be ministrat upon the 16th of y^s instant also to advertise communicants to be at the Saterday exortation efter-nune. The q^lk day it is ordanit that gif thair be onie persones have onye gruge of hatrit or malice or ony offense in his heart aganis his broder that they and ilk ane of them come on tisday in the morning at 8 hors to the Tolbo^t where 4 of the Kirk shall be present to juge the offense and gif that it stands in them to reconseil the same y^e said four to be Johne hart Johne short Jhone Mordo Johne Atchison Thomas hunter James Wilkie or ony four of thir." (Ibid. Dec. 8, 1565.) At Glasgow the Session was accustomed to proceed in certain cases by way of *inquest*, or *trial by jury*. "Nov. 14, 1583. the Session appoint an inquest to be taken of men who are neither Elders nor Deacons for this year, out of the several parts of the town." This was done generally every year, and the practice is mentioned in the minutes as late as 1643. The request is ordinarily made up of 13 honest men, and in some cases women are employed. (Extracts, ut supra: p. 42, 43.)

The following minute may be given as an illustration of the method of *privy censures* in sessions. "The q^lk day being appointit to try y^e lyfe and conversation of y^e haill memberis of y^e Sessioun, alsweill ministeris as elderis & deaconis, Mr David Blak minister being remouit, there is nathing objectit aganis him, bot all y^e brethren praises God of him, and y^t he may continew in his seit. M Robert Wallace being remouit, y^e brethrein thankis God for him, bot it is desyrit of him y^t he may be mair diligent & carefull over y^e maneris of y^e people, & in visiting of y^e seik. M Rob^t Zwill being remouit thair is nathing opponit aganis him in lyfe doctrein nor conversation, bot he is to be admonisit of multiplicatione of wordis in his doctrine and y^t his nottis be in few wordis y^t y^e people may be mair edifyit. Mr Androw Meluill being remouit, y^r is nathing opponit aganis him, bot y^e haill brethrein thankis God for him. M^r Dauid Monypenny being remonit y^r is nathing opponit aganis him. M W^m Welwod being remouit thair is nathing aganis him. y^e Commis^r remouit nathing opponit. Dauid Murray & Duncan Balfour y^r is nathing opponit except Dauid Murray payis na thing to y^e contributionis of y^e puir. And as to Duncan Balfour falt is fund w^t him y^t he being ane elder suld be in company w^t thame y^t brak vpe y^e tolbuth dur & electit y^e counsell tyme of sermone vpon Weddinsday. forder y^e murthir of Pareis being laid to his charge becaus he wes in companie in y^e kingis seruice at y^t tyme. Quharof y^e said Duncane purges him selfe in conscience as also of cuming w^t y^e kingis commissioun to stay y^e doctrein in y^e new college. M^rs W^m [and] Henry Russell Andro Welwood being remouit, y^r is falt fund with M^r W^m being *(sic)* suld pass to y^e synodall assemblie w^tout command of y^e sessioun, and y^t y^r is ane sklander betwix M^r Henry and his father, and y^t Andrew Welwod mend his rasche speiking in y^e sessioun. Mr W^m Russel purgit him of y^e thing laid to his charge; Androw Welwod promisit to amend." (Record of Kirk Session of St. Andrews, March 2, 1596.)

Note HH. p. 279.

Presbyterial exercises, and trial of ministers.—The following extracts illustrate the mode of procedure in the ordinary exercise. "It is ordanit that Mr. Ro^t Rollock sall mak ane catalogue of the young men quhom he thinks meitt to exerceis, and that they quha sall come to the p^bric be sittaris, and no^t standeris. Ordanis that all the brethrene of the ministerie w^tin this presbyterie sall convene in dew tyme, and sit at the burdes vnder the pains contanit in y^e actis of y^e p^bric, and that nane be absent w^tout ane lawfull excus, and that y^e catalog be red, the absents markit, and the neist day censurit. Ordanis the first speikar sall occupy na langer time nor an ho^r, the second half an hour preciselie vnder the panes to be censured gif he transgress, and that the prayer before and efter the exerceis be schort." (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 8, 1597.) "Oct. 27, 1598. Maister Dauid Robertsone maid y^e exercise upone y^e first cap. Esay v. 3. and vas allowit and Mr. Peter Blackburne addit, quha followis nixt;" i. e. makes the exercise next week. (Record of Presbytery of Aberdeen.) "April 23, 1602. Johne Mylne made the exercise—admonisit to studie diligentlie and to have a feling of that q^lk he delyverit.—"Nov. 26, 1602. Robert Forbes maid the exercise, quha was admonisit to eschew affectat language, and to utter his words w^t gretar force." (Ibid.) "Dec. 8, 1616. Prophesie maid be Mr. Rob^t Backanq^ll, 1 Cor. 14, v. 8. Followed Mr. George Greir in observations upon the text exponed. Doctrein judged, it was ordeined Mr. Andro Blackhall to expone in the first place, and Mr. Thomas Ballantyne to observe in the second place. 1 Cor. 14, v. 10." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.) "Dec. 4. 1593. Mr. Andro Polwart (and six other young men) put on the privie exercise." (Rec. of Presb. of Glasgow.) "Junij 18, 1600. A remembrance concerning the brethren that teiches in privat hous. Mr. Alex^r greg heard this day in the gallery.—April 29, 1601. He is to be heard in Mr. James Carmichael's

gallery." (Presb. of Haddington.) "May 8, 1608. Mr. James Carmichael younger heard privile exerces ye secund tyme upone Ephes. 6. 12. The Bren praysit God for him, and appoynit him to exerceis privilie the next in ye morning in ye galrie, prosecuting the samine text." (Ibid.) The General Assembly, in March, 1572–3, agreed, "That sick ministers as hes not qrweth to buy bookes may have bookes bought to ym be ye collector, and to allow ye pryces yrof in yr stipend. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 56.) "Oct. 20, 1598. It is agreit by ye haile presbitrie thair be a collection gatherit amongis ye brethrein and of ye penaleteis to by comentareis vpon ye text of ye exerceis quhilk sall serue to everie ane of ye presbyterie quha hes nane in tym cumīg.—Feb. 23, 1598. Item the said day of the Moderator collected fra every minister of the presbyterie sex shillings aucht pennies for the bying of Molerus vpone Isay, and delyuerit the same to John roche collector to giff ye buikar." (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

In October, 1581, the Provincial Synod of Lothian represented that they had agreed to have disputations in every presbytery on the articles in controversy with the papists, and moved that the general Assembly should appoint the form to be observed. The assembly "thinks thir disputations good qn they may be bad." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 115, 116.) In March, 1597–8, it is appointed, "that a common heid of religioun be intreatit every moneth in ilk pbrie both by way of discourse and disputation." (Ibid. f. 191, b.) The way in which this exercise was conducted will appear from the following minutes. "Aprilis 7 1602. The qlk day ye common heid, De Authenticis Scripturarum editionibus et Versionibus Sacrisque Vernaculis, being first handillit publictlie before ye pepil be Mr. John Gibson, they disputit priuiclie. It was fund Quod sola hebraica editio Vateris Testamenti et Græca noui sit authentica editio Scripturæ et qd necessariū sit scripturas converti oñiaque sacra peragi publie corā populo in ecclesia vernaculo sermone. The next cōmoun heid De Authoritate Scripturæ was appointit to James Lamb to be entreattit ye secund Wednesday of May approaching." "Junij 2. The controvertit heid De authoritate S. Scripturæ being first publicly entreated before ye pepill be James lamb his text being upon ye 2 epistill to Timothe 3 cap. 16 vers. Qlk being censurit—The Brethren per vices everie ane enterit in thair disputatioun in Latine anent ye same mater according to ye ordinance of provincial assemblie." (Record of Presb. of Haddington.) The member who delivered the discourse on the common head sustained his thesis in the dispute against the other members of presbytery. (Ibid. July 4, 1602, and March 2, 1603.) "Jan. 6, 1603. The quhilk daye Mr Peter blackburne intreatit vpone the cōmoun heid of cotroverzie De Ecclesia qin he did mervellous and yfoir was comendit. (Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.)

The General Assembly which began on the 31st of March, 1589, appointed all the ministers of the church to be tried *de novo*, and nominated certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. (Act inserted in the Minutes of Presb. of Haddington, Nov. 5, 1589. (In consequence of this a rigid examination commenced, of which the following extracts will convey some idea. "Tryall be passages of Scripture and questions.—*Mr Thomas Macghie.* His passage of Scripture 46 Isai vnto ye 5 verse. exponit and collectit the same and yrefter removit. The Brethrene censurit. he is jugeit to be weill verst wt the Scriptures. Being examined vpon ye authoritie of the Scriptures he is tho prompt to confound the enemies of the trewth wt the word of God and guid [doctrine]—28 Julij at Morning. *James Gibsone.* Haiffing teicheit publiklie at his appointit hour being [removed] he was judgeit to haue done weill. Zit he omittit what he promesit to defyne As also he repeated sundrie impertinent [words] bayth in doctrine & prayer Qfoir he is admonisit to be [ware of them.]—*Thomas Greg.* 28 Julij at eftirnown. His passage of Scripture 3 to the Galathians vnto the 4 verse expounding ye samin was removit. He is jugeit to have done weill and it appeiris he is versed with ye Scripturis Being examinat as followis, It is not ane falt to Godis pepill to embrace the thingis that God commandis Ergo it is not ane falt to the Christians to keip the Ceremonial law: 2. Quhidder gif the pepil war justifeit by the Ceremonies of the Law: 3. Quhidder ar we justifeit be fayt or be warkis or partlie be warkis. 4. We cane not be justifiet be that alane qlk is never alane bot fayt is never allane thairfoir we cane not be justifiet be fayt allane: Of the qlks he onderstandis the argumentis & answerit yrto howbeit he be not verst in logik.—*Jamis Rid.* 22 Octobris. Jamis Rid being hard mak privie exercise the bretheren judges he hes done better nor affoir. Zit he hes not cleirlie exponit the text qfoir he is desyrit to be mair popular qlk he promesis to do God willing protesting that at his next heiring he may be hard at mair length to the effect he may collect his doctrene mair amplie in the place qlk cane not be done in half ane hour to satisfie for the descriptioun of ane ample text.—

The sentences pronouncet.

Mr. Jamis Carmichaell meit to be continewit in the ministrie in a bettir degrie.—*Mr. Johne Ker* unmeit to be continewit Thairfor deposes [him from the] function of the ministrie Zit the brethern jugeis that [if he be] occupyit wt his book he may do better heirafter.—*Jamis Lamb* meit to be continewit in the ministrie in the lawest missour.—*Daniel Wallace* meit to be continewit in ane law missour.—*Jamis Rid* unmeit to be continewit Thairfoir [deposes him from the] function of the ministrie for the present—*Thomas Gregge* meit to be continewit in ane gude degree.—*Mr Thomas Macghie* meit to be continewit in ane bettir degrie.—*Alexander forrester* meit to be continewit in some reasonable degrie.—*James Gibsone* meit to be continewit in ane reasonable gude missour." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.)

Note II. p. 282.

Extraordinary meeting of delegates from counties.—The following curious deed throws light upon the nature and purposes of this meeting.

"At Glasgow the allevint day of October ye zeir of God imvc fourescoir threttein zeires. The quhilk day the nobillmen baronis gentlemen ministeris comissioneris of ye sref-domes and burrowis wndervrittin viz Lanerk renfrew and Dumbartane and of ye presbitereis yairof being convenit according to ye bande maid be our sourane lord & his estatis for matemente of ye trew religioun presētlie professit wtin this realme and defens of his hienes persoun and estait and being informit of ye cōvening of ye nobillmē barrōnis gētlmē and ministeris of fyfe and wtheris partis of this realme for prosecuting of ye said bande And that ye sevintein daye of this instāt is appointtit to ye said convening & that certane comissoneris of everie province salbe direct to meit in ye burl of Edinburt for cōsulting and avysing wpoun ye following furt and prosecuting of ye said bande Heirfore ye saidis nobillmē barrōnis gētellmē & ministeris of ye srefdomes foirsaidis hes maid constitut & ordanit & be thir presētes makis constitutes & ordanis the lard of calderwood, the lard of merchistoun, the gud man of Duchall, the lard of greinoh, M Rot Lindsaye M Jon Hewesoun M Johne Haye M Johne Couper & M Patrik Scharp ministeris or ony thre of ye saidis ministeris thair lautfull and wndowtit comissioneris to cōvein & meit at Edinbur ye daye foirsaid or ony wther daye or place appointtit or to be appointtit and thairto cōcurre wt ye cōmissioneris of ye wther srefdomes & provinces of this realme thair to be assemblit and to give thair advyse and cōsale in sik causs cōcerning ye following furt of ye said bande & wtheris cōcerning ye glorie of God, the preseruatioun of his maiestie persoun and estait & comounweill of ye cōtrey as salbe treated aad as salbe cōcludit to promise in ye names of ye nobillmē barrōnis & gētilmē of ye srefdomes foirsaidis and burrowis wtin ye samy to follow furt the determinatiouns of ye comissioneris foirsaidis, qlk yaj and cuerie ane of thame wpoun thair cōsience & honr hes faitfullie promesit to do and performe. and ye said nobillmē & barronis & gētilmē & ministeris foirsaid hes gevin comand & power to ye clerk of ye kirk & presbitrie of Glasgw to insert thir presentis in ye buikes *of ye buikis* of ye said presbitrie and to extract ye samy yfurt subscryvit be him for y as gif thaj had subscryvit ye samy yame selfis." (Record of Presbytery of Glasgow.)

Note KK. p. 291.

Black's Process.—" Anent the charge gevin be vertew of our souerane Lordis Lrēs to Maister dauid blak minister at Sanctandrois to haue compeirit personalie befoir the Kingis maiestie and lordis of secreit counsaill this day viz the xviii day of nouember instāt, To haue answrit to sic thingis as sould haue bene inquirit of him at his cwming Tuicheing certane vndecent and vncumelie speiches vtterit be him in diuers his sermonis maid in Sanctandrois, vnder the pain of Rebellioun and putting of him to y^e^ horne w^th^ certificāne to him and he failzeit Lrēs sould be direct simp^r^ to putt him thairto, Lyke as at mair Lenth is cōtenit in y^e^ saidis Lrēs executionis and indorsationis thairof. Q^lk^ being callit, and the said maister dauid compeirand personalie, Declairit that albeit he micht obiect aganis the summondis as being direct super inquirendis Contrair the act of parliament, na particulair caus specifeit thairin, zit he wald tak him to the ordinair remeid appointit be the Lawis and Libertie of the Kirk, allegeing that nane sould be iugeis to materis deliuerit in pulpett, bot the preichcouris and ministeris of the worde, And thairfore desirit to be Remittit to his iuge ordinair, Quhairupoun being inquirit be his maiestie to quhat iugement he declynit, answrit to the presbiterie quhair the doctrine wes teicheit quhair his maiestie sould be a complenair in the first instance as a Christeane and member of the kirk, and not as a King. Allegeit be his Maiestie, That this mater is altogidder ciuile and no^t^ spirituall, And forder that the generalitie of the summondis is restrictit to this particulair expressit in this vther Lrē heirwith produceit be the inglis ambassadour, Being inquirit, quidder gif his maiestie micht be iuge in materis of tressoun as the kirk is iuge in materis of heresie, Grantis, zit allegeit That the wordis deliuerit in pulpett, albeit allegeit to be tressounable, sould be tryit in prima instancia be the Kirk as onlie iuge competent, To the contrair quhairof The act of parliament maid in the lxxxiij zeir of god wes allegeit, To the dirogatioun of the quhilk act Maister dauid produceit ane vther act in the parliament haldin at edinburgh in the lxxxxij zeir of god, Being inquirit quhat warrand thay had oute of the worde of God, for materis spokin aganis a christeane magrāt. Allegeit quhateuir is spokin to be spirituall, And thairfore mon be reulit be the worde of god, and for this purpois allegeit the first of Timothie Continewit to the Last of nouember instant, And M^r^ dauid ordanit To remane heir in the meantyme." (Record of Privy Council, Nov. 18, 1596.)

The Interloquitor, declaring the Lords of Council judges competent of all the crimes libelled in the new and enlarged summons, was passed on the last day of November. And on the 2d of December, a Decreet was passed finding Black guilty of all the articles libelled, and ordaining him to confine himself beyond the North Water till his Majesty should determine on his farther punishment. (Record of Privy Council.)

Note LL. p. 299.

Ecclesiastical Rights of Professors of Divinity.—It was reported to the General Assembly in April, 1582, " that ane elderschip (presbytery) is begun already at St androes of pastouris and *teachers* bot not of those that hes not the cure of teaching." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 118, b.) By the General assembly, May 1586, " It is found that all such as the scripture appoints governors of the Kirk of God, as namelie pastors, *doctors*, and elders, may convene to generall assemblies, and vote in ecclesiastical matters." (Ibid. f. 139, b.) Being constituent members of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, doctors or professors of divinity might be sent by them, as well as by their universities, as representatives to the General Assembly. In consequence of a complaint from the Synod of Fife that this right had been infringed, it was recognized anew by the Assembly which met at Holyroodhouse in the year 1602, and at which his Majesty was present. (Ibid. f. 203, a.) One reason of Rollock's being admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the meeting of the commissioners at St. Andrews, might be to exempt him from the restriction intended to be laid on all theological professors. On that occasion Bruce at first objected to receiving imposition of hands, as implying that he had not previously a valid call to the ministry. Patrick Sympson, in a letter dated May 1, 1598, says: "I perceive that Mr Rob. Rollock stands much on the lacke of ordination in your ministry, which makes me marvail how he could call himself *a minister of Christs Evangel at Ed.* in his Analysis upon the Epistle to the Romans, and in the mean time wanting ordination to that ministry, if this fform of ordination which we want be so essential as he speaks." (Wodrow's life of Bruce. p. 35 : MSS vol. 1.) But I do not think that Rollock, in 1593, when he published the book referred to, was a minister in the same sense as Bruce and Symson were: I mean that he was not properly the pastor of a Congregation. In consequence of a petition from the town, the presbytery had authorized him to preach the morning lecture in one of the churches. (Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Sept. 5, 1587.) But it was not till the beginning of the year 1598, that he " was admittit to be ane of the aught ordinar ministers of this burt." (Reg. of Town Council, Jan. 25, 1597.)

Note MM. p. 300.

Character of David Black.—Spotswood says, that " Mr. Black was summoned" before the commissioners. (Hist. p. 448.) But James Melville who was one of the commissioners, says, " Mr. Robert Wallace was proceidit against and removit from St And^rs^ be sum form of kinglie commissione, proceiding and process. *Bot Mr. David Black was never anes called*, and yet, of mere kinglie power, it behovit him to be debarrit Sr And^w^." (Diary, p. 314.) Spotswood farther says, " that the elders and deacons of the church—all upon oath deponed that the accusations were true, and that Blake had spoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Councel.—And they declared that both the one and the other were given to factions, and that they did not carry themselves with that indifferency which became preachers." Yet the archbishop had himself stated, a little before, that Black presented to the privy council, as a proof of the falsehood of the charges, two testimonials, the one subscribed by the provost, bailies, and council, and the other by the rector, dean of faculty, and professors of the university. (Hist. p. 425. Comp. Rec. of Privy Council, ult. Nov. 1596.) Now several of the magistrates and of the professors were at that time members of session. But this is not all. The following extracts from the minutes of session prove that the elders and deacons felt the highest respect and regard for Black.

Die nono Januarii, 1596.

The qlk day, Mr. Robert Wallace, Mr. David Monypenny and Mr. Robert Zule, ar ordenit to pas to y^e^ counsall of y^e^ toun and desyr ane supplication to his M. for relief of Mr. David Blak y^r^ pastor, and als order to be takin for serving of Mr. David Blakeis cuir q^ll^ he cum hame, and yat order may be taken w^t^ y^e^ parochin q^ll^ he cum hame qlkis ar now all gane lous.

Die xix^mo^ *Martii*, 1596.

The qlk day y^e^ sessioun hes statut that y^e^ clerk uret ane bill and missive in y^r^ names to Mr. David Blak, y^r^ minister to give him thankes for his last l^r^ of recommendatione send be him to yame, as also to shaw him y^t^ y^e^ kinges ma. is desyrus to confer w^t^ him, and y^t^ he send his awin supplicatione to his ma. to obtain licens to cum to his ma. to y^t^ effect. And to schaw to y^e^ said Mr. David y^t^ q^t^ lyis in thair power to farther his hame cuming they sall do y^e^ samin w^t^ his awin advys, and to schaw him y^e^ townis commissionaris, send to his ma^r^ for his delyuerance, resauit y^e^ samin ans^r^ of his ma.

Supplicatione for Mr David Blak.

Die viii. *Maij*, 1597.

The q^lk^ day, y^e^ sessioun of Sanctandrois hes ordanit ane supplicatione to be send to y^e^ generall assemblie convenit to morne at Dundie requesting thair godlie w. to interseid to his ma. to grant licens to Mr. David Blak thair [minister] to be restorit and admittit to cum hame to this citie to use his functioun of y^e^ ministrie as he was wont to do befoir and becaus y^e^ bailzies and sum otheris of y^e^ elderis and deconis wes n^t^ present to consent heireto the sessioun ordanit Alex.

Winchester, Martyn Lumsdane, George Cristie, Robert Wᵐsoun, & Charlis Watsoun clerk to pas wᵗ yᵉ said supplicatione to thame & otheris zealous men of this citie to inquir of thame to subscryve yᵉ said supplicatione, & request for yᵉ pastor aforesaid, & for his hame cuming again.

Melville's poem on Black's death may be seen in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. p. 81—84. There are two encomiastic poems on him by Hume of Godscroft. (Lusus Poetici, p. 53—55.) "Mr. David Black minʳ of St. Andrews" obtained a decree for an "annual rent of aucht bolls victual—furth of the lands of lochschedis," which he inherited from "umqll Henry Blak burges of yᵉ bruch of Perth, father to the said complainer." (Act Buik of the Commissariot of St. Andrews, July 18, 1594.)

Note NN. p. 308

Basilicon Doron.—According to Spotswood, this work was shown to Melville in MS. and in consequence of extracts from it being laid before the Synod of Fyfe, his Majesty published it in the course of that year, 1599. (Hist. p. 457.) But this is contradicted by the account which James has himself given in his apologetic preface to the second edition, and which I have followed in the text. I have now before me a copy of the first edition, belonging to Archibald Constable, Esq. Edinburgh; and I have no doubt that it is one of the *seven* copies (perhaps the only one now existing) to which that edition was limited. Its title is, "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Devided into three Bookes Edinbvrgh; Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599." X in fours. It is beautifully printed in a large Italic letter. Prefixed to it are two sonnets, the first of which, entitled "The Dedication of the booke," is not to be found in the subsequent editions. I have seen no reason to think that it was reprinted until 1603, in the course of which year it went through three editions; all of them, probably, published after the death of Elizabeth. If this was the fact, the wonderful influence which Spotswood says it had in promoting James's accession must have been *ex post facto*. I have not seen it mentioned between 1599 and 1603. One of the seven copies might be conveyed to some of the courtiers of Elizabeth in the secret correspondence which James carried on with them during that interval; but they had other reasons than his merits as an author for favouring his title.

On comparing the first edition with the subsequent ones, I find that alterations were made on the work. For though all the charges against the Scottish preachers are retained in substance, James found it necessary to drop or soften some of his most unguarded and harsh expressions, and to give an ambiguous turn to the sentences which had created the greatest offence. For example, in the original edition (p. 8, 9,) he says: "If my conscience had not resolued me, all my religion was grounded upon the plaine words of the scripture, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of *the vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours.*" In the edition printed at London in 1603, (p. 5,) that sentence ends——"I had neuer outwardlie auowed it, for pleasure or awe of *any flesh.*"——"The reformation of religion in Scotland, *being made by a popular tumult and rebellion* (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) and not proceeding from the Princes ordour, &c." (P. 46, orig. ed.) "The reformation of Religion in Scotland, *being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a populare tumult and rebellion of such as blindly were doing the worke of God but clogged with their own passions and particular respects,*" &c. (P. 31, ed. 1603.)—"Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to *these* Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill *of Scotland;* whom (*by long experience*) *I have found,* no deserts can oblish," &c. (P. 49, orig. ed.) "Take heed therefore (my Son) to *such* Pvritans, verie pestes in the Church and common-weale, whom no deserts can oblige," &c. (P. 34, ed. 1603.) The followlng sentence of the original edition (p. 51,) was afterwards omitted: "And the first that raileth against you, punish with the rigour of the lawe; for I haue else in my days bursten them with over-much reason.' The following sentence respecting those who "meddle wᵗʰ the policie in the pulpite," is also omitted: "But snibbe sukerlie the first minteth to it: And (if he like to appeale or declyne) when ye haue taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles as the King my Grandefather said of a Priest." (P. 107, 108.) The following character of the Islanders of Scotland is dropped: "Thinke no other of them all, then as Wolues and Wild Boares." (P. 43.)

Note OO. p. 302

Writings of James Melville.— Under the year 1591, he gives the following account of what was most probably his first publication. "Then did I first put in Print some of my poesie, to wit, the description of the Spanyarts Naturall out of Julᵒ Scaliger, wᵗ sum exhortationes for warning of kirk and countrey." (Diary, p. 225.) In a short history of his life at Anstruther, prefixed to his Diary, he says: "In the year 1598 I cawsit print my Catechisme for the profit of my peiple and bestowit yʳvpon fyve hunder marks quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and lowing frind to frelie offer to me in len for yᵗ effect: of the [quhilk] I remean addettit, bot could never to my knowledge attein to a hunder marks again for the buiks." (Ib. p. 10.) This rare book was published under the following title: "A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastour to his People. Heb. 5. 12. You whom it behoooued, &c. Jam. 1. 19, 21, 22. And sa my beloued brethren, &c. [Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Maiestie, Cum Privilegio Regio."]* It is in quarto, and consists of 127 pages. On the back of the title-page are "Contents of the Buik." The *Epistle Dedicatorie* is addressed "To the Reverende Fathers and Brethren, Elders of the Congregation of Kilrinny, and haill flocke committed to their gouernement."—"Receiue Reuerende Fathers, louing brethren, and deir flock, this *Spirituall Propine:* conteining in short summe the substance of that exercise of tryall, wherewith ye are acquainted in dayly doctrine, before ye communicate at the Table of the Lorde, togidder with the grounds of the doctrine of godlinesse and saluation, contryued in a peece of not vnpleasand and verie profitable Poesie," &c. It is dated "From *Ansteruther,* the 20 day of Nouember, 1598. Your Pastor, louing and faithful be the grace of God vnto the death, James Malvill." Then follow sonnets, commendatory of the work, by M. R. D. [Mr. Robert Dury] M. I. D. [Mr. John Davidson] A. M. [Andrew Melville] M. I. I. [Mr. John Johnston] M. W. S. [Mr. William Scot] M. I. C. and M. I. C. [probably Mr. John and Mr. James Carmichael.] They are all in Scotch, except that subscribed A. M. which is in Latin, and accompanied with a translation, probably by James Melville. The first part of the work is in prose, and consists of prayers and meditations suited to different occasions, directions for self-examination, and "the forme of tryall and examination, taken of all sik as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in question and answer. The second part is in poetry, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith and Repentance: Wherein the Lords Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed." It is prefaced by a metrical dedication to "James the sext, king of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition, set to music, and entitled, "Celeusma Navticvm; The Seamans Shovte or mutuall exhortation, to ga forward in the spirituall voyage."

In giving an account of treatises against the imposition of prelacy on the Church of Scotland, Row says: "I have also seen a little poem in print, called the *Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland,* compiled by Mr James Melville, sometime Minisʳ at Anstruther and now confyned in England, 1611." (Hist. p. 311, 312.) I have not met with a copy of the printed work, but a MS. volume, communicated to me by Robert Graham, Esq. contains a poem which I have no doubt is a transcript of that to which Row refers. It is entitled, *The Blackbastall,* and consists of 93 stanzas. Prefixed to it is the date, "November, 1611."

The following stanzas form part of the exordium.

* The imprint is supplied from the title to the second part.

The air was cleart w^t^ quhyt and sable clouds,
Hard froist, w^t^ frequent schours of hail and snow,
Into y^e^ nicht the stormie vind with thouds
And balfoull billows on y^e^ sea did blaw :
Men beastis and foulls vnto thair beilds did draw ;
Fain than to find the fruct of simmer thrift,
Quhen clad with snaw was sand, wodd, crag and clift.

I satt at fyre weill guyrdit in my goun,
The starving sparrows at my window cheipid,
To reid ane quhyle I to my book was boun :
In at ane panne, the pretty progne peipped,
And moved me for fear I sould haue sleiped,
To ryse and sett ane keasment oppen wyd,
Tc sie give robein wald cum in and byde.

Puir progne, sueitlie I haue hard ye sing
Thair at my window one the simmer day ;
And now sen wintar hidder dois ye bring
I pray y^e^ enter in my hous and stay
Till it be fair, and than thous go thy way,
For trewlie thous be treated courteouslie
And nothing thralled in thy libertie.

Cum in, sueit robin, welcum verrilie,
Said I, and doun I satt me be the fyre,
Then in cums robein reibreist mirrelie
And souppis and lodgis at my harts desyre :
But one y^e^ morne I him perceaved to tyre;
For phebus schyning sueitlie him allurd.
I gaue him leif, and furth guid robein furd.

The poet betakes himself to his meditations, and sees "full cleirlie in ane visioun,"

Ane woman with ane cumlie countenance,
With ferdit face and garisch in attyre.
Ane croun of glas vpone hir heid did [glance],
Hir clothes war collourit contrair hir [desyre],
Ane heavy yock layd on hir neck and [lyre],
Of reid ane scepter in hir hand she buir :
In riche aray yit sillie, leane and puir.

Hoised up one hie upone a royal throne
Thair feirclie satt abone the woman's head
(Which held hir under feir and all undone
As presoner) ane rampand Lyon reid :
This lyon craftie foxes tua did leid :
And round about hir threttein wolves danced,
To haue the keiping of hir scheip advanced.

After the leopard, "the Lyons grit lieutenant," (the Earl of Dunbar,) has fenced the court, and a wolf, "clad in silk," has made "ane preitching all of woll and milk," the Lion (the King) is declared supreme, and at his will and pleasure the wolves (the bishops) are set over the flock; on which the captive lady breaks out into a "heavie Lamentation," which occupies the rest of the poem.

In the same MS. is another poem (of 69 stanzas) on the same subject with the preceding, evidently composed by James Melville, and entitled, "Thrie may keip counsell give twa be away ; or Eusebius, Democritus, Heraclitus." Democritus says :

I laucht to sie how lords ar maid of louns,
And how thai ar intretted in our touns.
Quher sumtyme thai war fain for to reteir thame
For rocks and stoannes of wyffis that came so near thame.
I laucht to sie thame now sett ouer the flocks
Who came to cowrt with thair auld mullis and sockis,
Quher thai war nocht regardit with ane sows
By king, by cowrt, nor any of his hous.

I laucht how Jon and George, who war most sclandrous,
Ar lords advanced of Glasgow and St Androus ;
How William, Androu, Sanders, and the laif,
By prejurie and playing of the knaif,
Ar stylit in God our fathers reuerend,
Who scarrs amongs our pastours trew war kend,
And justlie so, for now ar thai declynd
And ar becum men of contrarie mynd.

The Reverend William Blackie, minister of Yetholm, possessed a manuscript volume, which he has deposited in the Advocates Library. It consists of poems in the Scottish language by James Melville, and in the handwriting of the author. They appear to have been all written by him during his banishment. The greater part of them are expressive of his feelings on the overthrow of the liberties of the Church of Scotland, and the imprisonment and banishment of his uncle. "A Preservative from Apostacie, or the Song of Moses, the servant of God, Deut. xxxii. with short notes, translated out of Hebrew and put in metre," is dedicated "to the Church of Scotland in generall, and the people of the paroch of Kilrennie in speciall." Then follows a long sonnet, entitled, "The Wandering Sheepe, or David's Tragique Fall." The last poem in the volume is "The Reliefe of the Longing Soule : The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's, exponed by a large paraphrase of metre for memorie and aften meditatioun." Prefixed to it is a dedication : "To his lowing sister in Jesus Christ, M. Nicolas Murray, grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.—London, Novemb. 5, 1606. Y^rs^ much bound in Christ, JAMES MELVILL." The following are specimens of the poetry in this volume.

To Mr. Andrew Melvin.

O matchles Melvin, honour of our lands !
How are we grieved and gladit with thy bands !
We grieve to see sic men committ as thee,
We joy to hear how constantly thou stands
Pleading the cause of God cast in thy hands
Against this bastard brood of Bishoprie,
Whais ydle rites, pompe, pryd and graceless glore,
Justlie thou haits ; hait still, hait more and more.

Happie, thryse happie, Melvine, thoch in warde,
Men loves thy cause, God has it in regarde,
No prisone can thy libertie restraine
To speak the right, but * flatterie or but fairde,
Pure, plain, not mingled, maimed or impairde.
No brangled titles can thy honour staine,
Thy tell-truth fervent freedom wha would blame,
'Wrays but his awin fals, faint, or servile shame.

AT MR. ANDREW MELVING'S GOING TO FRANCE, APRIL 1611.

Mond à l'envers.

No marvell Scotland thow be like to tyn,
For thou hes lost thy honey and thy wine,
Thy strength, thy courage, and thy libertie,
Went all away, when as he went from thee.
In learning, upright zeall, religion trew,
He maister was, but now bid all a Dieu,
Be mute, you Scottish muses: no more verse !
But sobbing say, Le mond est à l'envers.

In the MS volume entitled, *Melvini Epistolæ*, is a translation into English verse of part of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Marcellus Palingenius : "Dedicat to the E. of D.," that is, the Earl of Dunbar. It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*. There can be no doubt of its being the work of James Melville. The MS. is in his handwriting, and on the margin is a number of variations.—His apology for the Church of Scotland does not appear to have been printed till many years after his death ; "Ad Serenissimum Jacobum Primvm Britanniarvm Monarcham, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ libellus supplex, ἀπολογητικος και ὁλοφυρτικος. Auctore Jacobo Melvino Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andreæ Melvini του παππου nepote. Londini,—1645." 8vo. In the Advocates Library are two poems in MS., "Funeral Tears," and a "Dialogue," on the death of James Melville, written by Thomas Melville," (Jac. V. 7. nos. 6, 7.) I subjoin the epitaph on him by his uncle, printed at the end of the last mentioned book, which is rare.

Epitaphium Auctoris, à Domino
Andrea Melvino conscriptum.

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat

* Without.

Charius esse usquam; quin me mihi charior ipso,
Et quicquid mihi me charius esse queat.
Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
Cum privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
Amborum mens una animo, corde una voluntas,
Corque unum in duplici corpore, et una anima.
Vna ambo vexati odiis immanibus, ambo
Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.
Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crimine ficto,
Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
Qui locus, aut quæ me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
Hic locus, hæc me eadem dividat hora mihi.
Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquas?
Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam?
An sequar usque comes? sic, sic juvat ire sub astra.
Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.
Christus ubi caput, æternam nos poscit in aulam,
Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
Æternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

Note PP. p. 356.

Writings of Andrew Melville.—I subjoin a list of his printed works.

1. "Carmen Mosis—Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ. M.D. LXXIII." 8vo. (See above, p. 229, 230.)

2. "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginæ. Per Andream Melvinum.—Edinbvrgi 1590." 4to. (See above, p. 271–72, 405.)

3. "Carmina ex Doctissimis Poetis Selecta, *inter quos, quædam Geo. Buchanani et And. Melvini inseruntur.* 1590." 8vo. (Ruddimanni Bibl. Roman. p. 71.)

4. "Principis Scoti-Britannorvm Natalia. Edinbvrgi—1594." 4to. (See above, p. 294.)

5. "Theses Theologicæ de libero arbitrio. Edinburgi, 1597." 4to. (Sibbald, de Script. Scot. p. 42.) These might be the Theses of some of his students.

6. "Scholastica Diatriba de Rebvs Divinis ad Anquirendam et inveniendam veritatem, à candidatis S. Theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. XXVI. et XXVII, Julij in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreanæ, Spiritu Sancto Præside. D. And. Melvino S. Theol. D. et illivs facultatis Decano συζητησιν moderante. Edinbvrgi, Excudeba Robertus Waldegraue Typographus Regius 1599." 4to. Pp. 16. (In Bibl. Col. Glasg.)

7. "Gathelus, seu Fragmentum de origine Gentis Scotorum." This poem was first printed along with "Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum Scotorum. Amstel. 1602."

8. "Pro supplici Evangelicorum Ministorum in Anglia—Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604." (See above, p. 313.)

9. Select Psalms turned into Latin verse, and printed (probably at London) in 1609. (See above, p. 335.)

10. "Nescimus Qvid Vesper Servs Vehat. Satyra Menippæa Vincentii Liberii Hollandii. MDCXIX." 4to. Pp. 35. Another edition was published in the year 1620. A copy of each is in the British Museum. On the back of the title is a letter, "Liberius Vincentius Hollandus Francisco de Ingenuis S. P. D." dated "Amstelodami IV. Idus Sept. Anno a Christo nato M.DC.XIX." I have not seen this work, but from extracts which have been communicated to me, it appears to be a satire partly in prose and partly in verse, and refers much to the affairs of Venice. This last circumstance, taken in connexion with Melville's advanced age, excites a suspicion that he was not the author. And yet if he was not, it is strange that it should have been so generally ascribed to him both by Scottish and foreign writers. (Barbier, Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes, tom. iii. p. 489. Charters's Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4.) It has also been ascribed to Nicholaus Crassus, a Venetian.

11. "Viri clarissimi A. Melvini Mvsæ et P. Adamsoni Vita et Palinodia et Celsæ commissionis—descriptio. Anno M.DC.XX." 4to. Pp. 67. Melville was not consulted in the publication of these poems, nor was he the author (as has often been inaccurately stated) of the tracts added to them. In the epistle to the reader, the publisher says: "quia absque eius venia; gratum illi an futurum sit hoc meum studium nescio."—"Est vir iste clarissimus omni invidia et exceptione major: virosque illustres Josephum Scaligerum, Theodorum Bezam et alios habet laudum præcones: non ideo opus est illi meo encomio. Tantum *descripsi* vitam Adamsoni," &c.—John Adamson (afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh) was employed in collecting Melville's fugitive poems, (see above, p. 418,) but whether he or Caldewood was the publisher of the *Musæ*, I cannot determine.

12. "De Adiaphoris. Scoti τυν τυχοντες Aphorismi. Anno Domini 1622." 12mo. Pp. 20. (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

13. "Andreæ Melvini Scotiæ Topographia." This poem is prefixed to the *Theatrum Scotiæ* in *Bleau's Atlas*. "'Tis Buchanan's prose turned into elegant verse;" says Bishop Nicholson. (Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 18.) In a letter to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, "ult. decemb. 1655." J. Bleau acknowledges a letter from him containing "les corrections du vers de Melvinus." (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3. 19. num. 35.)

Melville was a large contributor to a collection of poems, by Scotchmen and Zealanders, "In Obitvm Johannis Wallasii Scoto Belgæ—Ludg. Batav. 1603." 4to. There are two poems by him in John Jonston's "Sidera Veteris Ævi," p. 33; a work which was published along with his "Iambi Sacri," and his "Cantica Sacra Novi Testamenti—Salmurii 1611." He has also verses prefixed to "Comment. in Apost. Acta M. Joannis Malcolmi Scoti—Middelb. 1615." Malcolm, in his Dedication to the King, and in the body of the work (p. 264,) defends Melville with much freedom, and laments his removal from Scotland.

Among his works in manuscript are the following:

1. "D. Andreæ Melvini epistolæ Londino e turri carceris ad Jacobum Melvinum Nouocastri exulantem scriptæ, cum ejusdem Jacobi nonnullis ad eundem. Annis supra millesimū sexcentessimo octavo, nono, decimo, undecimo. Item Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Oratio Apologetica ad Regem An. 1610, mense Aprilis." This volume (which is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh) brings down the correspondence between Melville and his nephew till the end of the year 1613. It belonged to James Melville, and is partly in his hand-writing. Before his death he committed it to the care of his friend, Sir Patrick Hume of Ayton, who has inserted the following note: "Hic visū est insere (*sic*) paraliepomena quædam eiusdem et aliorū quorū κατοχαι cum libellis ipsis ipse mihi cōmendavit author paulo ante obitū. Pa Hume."

2. "Letters from Andrew Melville to **** in the United Provinces." (In Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42.) They are six in number, and were addressed to Robert Dury at Leyden.

3. "Floretum Archiepiscopale; id est, errores Pontificii assertiones temerariæ, et hyberbolicæ interpretationes." (Ibid. num. 47.) They are extracted from archbishop Adamson's academical prelections at St. Andrews, in Melville's handwriting, and subscribed by him.

4. "Paraphrasis Epistolæ ad Hebræos Andreæ Melvini." (Harl. MSS. num. 6947. 9. It is a metrical paraphrase of the whole epistle, and was most probably composed in the Tower.

5. "A Melvinus in Cap. 4. Danielis." (In Bibl. Col. S. Trinit. Dublin.) This I have not seen.

There are verses by him, in his own handwriting, among the Sempill Papers (MS. in Arch. Eccl. Scot. vol. XXVIII. num. 7;) and in a collection of Letters from Learned Men to James VI. (MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) On a blank leaf at the beginning of a copy of *Aulus Gellius* (transmitted to me by Dr. Leo) there is a poem written, with this title: "Canticum Mariæ paraphrasticos expressum, a D. Andrea Melvino Scoto." I have not seen it elsewhere. It is followed by poems of Buchanan, all of which have been published. The volume bears this inscription, among others: "Liber Magri Gulielmi Guildej. 1610."—Copies of Melville's large *Answer to Downham's Sermon* were at one time not uncommon. In enumerating the writers in defence of ruling elders, a foreign divine mentions "Ex Scotis, And. Melvinus in MS. refut. concionis Downamii." (Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 458.) It is also mentioned

Charters. (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4.) Charters says that there is a copy of a Latin commentary by him in the Library of the Students of Divinity at Edinburgh. "I have seen also in the library of the College of Glasgow, a large folio, entitled, *Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Romanos*, in small write, said to be writ by Mr. Melvil." (Wodrow's Life of Mr. Andrew Melville, p. 111.) Neither of these MSS. is now to be found. Five poems "ex Musis Andreæ Melvini, viri clarissimi et undiquaque doctissimi, are appended by Dr. Koelman of Utrecht to his Disscrtation, *De Diebus Festis*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1693.

In *Biographical Memoranda*, No. iii. p. 108, printed at Bristol in 1814, an English "Poem by A. Melvin" is given from a MS. in the possession of the editor. On inspecting that MS. I find that the poem is by George Herbert.

Besides those formerly mentioned, encomiastic verses on Melville were written by David Wedderburn, (Musæ Sacræ, tom. i. p. xlvii.) by John Dunbar, (Epigr. p. 29,) by John Leech, (Epigr. p. 86,) by James Wright, (Poemat. præf. Strangio, De Interpret. Scripturæ,) and by Leon. Moyartus, (Lachrymæ Zelandicæ in Obitum Joan. Wallasii.)

Four letters from Melville to David Hume of Godscroft are prefixed to the *Lusus Poetici* of the latter. They afford specimens of his humour as well as proofs of the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and Hume. One of them is subscribed, "*Plus fellis, quam mellis*," which shews that the play on his name, with which episcopalian epigrammatists have diverted themselves so much, was not the invention either of Dr. Duport or bishop Barlow. James Hume, the son of the poet, is the author of various works on arithmetic and mathematics. In the edition of his father's poems, published by him at Paris, in 1639, he has inserted several epigrams against Melville, with answers to them by his father. In a note to the latter, he says: "Scripsit author alia duo Epigrammata ad Melvinū; *sed, quia nimis acerba in Episcopos Anglicanos, omisimus.*" (Dav. Humii Lusus Poet. p. 114.) From this it appears that the editor was a politician as well as a mathematician.

I have a copy of Buchanan's History, with marginal notes in Melville's handwriting. In one of these, so far as I can make sense of it, (for part of it has been cut off) he traces his own descent from the royal families of Scotland and England, in the way of stating that he was sprung from Queen Jane, the wife of James I. by her second husband, Sir James Stewart, surnamed the *Black Knight*. On the title-page of the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, he has written these lines:

> Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
> Perditus ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

Did he intend this to apply to Buchanan and his royal pupil?

Note QQ. p. 358.

University of St. Andrews.—At the opening of the classes in 1411, Bishop Wardlaw, with the concurrence of James Bisset, prior of the Abbey of St. Andrews, and Thomas Stewart, archdeacon of Lothian, granted to the masters and students the privileges belonging to a university, and applied in the usual way to the pope for a confirmation of what he had done. Besides the bull founding the university, which was issued on the 27th of August, 1413, Benedict XIII. signed on the same day five other bulls securing its rights.

The university laboured under no want of teachers at its commencement. Before the papal bulls were executed, Laurence Lindores, as professor of divinity, began to read the fourth book of the Sentences. Richard Corvel, John Litstar, John Scheves, and William Stephani or Stevenson, appeared as lecturers on canon law. And John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier, taught the arts of philosophy. This is the account given by Fordun. (Scotichronicon, lib. xv. cap. 22.) Hector Boethius makes Laurence Lindores professor of laws, and Richard Corveil doctor of decretals. (Hist. Scot. lib. xvi.) Spotswood, though he refers to Boethius as his authority, gives a different statement; making Scheves, Stephen, and Lister readers in divinity, Lendors in canon law, and Cornwall in civil law. (Hist. p. 57.)

The first professors appear to have had no salaries. The revenues of the university for some time consisted chiefly of small sums received from the students at their admission and graduation; and the greater part of these was applied to the defraying of the common expenses. The classes were at first taught in such places of the city as were found most convenient. Robert de Montrose gave a house for the students of theology to meet in, which was at a subsequent period converted into the public library. And bishop Kennedy appropriated to the classes of philosophy certain buildings in the neighbourhood, which retained the name of the *Pædagogium* until it was erected into a college under the designation of St. Mary's. (Hovei Oratio.)

James I. who, in recompence of his long captivity, had received a good education in England, patronised the newly erected university after his return to Scotland. Besides confirming its privileges by a royal charter, he assembled those who had distinguished themselves by teaching, and by the progress which they had made in their studies, and after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them according to their merit with offices in the state or benefices in the church. (Fordun. Hovei Orat. Buch. Hist. p. 190. edit. Rudd.)

Note RR. p. 359.

Colleges at St. Andrews.—I shall give here some more minute facts as to each of these according to the order of time in which they were erected.

St. Salvator's College.—This college, which was founded by James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1450, received from its founder a new and more improved form in 1458. It consisted of three professors of divinity, called the provost or principal, the licentiate, and the bachelor; four masters of arts, who were also in priest's orders; and six poor scholars or clerks, making in all thirteen persons, according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour, in honour of whom the college was named. The provost was bound to read lessons in theology once a-week, the licentiate thrice a-week, and the bachelor every *readable* day: the first, to preach to the people four times, and the second, six times a-year. From the four masters of arts, two at least were to be annually chosen as regents, the one to teach logic, and the other physics and metaphysics, according to the method of the schools and the statutes of the university. The college was liberally endowed by the founder for the support of the masters and scholars; besides the altarages subsequently founded by other individuals. The provost had the rectory of Cults conferred on him, the licentiate the rectory of Kembach, and the bachelor that of Denino; parish churches in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, the revenues of which they drew, after appropriating a certain part of the emoluments to the respective vicars. The rectory of Kilmany was appropriated for the common support of the founded persons, and of the servants attached to the establishment, in victuals, &c. The strictest rules were laid down as to the behaviour of all the members, and as to the religious exercises, as well as the studies, of those who were admitted to the benefits of the institution. Young men of rank or opulence, who might choose to study in the college, and to pay for their board, were bound to obey the provost, and to submit in all things to the rules of the house equally as the bursars or poor scholars.

Bishop Kennedy was careful to have his college provided with the most able teachers. With this view he called home John Athelmer who had been educated at St. Andrews, but was then in the university of Paris, and placed him in the situation of provost or principal. To him he joined Thomas Logy, who had already filled the office of rector of the university, and James Ogilvy, as second and third masters or professors of divinity. Mr. Jo. Athelmer was presented to the "paroche church of Qhylt" (Cults) March 25, 1450. He is often mentioned as Dean of Theology. "Mr Jo. Almer, præpositus Collegii Sti Salv." occurs in the records as late as 1473. James Ogilvy seems to have been the same person, who, on account of his great learning and virtue, was designed for bishop of St. Andrews by the General Council of Basil, and who afterwards taught theology in the University of Aberdeen. (Boetii Vitæ Abredonens. Episcop. fol. xxvii. b.)

St. Leonard's College.—Adjoining to the church of St. Leonard, and within the precincts of the Abbey, was an ancient hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in pilgrimage to visit the relics of St. Andrew, being attracted by the fame of the miracles wrought by them. "The miracles and pilgrimages having ceased in process of time, as may be believed," the hospital was converted into a receptacle for aged women. But the patrons, not being satisfied with the conduct of the new objects of their charity, resolved to convert the hospital, with the adjoining church, into a College, "for training up poor scholars in learning and the arts, to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of the people." This was called the *College of St. Leonard.* The charter of foundation was executed in 1512, by John Hepburn, prior of the Abbey, and confirmed by archbishop Alexander Stewart, and by King James IV. The prior and conventual chapter were patrons of this College, and retained the power of visiting it and reforming its abuses. The teachers were always taken from the monastery. Dr. Howie, in his Oration frequently quoted, has stated that John Annand was the first principal of St. Leonard's College; and Boece has done the same. (Vit. Episc. Abred. xxvii.) But Alexander Young was principal down to 1517; Gavin Logie in 1523—1537; Thomas Cunninghame in 1538; and John Annand in 1544. (Transumptum Fundationis; and subscriptions to the Statutes in the last mentioned year.) Gavin Logie is the person known for his early partiality to the Reformation. (Life of Knox, Note 1.) Annand was probably the person who disputed with Knox at St. Andrews. (Ibid. p. 32.) This College was intended for the support and education of twenty poor scholars. The principal was appointed to read on two days of every week a lecture on the Scriptures, or on speculative theology to the priests, regents, and others who chose to attend. And by a subsequent regulation an additional salary was appointed to be given to two of the four regents, provided they chose to read, twice or thrice in the week, a lecture on the Scriptures, or on the Master of Sentences. (Papers of University.)

It was required of those who were admitted to St. Leonard's College, that, besides being of good character, acquainted with grammar, and skilled in writing, they should be sufficiently instructed in the *Gregorian song.*—"cantuque Gregoriano sufficienter instructum." (Papers of University.) The religious of the Priory of St. Andrews were always celebrated for their skill in music, and singing formed one of the regular exercises of the students. (Boetii Abredon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi.) Individuals who had belonged to it were employed in composing the music used in churches after the Reformation. (Old Music Book, MS.)

St. Mary's or New College.—There were still in the university professors and students who did not belong to either of the colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard. These continued to teach in the Pædagogium, and although they were not formed into a college, and had but slender funds. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who has been highly commended by Erasmus for his literary attainments, intended to give it a collegiate form, and with this view he not only repaired the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, which served as a place of worship to the pædagogium, but also bestowed on it the living of the church of St. Michael de Tarvet, in the neighbourhood of Cupar in Fife. In the deed of annexation it is said, that the pædagogium of the university "lay almost extinct in consequence of the deficiency of funds and of learned men;" and that the archbishop, with the consent of his chapter, had resolved to "endow and erect it into a college, to the praise of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learned men, and the salvation of the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors, the archbishops of St. Andrews, and all the faithful." The premature death of the primate, who soon after fell in the field of Flowden, appears to have defeated this annexation, and prevented the erection of the college. It was not to be expected that the pædagogium would rival colleges which were provided with extensive funds and accommodations both for master and scholars. But it continued to have regents and a principal; and several distinguished individuals, among whom were George Buchanan, received their education in it, while it remained on its original footing. Archbishop James Beaton resumed the design of his predecessor, and obtained a bull from Pope Paul III. authorising him to erect buildings for a college and chapel, under the name of the Assumption of St. Mary, in which grammar, logic, theology, medicine, and law, both canon and civil, should be taught, divine offices performed, and a collegial table provided from the rents of certain benefices which were united and annexed to the institution. The buildings which were begun on the site of the pædagogium by archbishop Beaton were carried on by his nephew and successor, the Cardinal. But the college was not finally erected until 1554, after archbishop Hamilton had obtained a papal bull from Julius III. by which he was authorised to alter at his pleasure the arrangements made by his predecessor.

By the foundation of bishop Hamilton, *St. Mary's College*, or, as it was often called, the *New College*, was provided with four principal professors, denominated the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; eight students of theology; three professors of philosophy and two of rhetoric and grammar; sixteen students of philosophy; a provisor, cook and janitor; and five vicars pensionary. The principal, besides exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of the college and presiding at the theological disputations once a-week, was to read a lecture on the sacred Scriptures, or to preach, every Monday. The licentiate was to read a lecture on the Scriptures four times, and the bachelor five times a-week. And the canonist was to lecture on canon law five times every week. It was also the duty of each of these professors to say mass at stated times. It behoved the students of divinity to be in priest's orders and initiated into theology, "so as to have answered thrice in public, and given specimen of their erudition according to the custom of the university." They were bound regularly to attend the lectures of the three theological professors, to answer publicly to the difficulties of Scripture every holyday, to say mass, and to preach thrice a-year in public. Their continuance in this situation was limited to six years; for it was expected, "that by the divine blessing, and their assiduity, they shall within this period be fit for becoming licentiates in theology, and for discharging higher offices." The three professors of philosophy were to teach logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics, at the direction of the principal; and the orator and grammarian were, at the same direction, to interpret the most useful authors in their respective faculties. And they were not to hold their places above six years, or the time during which they taught two courses, unless they received a new appointment. It behoved the students of philosophy, before their admission, to be initiated into grammar and the Latin tongue, so as to be able to express themselves properly in that language at disputations and examinations; to swear that they had no benefice or patrimony to support them, and to supplicate, for the love of God, to be admitted to the place of poor students. Each of them in order was bound to awake all the domestics at five in the morning, and furnish lights to such as wished them. The professors, regents, and students, were to wear capes after the Parisian manner; and all the scholars, including the noble and wealthy, as well as the bursars, were to wear gowns bound round them with a girdle, to which the bursars were to add a black hood. By the bull of Julius III. as well as that of Paul III. the college had the power of conferring degrees in all the faculties; and the jurisdiction over the bursars belonged to the principal, from whom an appeal lay to the archbishop and the pope, to the exclusion of the rector of the university or any other judge, even in the second instance. The college was provided with ample funds. The revenues of four parish churches, Tyninghame, Tannadice, Inchebriock, (including Craig and Perth) and Conveth or Laurence-kirk, were appointed for its support; in addition, as it would appear, to what had formerly belonged to the Pædagogium. (Fundatio et Erectio Novi Collegii.)

Some of the professors of the New College, nominated by archbishop Beaton, including the principal, had previously been teachers in the Pædagogium. The instrument of Presentation and Investure, Feb. 8. 1538, appoints "Magistrum *Robertum Bannerman*, pro theologo et primario dicti collegii de assumptione beatæ Mariæ Et pro sub-principali Magr̃m David Guynd pro Canonista Magr̃m Thomam Kynemgy pro civilista Magr̃m Johem Gledstanis Item pro regentibus artium et studentibus in theologia Magistros *Andream Kynninmond*, Johannem Forbous Wilhelmum Young et *Walterum Fethy.*" Those whose names are printed in Italics had previously been teachers in the Pædagogium.

Archbishop Hamilton, in his foundation, omitted civil law and medicine, which his predecessors had appointed to be taught. But, upon the whole, his arrangements appear to have been adapted to the means of instruction which he had in his power; and in several points they indicate a due attention to the progress which learning had made since the erection

of the two other colleges. He was equally attentive in providing the college with professors. Archibald Hay, who was made principal soon after Cardinal Beaton's death, appears to have excelled most of his countrymen at that time in learning and liberal views. During his residence in the College of Montague at Paris, he published a panegyrical oration on archbishop Beaton's advancement to the purple. It is entitled, "Ad Illustriss. Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Cœlio Cardinalem D. Dauidem Betonum—Gratulatorius Panegyricus Archibaldi Hayi. Parisiis 1540." It is in 4to. and ends on fol. lxvi. On the title-page is a motto in Greek and in Hebrew. The dedication to the Cardinal is subscribed "addictissimus *Consobrinus* vester Archibald Hayus." In the course of this work the author censures, with much freedom, the ignorance, negligence and hypocrisy of the clergy, but makes no allusion to the reformed opinions either in the way of approbation or condemnation. The most curious and valuable part of it is that in which he lays down a plan of teaching for the new college which the Cardinal was employed in organizing. It will be of far more consequence, he says, to procure teachers capable of instructing the youth in the three learned languages, than to endow a rich but illiterate college. If it should be thought proper to add teachers of Chaldee and Arabic, he would highly approve of the arrangement. "Quod si visum fuerit linguæ caldaicæ et arabicæ interpretes addere, vehementer probabo; quandoquidem cum Hebraica magna habent affinitatem, et plurima sunt illis duabus linguis scripta, quæ non parum sint habitura momenti ad rerum pulcherrimarum intelligentiam." (Fol. lix.) Though he does not propose to banish the Peripatetic philosophy from the school, yet he would wish to see the study of *the divine Plato* take the place of scholastic *argutiæ*. (Fol. lx. a.) He laments the neglect of the Roman law, and extols the science of mathematics. (Fol. lx. b. lxii. a.)

Robert Bannerman resigned the provostship, July 12, 1546, on account of his advanced age, and to allow the college to be provided "de alio quovis famoso, juniori et magis ydoneo primario seu principali." On the same day collation was given to Archibald Hay, "Clerico Sti Andreæ dioces." Oct. 1, 1547, the office was conferred "perdocto et spectabili viro Mag^ro Johanni Douglass clerico dunkelden. dioc." in consequence of the death "quond. Mag^ri Archibaldi Hay ultimi primarii."

Dr. Howie mentions the kind reception which archbishop Hamilton gave to two Englishmen, Richard Smith and Richard Marshall. (Oratio de Fundatoribus Acad. et Coll. Andreapol.) "Richardus Martialis, Alb. Theologus," was incorporated at St. Andrews in 1549. In 1550, Mr. John Douglass, being made rector for the first time, had for one of his deputies "Richardum Martialem verbi dei præconem egregium." In 1556, the same person is styled "Collegii Mariani Licentiatus."—"Doctor Richardus Smythæus, Anglus," was incorporated in 1550. In 1552, he styles himself "professor sacræ Theologiæ." Richard Martial, D. D. was of Christ Church College, of which he was made Dean in 1553. (Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. ii. col. 136, 138.) Smith was also of Oxford, and is the author of a great many controversial works against the protestants. (Wood, ut supra, vol. i. p. 333—337.) Dr. Laurence Humphrey represents him as flying into Scotland to avoid a dispute with his successor Peter Martyr: "Animosus iste Achilles, die ad disputandum constituto,—ad Divum Andream in Scotiam profugeret, ratus eum qui in hoc articulo bene latere, bene viuere." (Joannis Ivelli Vita et Mors, p. 44.) "Those of his persuasion accounted him the best schoolman of his time, and they have said that he baffled Pet. Martyr several times. Protestant writers say that he was a sophister—and that he was a goggle-eyed fellow, and very inconstant in his opinion." (Wood ut supra.) Further particulars concerning him will be found in Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 162. App. No. 54. Strype's Cranmer, p. 172.

Note SS. p. 362.

Change of Professors at St. Andrews in 1580.—It was at first proposed that St. Salvator's, or the Old College, as it was called, should be converted into the seminary for divinity, on account of the number of chaplainries founded in it, which would serve for the sustentation of the theological students. And, to make room for Melville, it had been agreed that James Martine, who was at the head of that college, should be translated, and made principal of the New College. But upon maturer deliberation, this measure was thought unadvisable. It was judged that those who were presented to the chaplainries in St. Salvator's might study theology in any college in which it was appointed to be taught. The revenues of the New College, and the number of bursars in it were greater than those of either of the other two. And there was less need for dispossessing the founded persons in it, in order to make room for those who had been elected professors of theology. (Determination anent the Old and New College, September 6, 1579; subscribed "R. Dunfermling. P. Sanctandros,") This last was the chief reason of its being preferred. The General Assembly had declared that Robert Hamilton's holding the office of provost of the New College was an impediment to him in the discharge of his duty as minister of St. Andrews, and had repeatedly enjoined him to demit the former situation. (Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 67. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 480, 564.) Archibald Hamilton, the second principal master of that college, who had long been disaffected to the constitution in church and state, had lately avowed himself a Roman Catholic, and deserted the university. His name occurs for the last time in the records of the university, Nov. 2, 1576, when he was elected one of the auditors of the quæstor's accompts. On the 6th Oct. 1574, his name was excluded from the roll of persons to be chosen as elders in St. Andrews, "because he being of befoir nominat and electit refused to accept the office of elder on him, and not to be nominat quhil he mak repentance y^foir." (Records of the Kirk Session of St. Andrews.) The place of John Hamilton, one of the regents, had also been vacated in the same way. John Hamilton, "ex gymnasio M^o," was chosen one of the examinators of the bachelors, Feb. 21, 1574. He could not, therefore, have left Scotland earlier than 1575. Lord Hailes (Sketch of the life of John Hamilton, p. 2.) says that he was in France in 1573; proceeding upon the authority of Servin, who, in 1586, says, "Il y a treze ans qu'il demeure en ceste ville." (Plaidoye de Maistre Lois Servin Advocat en Parlament, pour Maistre Jean Hamilton Escossois, p. 14. Par. 1586.) The Plaidoye was published by Hamilton himself, which shows how difficult it is to attain to accuracy in such minute circumstances. The counsel who pleaded against Hamilton alleged, "qu'il ne scait parler ne Latin ne Francois." Servin replied that his client was ready to give proof before the parliament of his knowledge of both languages. (Ibid. p. 59, 109.) The pleading related to the cure of St. Cosme and St. Damian, to which Hamilton had been presented by the university, and contains some curious matter as to the constitution of universities and the privileges of the Scots in France.—The professors of law and mathematics in St. Mary's College were transferred to St. Salvator's. And such of the regents as were displaced were allowed to remain, if they chose, as bursars of theology.

When this reformation was made on the university, Patrick Adamson, as archbishop St. Andrews, held the honorary office of Chancellor. James Wilkie was Rector of the university, and Principal of the College of St. Leonard, in which he had taught for more than thirty years.* James Martine was Principal of St. Salvator's College, which place John Rutherfurd, shortly before his death, had resigned to him.† Though he had never left the college in which he received his education, the literary attainments of Martine were respectable, and he continued to discharge the duties of his office with credit to himself for nearly half a century. (Baronii Orat. Funeb. pro M. Jacobo Martinio.) William Skene was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Conservator of the Privileges of the University.

Note TT. p. 363.

New Foundation of King's College, Aberdeen.— It ap-

* In the Library of St. Andrews, there are Greek books which belonged to James Wilkie, containing MS. notes, from which Dr. Lee is induced to think that he was acquainted with that language. There is the same evidence as to the literary acquirements of John Rutherfurd, William Ramsay, John Duncanson, and Robert Wilkie.

† On the 26th September, 1577, "Johne Rutherfurd, younger son lawful to ane venerabill man, Mr Johne Rutherfurd, Rector of the university of St And^s —with express consent and assent of the said Mr Johne his father," signed a letter of factory to the half of the teind sheaves of Quilts: "præsentibus Mro Jacobo Martine *præposito* dicti Collegii." &c. On the 18th December, 1577, "Christiane Forsyth, relict and executrix of umqll Mr. Johne Rutherfurd, sumtyme provost of St. Salvator's College, and rector of the university of St. And^s, delivered certain wreitts and evidentis," &c. Rutherfurd must, therefore, have died in the interval between the 26th September and the 18th December, 1577. (Papers of University.)

points a principal, sub-principal, three regents, and a teacher of grammar. The latter is thus described: "Volumus præceptorem grammaticæ virum esse bonum et doctum et apprime versatum in Latina et Græca literatura, cum carmine quam soluta oratione." The first regent was to teach Greek; the second the precepts of invention, disposition, and elocution, in as easy a method as possible; and the third the rudiments of arithmetic and geometry. The sub-principal was to teach physiology, the history of animals as chiefly necessary, geography and astrology, general cosmography, and the reckoning of time, "which throws great light on other arts and the knowledge of history;" and towards the end of his course he was to initiate the students into the principles of the holy tongue. The principal was alternately to lecture on theology, and explain the Hebrew language; and he is thus described; "Is in sacris literis probe institutus, ad aperienda fidei mysteria et reconditos divini verbi thesauros, idoneus linguarum etiam gnarus et peritus sit oportet, inprimis vero Hebraicæ et Syriacæ, cujus professorem esse instituimus; linguam enim sacram, ut par est, promoveri inter subditos nostros cupimus, ut scripturarum fontes et mysteria rectius aperiantur." The teachers were appointed to confine themselves to their own branches. "Quatuor autem hos regentes noluimus (prout in regni nostri Academiis olim mos fuit) novas professiones quotannis immutare, quo facto fuit ut dum multa profiterentur, in paucis periti invenirentur; verum voluimus ut in eadem professione se exerceant," &c. (Nova Fundatio, Jacobo 6to rege.)

This foundation is contained in a Royal Charter, the copy of which now before me is without date. But in the description of the donation made to the College by King James VI. it agrees with the act of parliament in 1617, entitled, "Ratificatioun to the Old Colledge off Abirdene." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 576.)

The following are some of the steps taken respecting this new erection. In April, 1583, George, Earl Marischal, Robert, Commendator of Deir, and certain brethren who had charge of the King's Majesty's Commission, presented a petition to the General Assembly, desiring them to visit the College of Aberdeen to take trial of the travels they have taken in the said matter, and "to depute some persons to take trial of the members thereof, that they be sufficient and qualified and *conforme to the new erectione*." To this the Assembly agreed, and ordained Mr. James Lawson, Mr. Andrew Melville, and Mr. Nicol Dalgleish, "to consider the proceedings of the said commissioners touching the said erection, and if they find the same allowable and weel done, to give their testimony and approbation thereof to be presented to the Erle Marshal, that his Lo. may travel for the King's M. confirmation thereof." (Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 236, 237.) Nothing having been done in the affair, the Assembly which met in October that year renewed the appointment of the committee. (Ib. p. 268.) It appears from the following letter, that this measure met with opposition from the crown.

"Chancellor, Rector, and other members of our College of Abd. we greit yow weill. We are surelie informed that at this last gnall assemblie it was desyrit by some persones that Mr. Alex^r Arbuthnot, Princ^ll of our said College, sould transport himself to St. Andrews, and be minister thairof q^r through our said College sall be heavilie damnifiet, and the foundatione thairof prejudged. As also it is meanit they intend to pervert the ordour of the foundatione established be our progenitors and estaites of our realme. Quhairfore we will and comand you to observe and keipe the heides of your fundatione, and in no wayes to hurt the funds, ay and q^ll the estaites be convenit to ane Parliament. At q^lk tyme we will cause see q^t is to be reformit thairin. And this ye do upone your obedience as ye will ans^r unto us therupone notwithstanding any ordour taken pntlie or to be taken thairin in any sort thair anent, and keep this our l^re for your warrand. Thus comittes you to God. At halyruidhous, 25 May, 1583. Et sic subs.

"James Rex."

In 1581, Parliament appointed a commission to "treate and conclude on certane articles;" one of which was "Reformatioun of the college of Abirdene." (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 214.) In 1584, the new foundation was presented by the professors to parliament, and at their request a commission was appointed to consider it. (Ib. p. 355.) In 1597, Parliament passed the following act: "Oure Souerane Lord with aduyse and consent of the estaittis of this present parliament, Ratifeis [and] apprevis the new foundation of his ma^teis colledge of auld abirdene to be reveist be his hienes comissioneris appointit to that effect, viz. Mr. Johne lyndesay of balcarhous his ma^teis secretar, Mr. James Elphingstoun of barntoun ane of the senators of his hienes colledge of Justice and Mr. dauid Cunynghame bischop of abirdene in all and sindrie pointis priviledgis liberteis Immunitcis clausis and circumstances y^rof quhatsumeuir eftir the forme and tenno^r of the samyn. And ordanis his ma^teis clerk of reg^r to ressaue the said fundatioun and to extend ane act of parliament thairvpoun in the maire forme with extensioun of all claussis neidful. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 153.)

The question as to the legality of the New Foundation was warmly disputed in the College, between the years 1634 and 1638. The greater part of the professors, with Dr. Arthur Jonston, the Rector, at their head, maintained the affirmative, in opposition to the professors of canon law and medicine. On the 7th of October, 1637, a royal letter was issued for visiting King's College, and "establishing the new foundation by James VI.," but, in consequence of the representations of "the mediciner and canonist," this visitation was not held, and a new commission was given in the following year, appointing the visitors to proceed "according to the old foundation." At this visitation (April 1638,) the Rector and his friends pleaded that the original deed of new foundation, subscribed by the King, privy council, bishop, and members of the college, had been secretly destroyed and burnt sixteen years ago, which they offered to prove presently; and that the act of parliament quoted above was a valid ratification of it. This was denied by the other party, who pleaded that, in an action before the Court of Session in March, 1636, the Lords had found that the act of Parliament could "make no faith," forasmuch as "the alledgit fundation wes nevir revised, reported, nor ratified in Parliament." And with respect to "the copie of the act of counsall alledgit subscribed be his Ma^tie at Abirdeine, 1592," they argued that it was "ane tyme of greyt trouble and confusione in this land, and wes done sine causa cognitionis et partibus non auditis, if ever it wes done." (Papers of Visitation; and Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 439—442.)

Note UU. p. 363.

Grammar School of Glasgow.—In the statutes of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, confirmed in the fourteenth century, it is declared: "Cancellarii officium est in scolis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare et terminare." (Chartul. Glascuens. tom. i. p. 549; in Bibl. Coll. Glasg.) In 1494, Mr. Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, brought a complaint before the Bishop, (Robert Blacader) against M. D. D. Dwne, a priest of the diocese, for teaching scholars in grammar, and children in inferior branches by himself apart, openly and publicly, ("per se ac separatim palam et manifeste,") in the said city, without the allowance and in opposition to the will of the Chancellor. Wan pleaded, that, by statute and immemorial usage, he had the power of appointing and deposing the master of the grammar-school, and of licensing or prohibiting all teachers of youth in Glasgow.——"instituend. et destituend. magr^um scolæ grammaticalis civitatis glasguensis, curamque et regimen dictæ scolæ ac magisterium ejusdem habend. sic *quæ quod absque illius* (*sic*) magⁿ martini cancellarii prænominati ac cancellarii dictæ ecclesiæ pro tempore existentis, nulli liceat scolam grammaticalem tenere, scholaresque in grammatica aut juvenes in puerilibus per se clam aut palam infra prædictam civitatem seu universitatem instruere et docere." The bishop having heard the parties, considered the productions, and examined witnesses, decided, with the advice of his chapter, and of the rector and clerks of the university, in favour of the Chancellor, and prohibited Dwne from all teaching or instructing of youth or scholars, without license specially sought and obtained from the said Mr. Martin, or the Chancellor for the time being. (Cartul. Glasg. tom. ii. p. 939.)

It appears from this that there was a grammar-school in Glasgow long before the year 1494. In the sixteenth century the situation of master of it was highly respectable. Among the *non-regentes* nominated to elect the rector, or to examine the graduates, the records of the university mention, in 1523 and in 1525, "Matthæus Reid magⁿ scolæ grammaticalis;" in 1549 and 1551, "Mag. Alex^r Crawfurd mag. scolæ grammaticalis;" and in 1555, "Archibald^r Crawfurd præceptor schol. gram."

At what time Thomas Jack became master, I have not

learned. The following is the title of his book: "Onomasticon Poeticvm siue Propriorvm Qvibvs in svis Monvmentis vsi svnt veteres Poetæ, Brevis Descriptio Poetica, Thoma Jacchæo Caledonio Avthore. Edinbvrgi Excvdebant Robertus Waldegraue, Typographus Regiæ Maiestatis. 1592. Cum Privilegio Regali." 4to Pp. 150. It is dedicated to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, who had been educated under Jack, along with John Graham, a younger son of the Marquis of Montrose. The dedication is dated "Ex *Sylva*, vulgo dicta, *Orientati*," i. e. Eastwood. Prefixed and subjoined to the work are a recommendatory letter by Hadr. Damman A. Bistorvelt, and encomiastic verses by the same individual, by Robert Rollock, Hercules Rollock, Patrick Sharp, Andrew Melville, and Thomas Craig. From the verses of Robert Rollock, it appears that he had been the scholar of Jack, whom he calls "præceptor ille olim meus Jacchæus." After mentioning that he left the school of Glasgow "a. d. v. Kal. Sept. 1574," Jack goes on to say: Eo ipso anno, *mense Nouembri*, non sine singulari numinis providentia, suæ gentis decus, et pietatis et eruditionis nomine, *Andreas Melvinus* Glascuam venit, qui gymnasio præcesset, quem haud dubie in summum suæ Ecclesiæ et Reipub. Scoticanæ commodum eo miserat Deus. Ille, versibus meis perlectis, me instanter urgere non destitit, ut operis frontem ad umbilicum perducerem." Having mentioned the revisal of his work by Buchanan, (See Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, p. 238, 2d edit.) Jack adds: "Ad *Buchanani* curam accessit et *Andreæ Melvini, Roberti Pontani*, et *Hadriani Dammanis* opera, quibus eo nomine me devinctissimum confiteor." (Onomasticon Poeticum, Dedic. Epist.) In 1577, "Thomas Jackæus" was "Quæstor Academiæ." (Annales Collegii Fac. Art. Glasg.)—Feb. 4, 1578, "Mr. Thomas Jack vicar of eistwod" signs, as a witness, a tack granted by the College to John Buchanan of Ballagan. (Ibid.) "Mr. Thomas Jack, minister of Rutherglen, was among those who opposed the election of Montgomery to be archbishop of Glasgow. (Records of Privy Council, April 12, 1582.) "Tho. Jack" was a member of the General Assembly, Aug. 1590. (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 158, b.) He is mentioned as a minister within the bounds of the Presbytery of Paisley, in May 1593. (Record of the Presb. of Glasgow.) And he died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umqhill Mr. Thomas Jak minr at Eastwod." She leaves a legacy to "James Scharp, her oy, sone to Mr. Patrick Scharp," and constitutes "Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, her oy," her only executor and intromitter. (Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh, Aug. 1. 1608.) In the dedication of his *Onomasticon*, Jack says, "*Gabrielem Maxvellum*, nepotem meum, qui mihi unici filii loco est, ingravescente hac nostra ætate, tuo commendo patrocinio."—Gabriel Maxwell was a minister in the presbytery of Paisley, 18th March, 1594. (Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.) And he is mentioned as "Regens et Magister A° 1605," in a List of the Masters of the College of Glasgow. (MS. by Principal Dunlop, in Advocates Library.)

Note VV. p. 364.

Early State of High School of Edinburgh.—This school had the same dependance on the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, which that of Glasgow had on the cathedral church. This is established by a very curious document, a royal charter by James V. dated March 21, 1529, "Henrico Henrison super officio Magisterii Eruditionis in Schola Grammaticalis de Edinburgh." It ratifies and embodies a donation by George Bishop of Dunkeld, as Abbot of Holyroodhouse, with consent of the convent of that monastery. This donation bears, that "our Louit Clark and Oratour Maister Dauid Vocat principale Maister and Techour of our Grammar scule of the burgh of Edinburgh has chosin his louit friende and discipill Maister Hary Henrisoun to be Comaister with him into the said skule," and to succeed to him after his disease; "And because we the saidis Abbot and Couent understandis ye said Maister Hary is abil and sufficientlie qualyfyit therto, has made under him gude and perite scolaris now laitlie y tym that he was Maister of our scule within our burgh of y Canongate, Heirfor we, &c. ratifyis and approuis y said admissioune of y said Maister Hary to be Commaister," &c. and gives and grants him "pouir and licence to be principale maister of ye said Grammar skule after ye said Maister Dauid decoise—wit all and syndrie profitis, &c. and dischairgis all utheris of ony teching of Gramar Skules within ye said Burgh, except ye teching and lering of Lectouris allenerally under ye pauys contenit in ye Papis Bullis, grantit to vs yerupon. And we with (will?) ye said Maister Hary Henrysoun heirfore be ane gude, trew and thankful servitour to ws and our Successouris enduring his lyftyme, and to be at hie solempne festiual tymes with ws and our successouris at ye mess and ewin sang with his surplis wpoun him to doe ws seruice ye tyme yat we sall doe diwine seruice within our said abbey as efferis.———ye ferd daye of Septemb. ye yeir of God 1524 yeiris." (Ex Diplomatum Collectione MS. vol. ii. p. 350; in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 4. 23.)

During the disputes between the magistrates and Mr. William Robertson, the right of the Abbot is always taken for granted. April 8, 1562, the town-council agree to write to Lord James to deal with Lord Robert, (Abbot of Holyroodhouse.) for removing Mr. W. Robertson from the grammar-school, for granting the office of master "to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as yai can find maist abill yrfore and for vphalding and sustening ye sd m. & doctouris, *as alsua of yr regentis of ane callage to be biggit wtin yis burgh.*" (Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 26.) April 11, 1562, Mr. William Robertson produced "ane gyft grantit be abbot cairneros to vmqle Sr Jhone allane." (Ib. f. 27.) He afterwards produced a gift to himself "be presentation of the abbat of halierudhouse —of ye dait ye x day of Januar. 1m vc xlvi yers," to which it was objected by the procurator of the town, (Oct. 3, 1562.) that it ought to have had the seal of the convent and the subscription of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, administrator and governor of the Abbot of Holyroodhouse, who was then a minor under fourteen years of age. "The provost, &c. sittand in jugemet as iugeis ordineris to the porsoun of Mr. Williame Robertsoun, haifand consent of Robert commendator of halierudhous—findis ye said Mr. W. vnhabill to exerce ye said office of scholemaister within ye said burt & yairfore decerns him to remove," &c. (Reg. ut sup. ff. 44, 45.) This is a very curious minute. Robertson continued to defend his right, and on the 6th of May, 1565, the Queen interposed her authority in his favour. (Ib. ff. 128, 129.) On the 6th of March, 1562, the council "ordainis ane writing to be maid in maist effectuous manner to Mr. James Quhite scottisman in london—to accept upon him y mastership of ye hie gramer scole, and becaus yai ar surelie informit [he] hes greit proffit be his scole in londone, and yt he is ane man of excellent lerning baith in lating & greik ordanis ane yearlie pensioun to be given to him of iiijxxli (fourscore pounds) of yr readaest of yair comoun gude, besyde and abone ye profet yt he sall haue of ye bairnis." (Ib. f. 60.) July 28, 1568, the treasurer is appointed to ride to St. Andrews "for Mr. Thomas buchquhanane to be Maist. of yair hie scole." (Ib. f. 220.) He entered to the school on the 11th of February following, and appears to have left it about July, 1570. (Ib. ff. 294, 260.) It would seem that he acted as assistant to his uncle during his residence at Stirling. For a pension of £100 was given to "Mr. Thomas buchannane Maister of ye grammar scole of Striucling, quha hes bene in the nowmber of his hienes houshald" and has bruiked the pension, "thir diuers years bygane. —Penult. Aug. 1578." (Reg. of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 2.)

It appears, from the gift to Henry Henryson, that in 1525 there was a grammar school in the Canongate, distinct from that of Edinburgh, and that both were originally under the patronage of the abbots of Holyroodhouse. In 1580, "The baillies counsall and Kirk of the burt of the canongait" entered a complaint before the Privy Council, in which they stated that they have "bene euir cairful according to thair duties that thair youth sould haue bene instructit and brot vp in the knowledge of god and gude lres And thairfoir hes had grammer sculis ane or ma And that not onlie sen reformatioun of religioun bot also in tyme of papistrie & past memorie of man, Quhill that Mr William Robertsoun sculemaster of Edinburt be sum solistatioun purchest of his hienes in the moneth of October last the confirmatioun of ane papisticall gift gotten in tyme of blindnes at the abbot of halieruidhous then being in minority without consent of the convent And be the same hes stoppit and dischargit their sculis be the space of ane quartir of ane yeir or mair last bipast throw the qlk thair haill infantes and children are dispersit, &c.———The lordis of secreit counsall ffindis thameselfis not to be judges competent to the said nater and thairfoir remittis the samen to be decydit befoir the judges competent thairto as accordis." (Record of Privy Council, 9th Sept. 1580.)

Note WW. p. 365.

Of Alexander Syme.—The following grant to Alexander Syme furnishes a curious notice as to the teaching of law in Scotland: "Marie be y^e^ grace of god quene of Scottis &c Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to oure derrest moder Marie quene drowriare and regent of oure realme that y^e^ want and laik of cunning men, raritie and skarsiness of thame to teche and reid within our realme hes bene y^e^ occasioun of y^e^ decay of knawlege and science, within y^e^ samin swa yat yir mony zeris bigane yair hes bene few yat applyit yame or gaif yair studie to obtene letters And yat florischeing of letters knawlege and science nocht allanerlie to y^e^ plesure of ws and our successouris, and to oure and yair perpetuale honour and fame Bot also to the greit decoring of y^e^ countrie and vntellable proffeit of oure liegis quhilk sall follow yairvpoun, gif be authorising of cunning men all liberall sciences beis frielie techit floriss and incress, and We vnderstanding that oure weilbelovite clerk maister Alex. Sym hes spendit his haill youtheid past in vertew and science, and having experience of him yat he is habill to reid, instruct, and teiche Thairfor &c" grants him a pension of 100 lib. Scots, during the Queen's pleasure—"To y^e^ effect yat he sall await upoun our said derrest moder, and be hir Lectoure and reidare in y^e^ lawis or ony vtheris sciencis, at oure burl of Edr or quhair he salbe requirit be our said derrest moder yairto. And alsua to gife all vtheris young mene of fresche and quyk Ingynis occasioun to apply yair hale myndis to studie for like reward to be hade of ws in tyme cuming, &c. At Ed. Feb. 5, 1555." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxviii. fol. 10.)

In 1562, Mr Alexander Sym was appointed one of the examinators of the master of the High School of Edinburgh, "in grammar, greik, and latein." The following is a list of these "men cuning and experte in the saidis sciencis," who may be presumed to have been the most distinguished for learning in the country: "Maisters George baquhannane, George Hay, Alexander Sym, David Colass, Johnne craig minister of halierudhous, James panter, James Kinpont, Clement litill, Johnne henderson, & Johnne Spottiswood superintendant of Lothian." (Register of Town Council, Oct. 3, 1562.) In 1567, Mr. Alex. Sym was appointed one of the procurators for the Church. (Cald. ii. 81.) He was alive in 1573, when he was appointed procurator, along with Edwart Henderson, for the College of St. Leonard before the Lords of Counsel. (Pap. of Univ. of St. Andrews.)

Note XX. p. 365.

Of Henry Henryson.—Henryson's first work was a translation of a treatise of Plutarch: "Plutarchi Septem Sapientvm Convivivm," published in "Moralivm Opvscvlorvm Plutarchi Tomus Tertivs—apvd Graphivm. Lvgdvni 1551." 12mo. The Dedication is inscribed "D Hvldrico Fuggero Edvardvs Henriso S. P. D." A copy of this book, belonging to the University of St. Andrews, has on the title-page the author's autograph, "Edward Henryson," with a number of corrections of errors of the press by the same pen. This book has also the autograph of "G. Hay rvthwen."*

In 1555, Henryson published a defence of Baro against Govea, on the subject of the distinction between magistratical and judicial authority. "Edvardi Henrysonis Pro Eg. Barone adversus A. Govcanvm de Jurisdictione Libri II. Parisiis 1555." 8vo. fol. 80. The Dedication "Ad Huldrichum Fuggerum Kirchbergi & Vveissenhorniæ dominum," is dated "Biturigibus quarto nonas Octob. An. do. M. D. LIV." He informs Fugger that he had planned the work in his house—"in Michausa tua," and that he considered all his literary labours as due to him in virtue of the pension which he had from him—"tibi tui stipendij iure debentur." A copy of this work in the Advocates Library has the following inscription in the author's handwriting: "D. Joanni Henrysoni Eduard Henryson author amoris ergo D. D. postridie Calend. No. 1555."

This work, as well as Henryson's Commentary on the title of the Institutes *de Testamentis*, was republished by Meerman: Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici, tom. iii. Meerman says the *Comment. de Testamentis ordinandis*, was printed at Paris, 1556, in 8vo. In the dedication of it to Michael d'Hopital, dated from Bourges, "7 Cal. Jul. 1555," Henryson says, that the second year of his teaching Civil Law in that place was then running. His name, however, does not occur in two published lists of the professors of that university. (Meerman, Nov. Thes. tom. iii. Præfat. p. vii.)

The following note is written on a blank leaf of *Arriani Epictetvs*, Gr. in the Library of Edinburgh College. (A. T. a. 10.) It is in the handwriting of Henryson's son. "Fuit hic Doctoris Eduardi henrysonis liber E quo transtulit in linguam latinam Epicteti Enchiridium et arriani Commentarios de Epicteti dissertationibus in Ædibus Reuerendissimi viri Henrici Sancto Claro tum decani Glasguensis postea Episcopi Rossensis Eduardi Mæcenatis Anno 52 post Millesimum Quingentissimum. Antequam in publicum prodierunt Jacobi Scheggii Eruditissimi Et Hieronymi volphii Ælingensis Interpretis optimi Eruditæ Et doctæ conuersiones. Mentionem facit Volphius Interpretationis Thomæ Naogeorgii quam non videre mihi contigit licet sedulo perquisierim. Cur autem pater suam versionem Henrico Sanclaro dicatam non Ediderit Secuta Luctuosissima illi Mæcenatis mors Et typographorum Apud nos penuria Et Statim postea tantorum virorum lucubrationes Editæ in Gallia fuere." Some of the statements in this note are at least dubious. Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, did not die until Jan. 2, 1565. The translation of Arrian by Scheggius was published in 1554. Henryson was with Fugger in 1551; and it is not very probable that he was in Scotland during the following year.—Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 350.) mentions a translation of another work of Plutarch by Henryson: "Plutarchi Commentarium Stoicorum Contrarioru. Lugduni, 1555."

In 1563, "Maisteris James Balfour persoun flisk, Ed. henrysoun, Clement littill aduocatis and robert Maitland," were established Commissaries of Edinburgh: Balfour had 400 merks, and the rest 300 merks each, for their "feis yierlie." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxii. fol. 79.) Henryson is known as the editor of the Scots Acts of Parliament, which appeared in 1566. His name occurs in a list of advocates, May 22, 1585. (Papers of Hospital of Perth.) He was dead before March 10, 1591. (Inq. Retorn. *Edinburgh*, num. 1414.) Several particulars as to his family are mentioned in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 198. And his talents and his patronage of science are celebrated by John Rutherfurd. (De Arte Disserendi, Præfat.)

Note YY. p. 367.

Of Archbishop Adamson.—Dr. Mackenzie is offended at the presbyterian historians for asserting that the Archbishop's name was *Patrick Constance*, and that he was a minister of the church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. (Lives, iii. 365.) That he was called *Conslyne, Constance*, or *Constantine*, is most unquestionable. Recommendatory verses by James Lawson and Robert Pont are prefixed to "Catechismvs Latino Carmine redditus—Patricii Adamsoni Scoti poetæ elegantissimi opera—Lekprevik, 1581."* In his verses Pont says:

Vidit Patricivis cum Constantinus opellæ
Admouitque manum noster Adamsonivs.

The following is the title-page of the first edition of one of Adamson's earliest works:* "De Papistarvm Svperstiosis Ineptiis Patricij Adamsonij. Alias Constantini carmen. Matth. 15. Omnis plantatio &c. Impressum Edinburgi per Robertum Lekprewick. Anno 1564." (In Bibl. Coll. Edin.) Wilson, perhaps thinking the *alias* discreditable to his father-in-law, omitted the second name in his edition. It is unnecessary to produce other proofs. If any of the Presbyterian historians have asserted that the archbishop changed his name, they are mistaken; for he inherited both designations from his ancestors. Dionysius Adamson or Constantine was Town Clerk of Perth toward the close of the fifteenth century. He is mentioned in thirteen charters from 1491 to 1500, and is sometimes called *Adamson* and sometimes *Constantine*. (Extracts from Registers of Births, &c. in Perth, by the Rev. James Scott; now in the Library of the Advocates.) The writer of *Vita P. Adamsoni*, subjoined to *Melvini Musæ*, p. 45.) says the

* George Hay, sometimes called parson of Ruthven, and at other times parson of Eddilston, was a brother of Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, who filled, for many years, the office of Rector of the University of Glasgow. (Cald. ii. 618, 619.) An account of his Answer to the Abbot of Crossraguel has been given elsewhere. (Life of Knox, ii. 131. 416.) In April, 1576, "Certane brether appointit to oversie the booke wrytin be Mr. George Hay contra Tyrie." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 65.)

* This work was first printed at St. Andrews in 1573. (Melville's Diary, p. 27, 28.) Charters mentions both editions, (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 2,) as does also Sibbald. (De Script. Scot. p. 24.) In his dedication of it to the young king, the author informs James, that he had composed it with the view of assisting in his education.

bishop was the son of Patrick Constan, a baker. Mr. Scott says that Patrick Adamson or Constantine, who was a magistrate of Perth in 1541, and died Oct. 23, 1570, had a daughter named Violet, and three sons, Patrick, Henry, and James. Violet married Andrew Simson, master of the grammar school of Perth. Patrick became archbishop of St. Andrews. Henry was killed on the street of Perth, April 16, 1558. James held the office of provost of Perth from 1609 to 1611, and was the father of Mr. Henry Adamson, the author of the poem entitled *Gall's Gabions*. (Extracts from Registers, ut supra.)

In 1558, "Patricius Constyne," of St. Mary's College, was laureated. (Rec. of Univ. of S. And.) In 1560, "Mr. Patrik Coustone" (Constone) was declared by the General Assembly qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith's Hist. p. 498.) Dec. 1562, "Mr. Patrik Couston (*Constance*, Buik. of Univ. Kirk,) if he be not chosen, for St. Johnston, for Aberdeen." (Keith, 519.) June, 1564, "Mr. Patrick Constance minister of Syres desyreing the licence to pass to france and vther countreyes for augmenting of his knowledge for a tyme, The hail assemblie in ane voice dissentit yfra." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 11.) "Accingenti se ad iter vir Dei Johannes Cnoxus maledixit, quod tam ampla messe et tanta operariorum penuria gregrem deseruisset, ut ea quæ sunt mundi quæreret." (Melvini Musæ, &c. p. 45.)

The presbyterian writers say, that Adamson, on his return to Scotland, betook himself a second time to the ministry, and that, being disappointed of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, he preached a sermon, about the time of Douglas's consecration to that See, in which he told the people, "There are three sorts of Bishops; My Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery: my Lord's Bishop is now. when my Lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure: and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel." Dr. Mackenzie summarily rejects this statement, as inconsistent with Adamson's account of himself, "that he was then at Bruges (Bourges) in France, nor did he return to Scotland till the year 1573." (Lives, iii. 365, 366.) The writer of the life of Adamson in the Biographia Britannica adopts Mackenzie's statement, but blames him for not exposing more particularly the anachronisms of which the presbyterian writers have been guilty; and having referred to dates and authorities "to put this matter out of dispute," he concludes that the whole is a scandalous story fabricated by men who were induced by "great spleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the kirk were the objects of their invective." (Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 39, 2d. edit.) But it has happened to this writer as to those who contradict others on a subject on which they are themselves superficially informed. For, in the *first* place, Bannatyne, who was on the spot, has recorded in his *Journal*, (p. 323,) that "Mr. Patrik Cousting (Consting) preached" at St. Andrews on the Friday before Douglas's consecration; and James Melville says that he heard the sermon, and has given the words used by the preacher, as quoted above. (Diary, p. 27.) In the *second* place, in spite of the averments and presumptions of the writers referred to, it is unquestionable that Adamson had left France, and was in Scotland, when Douglas was appointed to the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, and even before the death of Hamilton, the former incumbent. Archbishop Hamilton was executed April 1, 1571; and Douglas was elected to the bishopric on the 6th, and consecrated on the 10th day of February, 1672. Now, Mr. Patrick Adamson presented a petition to the General Assembly, which met on the 6th of March, 1572, "requesting them to ratify his pension of 500 merks out of the parsonage of Glasgow, because he was willing to serve in the ministry." (Cald. ii. 343.) "The Assembly (Aº 1571,) brotherly required Mr. Patrick Adamson to enter again into the ministry." He answered that he would advise till next Assembly. (Ibid. ii. 226.) "In the tenth Session (of the Assembly which met March 1, 1570.) Mr. Patrick Adamson shewing that he was appointed by advice of the brethren then convened at Edinr to await on Court, and preach to my Lord Regent's Grace, and for that purpose was modified to him 500 merks be year, and had served three months upon his own expences: therefore requested the brethren to appoint when he should receive payment of his stipend pro rato, wch was done." (Ib. ii. 165.) But the following document puts the matter beyond all doubt. "Gift of anc yeirly pensioun of the soume of fyve hundeth merkis money of this realme—to Maister Patrik Adamsoun—from the personage of Glasgow &c. 25 day of August 1570." (Register of Benefices disponit sen the entres of the Noble and Michtie lord Matthew erle of levinax, lord dernelie, to the office of Regentrie, fol. 2.)

These authorities would have outweighed the testimony of Adamson himself, though he had asserted the contrary. But he has done no such thing. His words are: "Scripsi quidem in Gallia in ipso belli furore" (Dedic. in Catechis.); meaning the civil war which raged in 1567 and 1568. Misunderstanding this, his son-in-law has said, "dum Martyrii *Parisiensis* rabiis conflagraret;" and Thomas Murray, proceeding on this mistake, adds, "in medio belli civilis quo Gallia *anno* 1572 conflagrauit, incendio." (Præfat. et Carm. ante Jobum.) In this way carelessness creates blunders, and blunders, acting on prejudice and spleen, produce calumny. I have entered into this examination, not on account of the importance of the facts to which it immediately relates, (although truth is preferable to error in all things,) but because it affords a specimen of the ease with which the common charges of falsification which writers of a certain description have brought against Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and other presbyterian historians, may be refuted.

It would seem that Adamson had some connexion with the University of St. Andrews, while he was minister of Ceres. At least, the preface to his poem, *De Papistarum Ineptiis*, is dated, "Sanctiandreæ 4. calendas Septembris. Anno 1564. Ex pædagogio." Among the works ascribed to him is a eucharistical poem to Queen Elizabeth for the liberation of Scotland from civil war. (Graii Oratio de Illustr. Scot. Script. p. xxxii. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i. Charters. Sibbald.) He was probably the author of the Latin translation of the Scots Confession of Faith, published by Lekprevik, "Andreapoli Anno Do. M.D.LXXII." Subjoined to it are a specimen of his paraphrase of Job, and an epitaph by him on Walter Mill the martyr. This is the epitaph inserted in Spotswood's History, p. 97. Among the Cottonian MSS, are two epitaphs "per Patriciu Constantinu Scotum;" one on bishop Jewel, and another on the Duke of Guise. (Calig. B. 5. 58.)

Note ZZ. p. 368.

Of John Davidson, Principal of the College of Glasgow.—Charters, in his account of Scottish divines, and Wodrow, in his Life of John Davidson, has confounded the Principal with the person who is the subject of the succeeding note.* The latter (who became minister of Libberton, preached for some time in Edinburgh, and died minister of Prestonpans,) was a student of St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. The former had been at the head of the College of Glasgow many years before that period. "Die xxiv° octobris anno 1556. Incorporati sub præscripto Rectore—Magr Joannes Dauidson vicarius de alness." The same year he was chosen one of the four intrants for electing the Rector. And on the 25th of Oct. 1557, he is styled "principalis regens pedagogii Glasguen." (Annal. Univ. Glas.) In 1559, "Mag. Johanes Dauidsoun principalis regens pedagogii seu universitatis Glasguen" signs two deeds relating to the college rents; and in 1560 another is subscribed by "Mr. Johne Dauidsoun principall regent of ye pædagog of Glasgow." I have not been able to ascertain at what time he died, but believe his name occurs for the last time in the records of the university about the year 1572.

The following is the title of a book published by him: "Ane Answer to the Tractiue, set furth in the zeir of God, 1558, be Maister Quintine kennedy, Commendator of Crosraguell, for the establisching of ane Christiane mannis conscience (as he allegis) the Forth and strenth of his Papistrie, and all vthers of his Sect, as appearis weil be his Epistle direct to the Protestantes, and Prentit in the last part of this Buik. Maid be Maister Johne Dauidsone, Maister of the Pædagog of Glasgw. Colloss. 2. Bewarre &c. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. Cum priuilegio. 1563." 4to. 34 leaves. The running title is: The Confutatione of M. Q, Ken. Papisticall Councels.

After an address "To the Beneuolent Reader" is a dedication "To the maist Noble and vertuous Lorde Alexander, Earle of Glencarden." Having praised the exertions of his Lordship in the Reformation of Religion, and stated that this

* There was a third person of this name who was alive at the same time. Mr. John Davidsone was minister of Hamilton in 1567, (Keith p. 575,) in 1578, (Melville's Diary, p. 43,) and in 1589. (Cald. iv. 139.)

answer was undertaken at his desire, the author goes on to say: "And because this buik of M.-Q. contenit so many absurditeis, quhilk wald haue consumit great tyme, to haue confutit thaim all, It chancit weill, that ane lytle space before the beginning of the reformation of the religion, he excerptit furth of this hale Buik, ane Schort tractiue, contening the hale matter of his Buik, as the Coppy beiris that he send me, to present to James Betoune, Archebischop of Glasgw (quha was my gude Maister and liberal freind, quhowbeit for religione we are now seperatit in ane part, as mony fathers and sonnes is, in thir our dayis) to quhom I pray God, send the treuth and knawledge of his worde: that may vnit vs in Spirit and mynde againe together, that hes seperatit vs (as apperis) in our warldly kyndenes." At the end of the book is an answer to "Maister Quintine kennedeis Epistle to the Brethren Protestantes," in which Davidson reminds the Abbot he had sent him his *Schort Tractive*, "to haue been presentit in that troublus tyme to James Betoune archebischope of Glasgo, our gude Lorde and Maister, to haue had his Judgement and mynde of zour said buik, before that tyme laitly Prentit: quhilk for that present tyme, we approuit baith to be gude and godly, bot sen syne, I finding the Scriptures sa weill oppinnit, be the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God communicatis vnto men, the vnderstanding of his Scripturs, that I could nocht be langer of zour opinione, without I wald haue mantenit, as ane shameless man, that thing quhilk had nother ground of Scripture, gude reasone, nor approbatione of the Ancient Doctours. Quharefore, for the brotherly luife I beare to all men in Christe, and for the auld Parisiane kyndnes, that was betuix vs, * to bryng zour L. and the people of this countrie, fra the errour and blyndnes that this lytle buik of zours, hes haldin zow and thaim baith in. Be sindrie Scripturs and reasonis I haue trauellit, vsing me heirin, efter the commone maner of Reasoning, without dispyte, or reproche, and on the maist gentile maner I could, I haue schawin zow, quhow ze haue far ouersene zour self in this buik, of the quhilk, in my hart trewly I am sorie. Praying zour L. heirfore, gif ze finde the Reasonis I bring in aganis zours, to haue evacuat the reasonis of zour buik in ony sorte: vnderstand my labours not to be, that I desyre zour L. (quha excedis me far in vnderstanding, and in all kynde of subtile reasoning) to acknawledge zour self to be ouercom be me, bot lat the veritie beare away the victorie fra vs baith."

The following notice is bestowed on Davidson's book by Ninian Winget. "Of this mater I heir of a buke set furth be an honorable cofessoar of ye trew Catholik fayth M. Quintine kennedie, a work comendit be sindry cunning men als weil of Ingland as of Scotland. And also laitlie I heif sein certane clatteris & I wate nocht quhat, nameit cotumeliouslie in hie contempt of ye kirk of God, *A confutatioun of ye said M. Quintinis Papistical counselis.* Put out to be ane of our windfallin brether, laitlie snapperit in the cummerance of Caluin. M. Johne Dauidsone, Quha for his parte of the new padzeane of his desperat brether, wald be haldi a Dauidsone so doughtie, yat with a puft of his mouth he micht be iudgeit to cleik fra ye counselis, als weil general as wtheris, al auctoritie: in yat he dar be so temararious as to call yame papistical: yat is as he intendis contumeliouslie be yat terme, dissaitful, wickit, leing ad erroncous. And sua impudentlie dar he affirme few Godly couselis to hef bene othir, sen Syluestris days or afore:—zit he thinkis nocht al yat venum anouch: bot affirmis als that yai hef bene few guid pastouris in ye kirk sen ye said Sylvester. *O ingentem confidentiam!* My toung treulie, Madame, failzeis me to express ye zele yat a faythful Christiane suld haif, for the house of God, aganis yir schameles learis, aganis ye folie, yea, ye phrenesie of yir proud pestilent protestantis, euery day desceding a step feryer to yair maister in hel." (Epistle Dedicatory "To ye maist Catholik, Noble, and Gratious Soucrano Marie Quene of Scottis," prefixed to "Vincentivs Lirenensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the antiquitie and veretie of the catholik fayth, aganis ye prophane nouationis of all hæreseis, A richt goldin buke writtin in Latin about xi. C. zeiris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet a catholik Preist—Antverpiæ Ex officina Ægidii Diest, 1 Decemb. 1563.")

As a number of books in favour of the Roman Catholic Religion were about this time translated into the Scottish language, so the Reformers procured the translation of the most useful writings of foreign protestants. One of these appeared under the following title: "Ane Breif Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices and Sacramentis Institutit of God sen the Creation of the warlde. And of the trew originall of the sacrifice of the Masse. Translatit out of Frenche into Scottis be ane Faithful Brother. Math. 15. Euerie plant &c. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik. M. D. LXV." 4to 46 leaves. Judging from internal evidence, I would be disposed to conclude that the epistle of "The Translatovr to the Reader" was written by John Knox. "I finding the commoditie of sume zoung men weill acquentit with the French toung quhais labouris releuit me mekle in yis behalf I haue causit yis litle Bvike be set furthe in our Scottis toung to make ye treuth knawin to all our countrie men, yat hes not ye knawledge of ye rest vther leid arid yat it may be partely ane answer to Winzets Questions, quhil ye compleit answer be prepared for ye rest."—It appears from the following entry that a pension was for some time assigned to an individual whom the General Assembly employed to translate foreign books.

"And of the soume of ane hundereth thretty thre pundis sex schillingis aucht pennies pait be ye comptare to Williame stewart Translator of ye werkis and buikis as is thot necessr be ye kirk to be translatit for edificatioun of ye people Conforme to the appointment of ye said buke of modification.

jcxxxiij li vj s viij d."

(Accompt Coll. General of the Thridds of Benefices for the year 1651.)—Another entry in nearly the same terms is made in the accompt for 1562.

Note AAA. p. 369.

Of Davidson's Memorial of Kinyeancleuch.—The following is the title of this rare poem: "A Memorial of the life & death of two worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English Meter. Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the King's Maiestie. 1595. Cum privilegio Regali." Black letter, C in eights. The running title is: "A Memoriall of the life of two worthie Christians." The dedication "To his loving sister in Christ, Elizabeth Campbel of Kinyeanclevch," is dated "From Edinburgh the 24. of May. 1595. Your assured Friend in Christ I. D."—"Finding this little Treatise (Sister, dearlie beloued in Christ) of late yeares amongst my other Papers which I made about twentie yeares and one agoe, Immediatlie after the death of your godlie Parentes of good memory, with whome I was most dearlie acquainted in Christ, by reason of the troble I suffered in those daies for the good cause, wherein God made them chiefe comforters vnto me till death separated vs. As I vewed it over, and reade it before some godly persones of late, they were most instant with me, that I wouldo suffer it to come to light, to the stirring vp of the zeale of God's people among vs, which now beginneth almost to be quenched in all estates none excepted. So that the saying of the worthie servaunt of God *Iohn Knox*, (among many other his fore-speakings) prooeth true, that is: "*That as the gospel entered among vs and was receiued with fervencie and heat - so he feared it should decay and lose the former bewtie, through coldnes, and lothsomnesse, howbeit* (as he saide many tymes) *it should not be vtterlie overthrown in Scotland til the coming of the Lord Iesus to judgment, in spite of Sathan & malice of all his slaues.*" Elizabeth was the heiress of the *two worthie christians*, "after the death of their onely Sonne Nathaniel."

I have already given an extract from this Poem. (See above, p. 403. After mentioning that poets in all ages had celebrated those who excelled in any "vertuous deid," or deed which appeared to them "like vertue," the author says:—

So we finde deeds of vassalage,
Set foorth by Poets in all age,
Even of *Gray-Steill*, wha list to luke,
Their is set foorth a meikle buke,
Yea for to make it did them gude
Of that rank Rouer *Robene Hude:*
Of *Robene Hude* and litle *Iohne*,
With sic like Outlawes many one;
As *Clim* of the *Clewgh* and *Cliddislie*,
Because of their fine archerie.
* * * * *

* A commission by the Bishop of Aberdeen was executed at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552: "coram his testibus—Magistris Joanne Davidson vicario de Nyg.," &c. (Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 74.) But I cannot assert that this is the individual who was afterwards principal of Glasgow College.

Then to beginne but proces more,
We haue had worthie men before,
Of all degries these fyftene yeers,
As the *gude Regent* with his feeres:
Iohn Knox that valyant Conquerour,
That stood in many stalward stour:
For Christ his maister and his word,
And many moe I might record:
Some yet aliue, some also past,
Erle *Aexander* is not last,
Of *Glencarne*, but these I passe by,
Because their deeds are alreddy
By sundrie Poets put in write,
Quhilk now I neid not to recite.

Kinyeancleugh's zealous and active exertions at the commencement of the Reformation are commemorated thus:

Sa priuatelie in his lodgeing,
He had baith prayers and preaching:
To tell his freinds he na whit dred,
How they had lang bene blindlins led:
By shaueling Papists, Monks and Friers,
And be the Paipe these many yeares:
When some Barrones, neere hand him by,
And Noble men he did espie,
Of auld who had the truth profest,
To them he quicklie him addrest:
And in exorting was not slak,
What consultation they would tak,
How orderlie they might suppresse
In their owne bounds that Idole messe:
In place thereof syne preaching plant,
To quhilk some noble men did grant.
* * * * *
Quhilk they did soone performe in deede
And made them to the wark with speede:
And had some preaching publictlie,
Where people came maist frequentlie:
Whiles among woods in banks and brais,
Whiles in kirkyards beside their fais:
Thir Novells through the Countrie ran,
Quhilk stirred vp baith wife and man.
* * * * *
When they puld down the Friers of *Air*,
Speir at the Friers gif he was thair:
The Lard of *Carnele* yet in *Kyle*,
Quha was not sleipand al this while,
And *Robert* wer made messengers,
Send from the rest to warne the Friers
Out of these places to deludge,
Howbeit the Carls began to grudge:
Either with good will or with ill,
The keyes they gave thir twa vntill:
After their gudes they had out tane,
So greater harme the Friers had nane:
For vnlike to their crueltie,
In their massacring boutcherie.
* * * * *
Then *Robert* like a busie Bie,
Did ride the post in all Countrie:
Baith North and Sowth, baith East and West,
To all that the gude cause profest:
Through *Angus*, *Fyfe* and *Lawthaine*,
Late iournies had he many ane:
By night he would passe forth of *Kyle*,
And slip in shortly to *Argyle*:
Syne to *Stratherne* and to all parts,
Where he knew godly zealous harts,
Exhorting them for to be stoute,
And of the matter haue no doubt:
For although, said he, we be few,
Having our God we are anew.
S

Davidson praises Kinyeancleugh's lady for encouraging him in these disinterested expeditions, instead of grudging, as some wives did, the expense which he incurred. In describing the ungracious reception which the husband of one of these thrifty dames received at his home-coming, the poet informs us of the arrival in Scotland of a singular female colony, whose race, it is to be hoped, is now extinct among us; although, perhaps, some acute and keen-set antiquary may be able still to track them, and, stoically fearless of "a rebegeaster," to point out some descendants of these Norwegian Amazons.

He might look as they tell the tail,
When he came hame for euill cooled kaill
Ze haue sa meikle gear to spend
Ze trow never it will haue end:
This will make you full bare there ben,
Lat see (sayes she) what other men,
So oft ryding a field ye finde,
Leauing thair owne labour behinde.
This and farre mair had oft bene told,
Be many wiues, yea that we hold
Not of the worst in all the land,
I speak not of that balefull band:
That Sathan hes sent heir away,
With the black fleete of *Norroway*:
Of whome ane with her Tygers tong,
Had able met him with a rong:
And reaked him a rebegeastor,
Calling him many warlds weastor.

Kinyeancleugh, accompanied by Davidson, who was then under concealment, had gone to *Rusko*, a seat of the *Laird of Lochinvar*, where he sickened, and died on the 22d of April, 1574. His wife died in the month of June following. Davidson praises his protector's piety, charity, lenity to his tenants, and his wisdom and integrity in settling private differences, on which account he was employed by rich and poor, both of the popish and protestant persuasion.

Note BBB. p. 369.

Bishop Reid's Legacy for building a College in Edinburgh.—The following are the facts respecting this legacy, of which Maitland (Hist. of Edin. p. 356,) has given an incorrect statement. Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney and Zetland, (who died in 1558,) "be his testament and latt^r will left the sowme of aucht thousand merkis money of this realme—for bying of the landis and yairdis lyand in the said burgh (of Edinburgh) qlkis sumtyme pertenit to vmq^le S^r Johnne ramsay of balmane And for founding of ane college for exercise of learning thairinto, be the aduise counsale and discretioun of vmq^le Maister Abraham creightoun prouest of dunglas, Maister James Makgill of rankeloure nether clerk of the registre and vmq^le Maister thomas makealzeane of cliftonhall." As the money had not been applied according to the will of the disponer, and "all the three persons to whose discretion the accomplishing of the work was committed," were dead, the legacy was considered as having fallen to the king; and the town council, in 1582, supplicated the privy council, that his Majesties right in the matter should be conveyed to them, and that they might have full power to pursue Walter abbot of Kinloss, "ane of the executors testamentares of the said vmq^le Robert bishop of Orkney," and others indebted for the said sum. This supplication was granted by the privy council, on the town council giving security that they would apply the money recovered to the support of a college. (Record of Privy Council, April 11, 1582.) On the 6th of July, 1593, the town council had recovered the money in the hands of the abbot of Kinloss, which amounted to 4000 merks. (Record of Town Council, vol. ix. f. 207.) There does not appear to have been any ground for the charge brought against the Regent Morton of having seized on the legacy, as stated in Gordon's Geneal. Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland, p. 176, and in Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 134.

Note CCC. p. 371.

Resort of Foreign Students to Scotland.—The reputation of the University of St. Andrews had extended to France in the year 1586, in consequence of which the father of the celebrated Andrew Rivet purposed sending him to study at it. (Dauberi Oratio Funebris, sig. * * 2. præfix. Rivet Oper. tom. iii.) But the troubles of Scotland discouraged foreign students from visiting it between 1584 and 1586. The reader must not consider the following list as containing all the foreigners who studied at St. Andrews. After the year 1579, the names of those who entered the New College (which was then appropriated to the study of theology) are not usually recorded in the books of the University.

A separate list of them appears to have been kept; but during Melville's principality, from 1580 to 1607, the original list has been lost, and there remains only an imperfect copy of it, apparently taken by Robert Howie, his successor. Blanks are frequently left in it, and sometimes only a part of the name is given. During the time that Howie was principal, the list, which is in his handwriting, may be considered as complete. The following names are collected from different records of the University. - I have not included the names of Students from England and Ireland. The greater part of the foreigners attended the University during several years; but, for the sake of brevity, their names are not repeated.

List of Foreign Students at St. Andrews.

An. 1588.

Isaie Chevallier. *
Gulielmus Oustæus.

1591.

Jacobus Maceus, Gallus.
Petrus Thubinus, Gallus.

1584.

Joannes Burdigallæus.
Claudius Heraldus, Niortensis Gallus.
Georgius Rincoius, natione Gallus Rupellencis.
Isaacus Cuvillus, natione Gallus Sammaxantinus.
Daniel Couppeus, natione Gallus Andegavensis.
Daniel Chanelus, natione Gallus Rupellensis.
Joannes Vignæus, Gallus Nannetensis.

1595.

Andreas Swendius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Gombaldus.
Petrus Chevaltus.
Joannes Guivinellus.
Antonius Massonus.
Joannes Raymondus.
[Christophorus Johannides, Danus.]†

1596.

Joannes Doucherus.
Jacobus Tholoscus.
Petrus Menancellus.
Goddæus, Belga,
Gallus.
Gallus.

1597.

Georgius Rouellus.
Jacobus Weland.

1598

Jacobus Rouellus.
Gerhardus Kreuterus, Germanus Hassus Herffendensis.

1599.

Jacobus Cokstochius, (Kosteckj) Polonus.
Samuel Leonardus Rasseski, Polonus,
Joan. Casimirus Francisci Junii F Heidelbergensis Germanus.
Daniel Demetrius, Franckendalensis.
Joannes Schesessius.
Raphael Colinus.

1600.

Joannes Valace, Belga.
Tobias Merbeckius, Belga. *
Gulielmus Teellingius.
Samuel Gerobulus R.

1601.

Johannes Quada a Ravesteyn
Isaacus Massilius.
Petrus a Scharlahen.
Jobus Danche, Dordracenus.
Andreas Michaell.
Guilielmus Latinus.

1603. †

Albertus Lothoffell, Regiomontanus Borussus.
Christianus Hoffmeister, Regiomontanus Borussus.
Hugo Trajanus.

1604.

Joannes Gascus.

1606.

Johannes Bochardus, Belga
Jonas Charisius Severinus, Haffniensis Danus
Petrus Petrejus, Hiennius Danus.
Johannes Rhodius, Danus.

1607.

Michael Parisius, Gallus, commendatus Collegio ab Ecclesia Diepens.
Martinus Claudius, Danus.
[Claudius, Danus.]
[Andreas Paulie.]‡

1609.

Ericus Julius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Magnus, Danus.
Andreas Claudius, Danus.
Magnus Martini, Danus.
David Bariandus.

1610.

Francisco a Parisiis, Italus Neapolitanus.
Dauid Barjon, Gallus Aquitanus.
Andreas Andreæ, Danus.

From 1610 to 1616, only one new foreign name occurs. From 1616 to 1632, there is a considerable number of them, including a Neapolitan.

Foreign Students at Glasgow.

1585.‖

Isaac Mazerius, Gallus.

1589.

Jeremias Barbæus, Celta.

1590.

Petrus Buybertus, Celta.
Honoratus Guibivit, Celta.
Josua Buybertus, Celta.

* This individual was made A. M. in 1592, under the designation of "Isaias Chevalerius, Francus Rupellensis."

† This name does not occur in the Records, but it is added on the authority of the following printed Thesis: "De Prædestinatione, sive De Causis Salutis et Damnationis Æternæ Disputatio, in qua præside D. Andræa Melvino, Sacrar. Literarvm Professore et rectore Academiæ Regiæ Andreanæ in Scotia, Deo volente, Christophorvs Johannidæs Danvs respondebit. Edinburgi Excubebat Robertvs Waldegraue Typographus Regius. 1595."

* See Ames Typ. Ant. p. 1521.

† The register of the New College from 1603 to 1607 is almost a blank.

‡ In the Testament of Walter Ramsay, œconomus of St. Salvator's College who deceased 12 Sep. 1611, are the following articles among "dettis awand to the deid."—"It. be Martine Claudii Dutchman, for himself & his twa brether 40 lib. 6 s. 8d.
It. be Androu Paulie Dutchman as rest of his buird 9 lib."

‖ During this year Melville was at Glasgow. See p. 265.

1593.

Johannes Riuetus, Celta.
Jacobus Choquetus, Celta.
Salomon Cailhaudus, Celta.
Renatus Pasquivius, Celta.
Joannes Blackivian, Celta.

1595.

Petrus Baalus, Celta.
Jacobus Thirellus, Celta.
Theodorus Thyrellus, Celta.
Renatus Osseus, Celta.
Carolus Ossœus, Celta.
Gulielmus Riuetus, Celta.

1598.

Petrus Pagodus, Celta.
Petrus Verngodus, Celta.

No other foreign names occur in the Records, unless in 1622—1624, when Cameron was principal of the University.

Foreign students at Edinburgh.

An. 1592.

Gulielmus Oustæus, minister verbi.
Daniel Platæus, Gallus provincia.
Gabriel Bouncrin, Gallus.

1595.

Thomas Maserius, Gallus.

1597.

Joannes Olivarius, Gallus.
J. Baldoynus, Gallus.
[Mr. Æolt.]*

1598.

Joannes Argerius, Gallus.
Petrus Balloynus, Gallus.
Honorius Argerius, Gallus.
Stephanus Baldoynus.

1600.

Joachimus Dubouchel, Gallus.
Theodorus Du Bouizet, Gallus.
Joannes Wardin, Xanctoniensis.

1614.

Petrus Cosselius, Gallus Diepensis.

1629.

Joannes Fabritius, Genevensis.

NOTE DDD. p. 372.

Parochial Schools.—The Record of the "Synod of that part of the Diocie of St. Andrews q^lk lyeth benorth Forth" contains a report of the visitation of Parishes for the years 1611 and 1613. This report affords, perhaps, one of the best means of ascertaining the exact state of schools within a short time before the first legislative enactment on this subject. It must be recollected, however, in any inferences that may be drawn from it, that the visitation by no means extended to all the parishes within the bounds of the Transforthian division of the diocese of St. Andrews.

The parishes of Tannadice, Perth, Fettercairn, Straybrock, Falkland, Forgound, Ebdie or Newburgh, Innerkillor, Barrie or Panbryde, Kinfaunds, Kinnaird, Inchture and Benvie, Mains Strickmartine, Bruntisland, Innerarctie and Mathie, and Errol, were provided with schools. Those of Rascobie, Ferry of port on Craig, St. Vigeans, Kilspindie and Rait, Liff, Logie and Innergowrie, Muirhous, and Manifuith, were destitute of schools. Thus the parishes which had schools were more than double in number to those which wanted them. Where they were wanting, the visitors ordered them to be set up, and where the provision for the master was defective, they made arrangements for remedying the evil. The following are extracts. "Forgound, August 14, 1611. —The skole entertained, and for the better provision of it thair is ordained that ilk pleuch in the paroche sall pay to the skolemaister xiijs. iiijd. and ilk bairne of the paroche sall pay vis. viijd. in the quarter. Strangers that are of ane uther paroche sall pay xx. or xxxs. as the maister can procuir: And it is agried in uther congregationis." This was "the common ordor."—"Straybrok, July 1, 1611. It is ordenit w^t comon consent that the parochineris sall give among them all for the maintenance of the scoole and scoolmaister yeirlie fyftie merkis, and the minister sall give iiij libs."—"April, 1613—It is reported that as yet y^r cannot be had ane grammar scole in Bruntisland, the councell of the toune being slaw y^rin and contenting y^mselfis w^t and q^o teiches y^r bairnes to reid and wreite. Forsameikle as it was anes concludit in ane visitatione that ane grammer scole salbe had w^tin that bruche and it is most necess^r that it be so, y^rfore it is ordained that letters be raysed upon the act of visitat^on." I do not know on what authority these letters were raised unless it were the 7th act of the parliament 1593. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 16.) The visitors tried the qualifications of the teachers. "Perth, Apr. 18, 1611.—Mr. Patrik Macgregor scolem^r found to have passed his course of philosophy in St. Leonard's College—approved."

There is frequent reference to the trial and inspection of schoolmasters in all the registers of the church courts. "Andrew dischington schoolm^r of Dunbar. The act of the last synodall assembly giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro dischingtoun schoolmaister of Dunbar not only in his hability to travell in the ministry but also to teache ane grammer schoole being presentit to the presbyterie the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first booke of the georgyckes of Virgill at the beginning y^rof to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington, Sept. 4, 1594.)—"It wes ordanit be the presbyterie that the haill schoolm^rs w^tin yair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befoir thame that thay my^t not only knaw how yai wer abill to instruct the yow^t Bot also charge thame to keip the exercise that yai my^t be the better frequented with the heids of religion. (Ibid. June 2, 1596.)

The following extracts from the Record of the Kirk Session of Anstruther Wester convey curious information both as to the customs of the times, and as to the zeal with which the education of the youth was urged. "Oct. 26, 1595. Anent the complent given in by Henrie Cuningham doctor in the schooll the Session thinks meit, that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be teached. and that sic as are puir shall be furnished vpone the common expenses and gif ony puir refuiss to com to scholl, help of sic thing as thay neid and requir shall be refused to them. And as for sic as are able to sustein their barnes at the schooll & do their dewitie to the teacher for them, they shall be commandit to put them to the school that they may be brought vp in the feir of God and vertue. qlk if thay refuse to do, thay shall be callit before the session and admonished of ther dewetie and if efter admonition they mend not then farther ordo^r shall be taken w^t them at the discretion of the session. And the magistrates & counsale shall be desyred to tak fra them the quarter payments for ther child and ane dewetie efter ther discretion for the dayes meat as it shall co abovt vnto them whidder they put ther bairnes to the schooll or not." —"18 of November. Anent the puirs it is thoght meit that a visitation shall be, and that sic help shall be maid to them that ar altogether vnable that may not travell to seik to them selfs and the yowng shall na almess bot on condition that they com to the schooll, qlk sa mony as does

* Mons. Æolt writes a letter from Edinburgh, April 5, 1597, to Mons. Tuile, minister at Mouchap, recommending Robert Boyd of Trochrig. He speaks of several of his countrymen having gone to study at Glasgow.

shall be helpit, and the manner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seek ther meat, ane hour in the morning fra nyn to ten; at midday fra twell to ane, and at nyght fra sax hours furth and the peiple are to be desyred to be helpful to sic as will give themself to any vertue, and as for others to deall lyardly w^th^ them to dryve them to seik efter vertue."—"Apr. 18, 1596. Euerie man within the town that hes bairnes suld put his bairnes to the schoolle and for everie bairne suld give ten sh. in the quarter and be fred of given meat bot at y^r^ owning plesure."—"Sept. 7, 1600. Item anent the schooll agreid w^t^ henrie Cunyngham that the pure of the town shall be put to the [school] and sa many of them as has ingyne and he takes paines upone shall giv fyv sh. in the quarter qlk the session sall pay, he shall try out the bairnes they sall be broght befoir the session be the elders of the quarters the session sall enter them to the scoll and try their perfitting & sa caus recompens according to his paines & ther p^r^fiting and as for vther y^t^ are not able to p^r^fit thay may reid pr wret, whidder it be for want of ingyn or tym to await on, sic sall be caused to learn the Lordes prayer the comades & belev the heades of the catechisme y^t^ ar demanded on the examination to the communion q^lk^ travell also the session will acknowledge and recompense and as for the standing yearlie dewetie referes that to the counsell of the town to tak ordo^r^ w^t^." (Record, ut supra.)

Note EEE. p. 372.

Alexander Hume.—Three persons of this name studied in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews: one of them was laureated in 1571, another in 1572, and the third was made bachelor of arts in 1574.

1. *Mr. Alexander Hume, Minister of Dunbar.*—He continued in this situation from the year 1582 to 1601. "Mr. Alexander Home, minister presented to the personage of Dunbar, vacand be demission of Mr. Andro Symsoun, Sept. 13, 1582." (Reg. of presentations, vol. ii. f. 77.) "Mr. James Home, minister, resident at the kirk of Dunbar, presented to the personage of the same be demission of Mr. Alex. Home, May 21, 1601." (Reg. Sec. Sig. lib. lxxii. f. 56.) The latter appears to have retained his designation. "Mr. Alex. Home, persone of Dunbar," and "Mr. James Home, minister at Dunbar," are witnesses to a deed, May 27, 1605. (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cix.) "Mr. Alexander Home of Houndwood, sumtyme person of Dunbar," died in December, 1623. (Testament in Rec. of Commissary Court of Edinburgh.) He appears to have been a half-brother of Sir George Home of Broxmouth. (Test. of Janet Gibson, Lady Broxmouth, ibid. Dec. 1, 1589.)

2. *Mr. Alexander Hume, Minister of Logie.*—He was the author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs," and is mentioned as "sone to umq^le^ Pat. Home of Polwarth." (Gen. Rec. of Deeds, vol. cxix. May 28, 1606.) Mr. Alex. Home, min^r^ at Logie, and Marioun Duncansone, dochter of Jo^n^ Duncansone, minister to the kingis Ma^tie^, his spous."(Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cvii. May. 30, 1605.) He was admitted minister of Logie in August, 1597; and died on the 4th of December, 1609. (Record of the Presbytery of Dunblane.) "Mr. Alex^r^ Home, minister at Logie, besides Stirling,—has left ane admonitione in write behinde him to the Kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops who were then fast risinge up hes left the sincere ministers," &c. (Row's Hist, p. 94, 95.)

3. *Mr. Alexander Hume, the Grammarian.*—He, I am inclined to think, was the author of all the books which appeared under the name of Alexander Hume, with the exception of the *Hymns*. He has given an account of himself in the preface to his *Grammatica Nova*. To his Treatise on the Lord's Supper is prefixed an Epistle "To Mr. John Hamilton, his olde regent." He was incorporated at Oxford, Jan. 26, 1580, as "M. A. of St. Andrews, Scotland." (Wood's Fasti, by Bliss, 217.) Could he be the author of Humii Theses, Marpurgi, 1591? He was principal master of the High School of Edinburgh, from 1596 to 1606, when he went to Prestonpans. He had left the latter place in 1615, and appears to have become master of the grammar school of Dunbar. Charters, (Acco. of Scot. Writers. p. 3.) and Sibbald, De Script. Scot. p. 3.) call him schoolmaster of Dunbar. "Mr. Alexander Home, schoolmaster of Dunbar," is a witness to a deed, June 24, 1623; (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cccxli.) and to another, Nov. 27, 1627. (Ibid. vol. cccxcix.

His Grammar is entitled, "Grammatica nova in usum juventutis Scoticæ ad methodum revocata. Ab Alexandro Hvmeo, *ex antiqua et Nobili Gente Humiorum, artium Magistro.* Et auctoritate senatus, omnibus Regni Scholis imperata. Edinburgi—1612." 12mo. (Copy in the Library of the High School of Edinburgh.) The words here printed in Italics are not in the common copies. The author had previously published *Latin Rudiments.* (Gram. Part. ii. p. 25.) The tract entitled *Bellum Grammaticale* was not composed, but only revised by Hume. It is a humorous tragi-comedy, in which the different parts of speech are arrayed on opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the noun and verb to priority. It is probable that it was acted by the boys in schools. He left behind him, in MS. a compend of Buchanan's History (in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) and a grammatical tract, probably in defence of his own grammar. (Ruddimanni Bibl. Rom. p. 61. Sibbald, De Script. Scot. p. 3.) His Grammar was appointed to be used in all schools, both by the Privy Council and Parliament. (Grammat. Part. ii. *Ad Lect.* Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 157, 374. Act. Secr. Concil. Feb. 1610—Oct. 1612. Minute Book of Processes before the Privy Council, Sept. 1611, and July, 1612.) Hume, in a letter to Melville, Dec. 6, 1612, gives an account of the opposition which his work had encountered. (Melvini Epistolæ, p. 309.) Casaubon, in a letter to Hume, denies having prepossessed the King against his Grammar, but does not conceal his disapprobation of it. (Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almeloveen, epist. 878.) That learned man represents it as an imitation of Ramus. Hume expressly allows that Ramus had not succeeded in Grammar, (Grammat. Part i. *Ad Lect.*)

Note FFF. p. 373.

Improvements on the High School of Edinburgh.—The following minutes of Town Council contain the earliest regulations for this seminary that I have observed.

"July 21, 1598. The samin day the forme and ordour of thair Grammer schole being presentit and red befor thame They ratifyet and approve the samin And ordanis it to be registrat in thair Counsall buiks quhairof the tenor followis.

"The opinioun Counsall and advyse of the ryght honorabill Mr. John prestoun of barnis ane of the Senators of the College of Justice M^rs^ Jhone scherp Thomas Craig John Nicolsoun John Russell William Oliphant & James Donaldsoun advocates Mr. Robert Rollock principall of the colledge of Ed^r^ Henry Nesbit provost Alex. Peirsoun James Nesbit baillies of Ed^r^ William Napier deyne of gild of the saymn M^rs^ Walter balcamquill James Balfour and William Watsoun ministers at Ed^r^ Mr. William Scott writter convenit in the said colledge 26 Dec. 1597 for provyding of Maisters to the Grammar schole of Ed^r^ as follows:

"In primis Thay think best and expedient that thair be foure lernet and godlie men appointit regents to teache the Grammer schole of Ed^r^ in all time cumming be foure severall classes in manner following.

"The first clas and regent thairof sall teache the first and secund rudiments of Dumbar with the Colloques of Corderius And on Sonday Cathechesis palatinatus. The secund regent sall teache the rules of the first part of Pelisso with Cicerois familiar epistilles And to mak sum version thryse in the oulk And to teache thame on sonday *the foresaid Catechise laitlie sett owt in latine* with ouid de tristibus.* The third regent sall teache the secund part of Pelisso with the supplement of Erasmus Sintaxis Terence The Metamorphosis of Ouide with buquhannanis psalms on Sonday.

"The ferd sall teache the third part of Pelisso with Buquhannanis Prosodia, Taleus figures & rhetorick figure Constructionis Thome Linacri Virgelius Salustius Cesaris Commentaria & florus Ouidij epistole and the heroick psalmes of Buquhannane on Sonday.

"Ilkane of the foresaids four regentis sall teache thair clas in severall howssis and to this effect the hie schole sall be devydit in four howssis be thre parpennis.

"Item to the effect thair may be the better harmonye betwix the saidis four regentis in their procedour and teacheing and that thai may the bettir answer for their dewtie disbairges simpliciter maisters or othera persons quhatsumevir of teacheing of ony rudiments or ony uther buik of latine in ony of

* "The Catechesis laitlie sett out in latin verse." (Minuet of Oct. 19, 1598, fol. 206, b.)

thair lecture scholis Swa that the first regent may be the mair answerabill in grunding and instructing thame in Rudiments.

"It is alwayis provydit in favoures of the lecture scholis That nane sall be resauet in the said first clas bot he quha can reid first perfectlie Inglis with sum writt and the said first regent sall nawayes be sufferit to teache any the first a b c in reding.

"Item the said ferd regent sall be principall of the said schole and regentis and have the owersicht of thame all viz he sall sie and animadvert that every ane of the regents keip thair awin houres maner and forme of teacheing presentlie sett doune and that thai and ilkane of thame continuallie awaitt all the day lang upoune the schole in teaching and exemining thair bayrnis And that all the saids regents the principall as well as the other thrie infireouris ilkane of thame teache thair awin class and that ilkane of thame use correction upoun thair awin disciples except in greit and notorious falts all the foure to be assemblit in ane hous and to have the principall regent to puneis the same.

"Item the Regent of Humanitie erectet in the college sall teache zearlie y^e^ Rhetorick of Cassander The oraciounis of Cicero And sall caus his schollers owlklie mak schort declamatiouns.

Item he sall teache Horace Juvenall Plautus The greik grammer with certane greik authores And as the bayrnis learnis ane Oracioun of Cicero he sall caus thame every ane of thame severally declame the samyn publictlie in the schole.

"Convenit in the Counsale hous 9 Jan^rij^ 1597 Be directioun of the kirk and Counsell zisderday The provost James Nesbit Alex^r^ Peirsoun baillies with Mr. Walter balcanqull & Mr. William Watsoun ministers Mr. James Donaldson & Mr. William Scott Agreyes that the persones following Mr. George Haisting sall be the first regent Laurence Pacok secund Mr. Jhoun Balfour thrid & Mr. Alex. Home ferd and principall & sall gif ane pruif of their teacheing quhill mertymes next allanerlie And to begin at Candilmas next And to publeis aucht dayes before be proclamatioun throw the town the provisioun of the Grammer scole with sufficient maisters That the bayrnis may convene.

"Hes thocht guid to mak the feyis and quarter payments of the saids regents in this maner viz The first & secund regents sall haif quarterlie ilkane threttein schilling four penneis. The thrid fyfteen schillings and the ferd and principall twenty shillings.

"Thair feyis the first and secund ilk ane twenty pund The thrid fourty merks and the principall twa hunder merks The samin day the foresaids provests baillies and Counsall dischairges all masters regents and teachers of bayrnis in thair Grammer schole of all craving & resaving of any bleyis sylver of their bayrnis and scholers As alswa of any bent sylver exceptand four penneis at ane tyme allanerlie." (Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. fol. 193, b.)

The following minute shows that the Town Council were on the eve of destroying an institution which had done them so much honour. It is probable that the bad humour of some foolish individual had hurried them into the rash resolution, which is never afterwards alluded to in the minutes. "September 2nd, 1601. The sam day after lang deliberatioun fynds guid that yair hie schole be brocht to y^e^ awld ordo of ane maister and ane schole And to after and discharge the last forme of four maisters & fo^r^ scholes In respect yat y^e^ said maisters keippet nocht y^e^ ordo^r^ gevin yame Q^r^by many inconvenients hes followet And ordanis Thomas fyscheares & Pat^r^k Sandelands to report y^e^ sam to y^e^ foure Sessiouns of y^e^ kirk That forder ordo^r^ may be tane w^t^ the said schole." (Ibid. vol. xi. f. 55.)

"Nov. 9, 1614. The quhilk day the Provest baillies &c. Ordanis in all tyme cuming Mr. Johnne Kea m^r^ of thair hie scoole To keip and observe the reullis and ordouris following In teiching the schollers of the samine Inprimis that the Rudimentaris be all under ane *doctor* And that Dumbar Rudiments be onlie teached as maist approved & ressavit in the cuntrie the first pairt whairof is ane introduction to the first pairt of the Dispauteris grammer and the uther part serveing as ane introductioun to the secund pairt of Despauter And that thair be conjoynit thairwith the vocables of Stanisburgius for practise of declyning dicta sapientum and the distiches of Cato, As for praxis to the wther pairt of the rudimentis.

"That the secund classe learn Despauters first pairt and conjoyne thairwith Corderius Minora Colloquia Erasmi The select epistles of Cicero Collectit be Sturmius And quhowson thay enter into the thrid buik of the first pairt That thai be exerceisit in theamis and versionis alternis.

"That the third classe learne Despauters secund pairt and thairwith the familiar epistles of Cicero his treatise de Senectute or de Amicitia and that Terence be ever ane of their lessones And gif it be fund gude to gif thame sum ingress in poesie for interpretatioun as of Ovides epistles or his tristis As also to hald tham exerceisit in theamis and epistles.

"And that the ford classe learne the third and fourt pairtis of Despauter with some fables of Ovid his metamorphose or Virgill adjoyning thairwith Quintus Curtius or Cesaris Commentaris And gif thai be mair capable Suetonius And that thair exercises be in versiounis making of Theamis braking and making of versis as thair spirits servis thame.

"And that the hie classe learne the Rhetorique some of Cicero his Oratiounes or de Oratore or de Claris Oratoribus Salust Plautus Horace Juvenale Persius And that thai be exercised in Oratiounis Compositiounis versiouns and in verse quhois gift serves thaim And that prose and verse be taught alternative And to teitche the greik gramer *Lyesiod* and *Theogius*. (*Hesiod* and *Theognis?*)

"And that thair be repetitiouns and disputes everie oulk siclyk tuyse publict examinatiounis yeirlie in presence of the ministeris and magistratis The first to be in the begining of May and the vther the twentie day of October quhen the hie classe passis to the College And that nane be sufferit to assend in the schoole or pas to the College bot quha efter examination ar Judgit worthie." (Ibid. vol. xii. fol. 167, b.)

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NOTE GGG. p. 373.

Grammar School of Prestonpans.—The following is the account of Hume's admission to this school:—"At hadintoun y^e^ 25 of Junij 1606. The q^lk^ day Mr Jo^n^ ker minister of y^e^ panis producit y^e^ prentat^o^ne of Mr Alex^r^ hoome to bo schoolm^r^ of y^e^ Schoole of y^e^ panis foundit be Mr J^o^ Davedsone for instructioune of the youth in hebrew greek and latine subscryvet be yais to quhome Mr. Jo^n^ davedsone gave power to noiat y^e^ man q^lk^ prentat^o^ne y^e^ prebrie allowit and ordenit y^e^ moderator & clerk to subscrive y^e^ samine in y^r^ names q^lk^ yay ded. As also ordeanit y^t^ y^e^ said kirk of y^e^ panis suld be visited vpon y^e^ eight day of Julij next to come for admissione of y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ to y^e^ said office The visitors wer appoyntit Mr Ar^d^ oswald Mr Robert Wallace Mr George greir Mr andro blackhall & Mr andro Maghye to teach."—"At Saltprestoun, July 8, 1606. The haill parischoners being poisit how yay lyckid of y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ w^t^ vniforme consent being particularly inqwyrit schew y^r^ guid lycking of him and y^r^ willingnes to accept and receiv him to y^e^ said office Q^r^upon y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ wes admittit to y^e^ said office & in token of y^e^ approba^o^ne both of visitors & of y^e^ parischones p^r^nt both y^e^ ane and y^e^ vother tuik y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ be y^e^ hand & y^e^ haill magistratis gentlemen and remanet parischoners p^r^nt faithfullie p^r^misit to cocurre for y^e^ furtherace of y^e^ work y^t^ yit restis to be done to y^e^ said schoole as also to keipt y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ and his scholleris skaithlis finallie for farther authorizing of y^e^ said (*sic*) it wes thought meitt y^t^ y^e^ haill visitors & parichones p^r^nt suld enter y^e^ said Mr Alex^r^ into y^e^ said schoole & y^r^ heir him teache q^lk^ also wes doone." (Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.)

The Parliament in the course of that year erected "in ane paroche kirk," the kirk buildet "be the labouris paynis and expenss of umq^le^ Mr Johne dauidsoun" and ratefied the school founded and doted by him "for teaching of Latin grek and Hebrew toungis." (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 302.)

In a charter, granted Nov. 19. 1615, by John Hamilton of Preston, as superior of the lands on which the kirk and school were built, it is narrated, that the late Mr. John Davidson had deserved highly of the whole church and commonwealth, and particularly of the parish of Saltpreston, "he having preached for many years in this parish without any fee or reward, built at his own expence a splendid church, furnished with a large clock, a manse, garden, and other pertinents, with an acre of arable land for a glebe to the minister; and having resolved (as appears from his testament) to sell his whole patrimonial inheritance, consisting of valuable houses and lands in Dunfermline, and to devote the whole produce to the support of the church and ministry of the said parish, which purpose he would have carried into execution if he had not been prevented by death." It then goes on to state: "Dictus quondam Magister Joannes Dauedsoun Aream quondam vulgo vocat. harlaw hill," &c. "On an area which

he purchased from me he finished an excellent house to serve as a school for the education of the youth of the parish in good letters, sciences, and virtue, [a dwelling-house for the master is afterwards specified] and to furnish a stipend for the master of the school he bequeathed all his moveables. to wit, his household furniture, his clothes, his library, consisting of a large collection of books of all kinds, his bills and obligations for debts owing him, and all the money in his possession, with the exception of certain legacies to his friends." (Charter of mortification, among the Papers of the Kirk Session of Prestonpans.)

It appears from this document that Davidson was a native of Dunfermline. "Magr Joannes Dalzel" was master of the grammar school, when this charter was granted, and continued to hold that situation in 1623. (Gen. Reg. of Decrcets, vol. ccccl.xvi. 17 July, 1633.)

Note HHH. p. 377.

Of Welwood's Experiments.—The patent was granted to him and John Geddy. "Knawing alsua that the advancement of curious and quick spreittis yat heirtofoir hes be their singulare ingyne inventit — ony perfyct art or deuise—is gretelic to be helpit, fauourd and supportit—thairfor vnderstanding yat his hienes belouit clerkis Mr. Wm Walwode and and Mr. Johne geddy—hes be yair awin singular moyen naturall industrie curious Ingynis and knawledge in sciences Inventit—an easie perfite and suddane way of eleuatioun of watteris out of coill pottis sinkis and vtheris low places, heirtofoir neuir hard or at the liest neuir put in practize within this his hienes realme, &c. Gevand license &c," Nov. 13, 1577. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. xliv. f. 116.)

The book in which he explains his plan is entitled, "Gvilielmi Velvod de Aqva in altum per fistulas plumbeas facile exprimenda apologia demonstratiua. Edinburgi apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum, Typographum Regium, 1582." Six leaves in 4to. The dedication is dated "Andreapoli pridie nonas Nouembris 1582." Prefixed to it is a copy of verses by Melville. If Welwood had persevered in his experiments he might have accidentally made the discovery which afterwards occurred to Galileo. He proposed to produce the effect by means of a leaden pipe bent into a syphon and extended on the exterior so as to discharge the water at a point below the surface of the well. Having shut up the two extremities of the pipe, he introduces water into both its legs, by an aperture at the upper point or elbow of the syphon, till they are completely full; and then closing this aperture with great exactness, and opening both ends of the syphon, he maintains that the water will flow out of the exterior or longer leg, as long as there is any in the well. It cannot, he argues, flow out of the short leg, for it has no head or difference of level to give it the power of issuing in that direction: It cannot flow out of both legs at the same time; for then it behoved it to separate somewhere in the middle, which, according to him, is impossible, as *nature abhors a vacuum:* Therefore, it must flow out of the well by the longer leg. The well is supposed to be 45 cubits deep; for our author was not possessed of the important fact that water will not rise to a height above 33 feet. In other respects the principles of his demonstrations are not more unscientifical than those which Galileo would have employed sixty years after the time of Welwood.

In the year 1598, the parliament granted to two individuals the sole right of making certain "pompis for raising and forceing of wateris—furth of mynes," &c. (Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 176.)

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

No. I. [Orig. Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. num. 15, 24.]

Letter from George Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph.

To his singular freynd M. Randolph maister of postes to the queines g. of Ingland. In london.

I resauit twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting to you. wyth the fyrst I ressavit Marianus Scotus, of quhylk I thank you greatly, and specialy that your ingles men are fund liars in thair cronicles allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif beyne vexit wyth sciknes al the tyme sens, and geif I had decessit ye suld haif losit both thankis and recompens, now I most neid thank you bot geif wear brekks vp of thys foly laitly done on the border, than I wyl hald the recompense as Inglis geir. bot gif peace followis and nother ye die seik of mariage or of the twa symptomes following on mariage quhylks ar jalozie and cuccaldry, and the gut cary not me away, I most other find sum way to pay or ceis kyndnes or ellis geifing vp kyndnes pay zou wt evil wordis, and geif thys fasson of dealing pleasit me I haif reddy occasion to be angry wyth you that haif wissit me to be ane kentys man, quylk in a maner is ane centaur half man, half beast. and yit for ane certaine consideration I wyl pas over that iniury, imputyng it erar to your new foly than to ald wisdome, for geif ye had beine in your ryt wyt ye being anis escapit the tempesteous stormes and naufrage of mariage had never enterit agane in the samyng dangeris. for I cannot take you for ane Stoik philosopher, having ane head inexpugnable wt the frenetyk tormetis of Jalozie, or ano cairless [*margin*, skeptik] hart that taks cuccaldris as thyng indifferent. In this cais I most neidis præfer the rude Scottis wyt of capitaine Cocburne to your inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk wery of ane wyfe deliuerit hir to the queyne againe, bot you deliuerit of any wyfe castis your self in the samyn nette, et *ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam.* and so capitaine cockburne is in better case than you for his sciknes is in the feitte and zouris in the heid. I pray you geif I be out of purpose thynk not that I suld be maryit. bot rather consider your awyn dangerouse estait of the quhylk the spoking has thus troublit my braine and put me so far out of the way. As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am besy wt our story of Scotland to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite, as to maister knoks his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai ar in cosultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhair in he has followit to much su of your inglis writaris as M. hal et *suppilatorem eius* Graftone &c. As to M. Beza I fear yr eild quhylk has put me from verses making sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ano great pitye for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beine thys lang tyme. as to your great prasyng gevin to me in your lre geif ye scorne not I thank you of luif and kyndness towart me bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut comandis me to cesse and I wyl als spair mater to my nixt writings. Fairweall and god keip you. at Sterling the Sext of august

Be youris at al power

G. Buchanan.

No. II. [Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 11.]

Extract of a letter from Henry Woddrington to Secretary Walsingham. 1582, *Maii* 26.

Upon Wednesday evening the xxiiid of this instant Mr John Dury preached in the Cathedrall church of Edenbroughe where diuers noble men were present the effect therof tending to the reproof of the bishop of Glasco as playnly tearmyng him an apostate and maynsworne traytor to god and his churche And that even as the scribes and pharises could fynd none so mete to betray Christ as one of his owne schollers & disciples even so this duke with the rest of his faction can not fynd so mete an instrument to subuert the religion planted in Scotland as one of their owne nombre, one of their owne brethrine, and one nourished amonge their owne bowels.———And lykewise he touched the present sent by the duke of Guyse to the k. in this maner of speaches.

I pray you what should move Guyse that bluddy prsecutor, yt enemy vnto all treuth, that piller of the pope to send this present, by one of his trustiest servants vnto or k.? not for any love no. no. his pretence is knowen. And I beseach the lord the church of Scotland feale yt not ouersone. The k. matie was perswaded not to receave yt for why? what amytie or freindshipp can we looke for at his hands who hath bene the bluddiest persecutor of the professors of the trothe in all france neither was any notable murder or havock of gods, but he was at that in person. And yet for all this the duke and Arrain will nedes haue or king to take a present from him.

If god did threaten the captivitie and spoyle of Herusalem because that there king Hesekia did receave a lre and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free comytting

the like or rather worse? And because yo^{u} my ll^{s} w^{ch} both doe sec me and even at this p^{r}nt heares me I say because you shall not be hereafter excusable I tell yo^{u} that tho^{u} with teares. I feale such confusion to ensewe, y^{t} I feare me, will be the subuersion and ruyne of the preaching of gods Evangile here in the church of Scotland. I am the more playne wth you because I knowe their is some of yo^{w} in the same action wth the rest. I knowe I shalbe called to an accompt for thes words here spoken, but let them doe with this carkasse of myne what they will for I knowe my sowle is in the hands of the lorde and therefore I will speake & that to yo^{r} condemnaon vnlesse yo^{u} spedely returne.

And then in his prayers made he prayd vnto the Lord either to convert or confound y^{e} duke.

The sermon was very longe, godly, and plaine, to the great comfort and reioice of the most nombre that herd yt, or doe here of yt. And for thes points w^{ch} I am enformed of I thought yt convenyent to signifie the same vnto yo^{r} honor. 134.

No. III. [Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 3.]

Letter of Andrew Melville to T. Savile, and G. Carleton.

Doctissimis adolescentibus et amicis integerrimis D. Th. Savile et G Carletono Oxoniensibus. Oxonium.

Humanitas erga me vestra incredibilis, et amor in vos meus singularis flagitabant a me iamdiu literas: easq ad singulos vestrum præcipuas potius, quam utrunq communes. Verum nec antea quidquam ad vos literarum dedj, iis de causis quas facilius est vobis existimare quam mihi scribere: et nunc demu, cum a me vt scribam impetro, non ausim disiungere epistola, quos tot interiores literæ, tanta morum similitudo bonorum, tam præclara honestissimarum artium studia arctioribus amicitiæ vinculis coniungunt: nec distrahi patitur anteactæ vitæ iucundissima consuetudo. Quare vos, pro vestram istam veterem, et nuperam hanc inter nos amicitiam oro atq obtestor, vt præteritam cessationem meam mihi pro vestra humanitate condonetis: et has vnas ad vtrunq literas, binarum aut etiam plurum, ad singulos vestrum loco esse patiamini: Nec me propterea non virum bonum esse putetis, si vobis videar duos parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare: Quanquam pictorum mos est: tamen finitimus pictori poeta nec pigmentorum arculis liberatior, quam liberior audendi licentia. Verum hæc parcius: ne dum me excuso, de Carletoni aut arte aut gloria detraham. Cuius spiritu in poesi nihil generosius, nihil ecloga dulcius, nihil cultius aut argutius epigrammate: adeo vt, si omnia hoc modo scripserit, non solum æquales omnes superare, sed etiam cum omni antiquitate certare videatur. De munere literario, qua me re de facie quidem antea ignotum vterque vestrum affecistis, habeo gratiam; Vt cætera omittam humanitatis officia, tum ab vniversa fere academia in nos homines ignotos profecta, tum a vobis in me præcipue collata. Ita viuam vt nihil usquam viderem in omni vita splendidius aut magnificentius vestra academia: nihil gravius præceptoribus aut discipulis humanius: nihil vobis duobus aut amabilius aut amantius: *fortunati ambo; si quid meu carmina possunt*, etc. Immo tua Carletone potius, quæ plurimu atque adeo omni possunt ad te et alios a mortalitatis et oblivionis iniuria vindicandos. Ad quam mirifica in pangendis versibus felicitatem accedit incredibilis rerum mathematicarum scientia. Diuinum, Saville ingenium, et eruditio tanta, quantam in istam ætatem credere nunquam putauj. Quid multa? μικρὸν ἅλιον ἐκείνου ἄλλο δαλοπυγαῖον ἐν ἀμεχα ὀπαδὸν ἀστρον ἰχθυας δ' ἐλίξας, &c. Verum de vobis alias et apud alios. Quod reliquum est, suauissime idemq doctissime Sauile, expectatione promissi tui fretus humanitate tua, moneor, vt admoneam te, non vt flagitem: quid est? fortasse inquis. Manilana tua, vel, si mauis, Scaligerana, liceat mihi per te (vel tuo potius beneficio concedatur) ex interuallo regustata. Superiora tua in me beneficia hac etiam accessione (mihi crede) non parum cumulabis. Salutem a me et fratribus toti Academiæ et nominatim vestro collegii prefecto cæterisq amicis communibus. Valete εὐτυχεῖτε. Raptim Londini. 15 Decemb. 1584.

Vestri Studiosissimus

And: Melvinus.

No. IV. [Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.]

Archbishop Adamson to Archbishop Whitgift.

Plcis your grace imediatle after my retourninge in Scotland the king his maieste held his parliamet where besides many loveable actis his hiences hath restored in integru the estate of Bishops and hath contramandet the seignorcis presbitercis not only be good reasoun of Scripture and antiquite, bot likwayis in respect his hiens had livelc experience, that they wer gret instrumentis of unquietnes and rebellioun be there populare disordo^{r}. I doubt not your G. hathe beene sufficietlie enformed of the late attemptatis moved be some of o$_{r}$ nobilitie whervnto many ministeris being prive and their seignorcis and therefore not able to abyde the triall of the law are fugitive in England where they pretext as I am certeynle enformed, the caus of religioun albeit it be of an undoubted truth, that they have no other caus bot there practizinge counsellinge and allowing of the last seditious factis and the refusinge of the lawfull authoritie of there ordinorcis the Bishops, whervnto notwithstanding the godle and quiet spirites w^{t}in the realme hathe willingle aggreit and subscryved The quhilk I have thoght most necessare to advertez your grace vpon whose shoulderis the care of the spirituall estate dothe chefle repose, that your grace may be moste assured, that the king his maistie o^{r} master his entention is with the sincerite of the word qlk his hienes in his heart dothe reverence, to conforme sik an police, as may be an example to other comounwealthis, as I did show yo^{r} g. in particulare conferec at yo^{r} awin hous of Lambeth, I am assured divers misreportis wilbe made vnto yo^{r} G. of the banishment of so many ministeris bot your g. shall beleve that there is never one banished, nether have they abiddin that notable sentence of Johnne Chrisostome, Ego ex hoc throno non discedam nisi imperatoria vi coactus, for they are fugitive onele vpon their awin guiltines Swa that I am moste assured if her maieste be your g. shalbe sufficientlie enformed of the truthe, her hienes will not suffer sik slanderous persounes vnder pretext of religioun to abyde in her countrey to infecte the estate of Englande w^{t} their seditious practises qlk they have bene about to estabiiss in this countrey And for my awin parte your g. may assure her hienes albeit her m. hathe bene otherweyis enformed at my being in England, that after my small credite and habilite I shall endea vo^{r} my self to the preservas^{o}un of the true religioun professit in the whole yle and comoun quietnes and mutuall amite of her m. and o^{r} master In the qlk poynte if her m. had further employed me at that tyme I could have done what laye in me, But your g. knawis in what ielose my doings wer, albeit I protest afore god I ment nothing bot in sincerite of heart, wishing next o$_{r}$ master best prosperitie to her hiences for the conservation of the truth in this ysland be there concorde. I shall not forgeit yo^{r} g. galloway naig, in testimonie of mutuall favor, when any opportunit comodite shall present the self be any sufficiet berar, wishing heartle your g. welfare and to assist ws with your l. prayer, help and gudwill at her hienes hande in maynteininge of this goode work against the pretended seignorcis, the end whereof tendis to evert monarcheis and destroy the scepto^{r} of princes and to confounde the whole estate and iurisdictioun of the kirk qlk I should be verie sore after so longe continewance of tyme to see decaye in our dayis, Nostra secordia et ignauia qui ad clavum sedemus. It wilbe your g. pleasor to salute my lorde bishope of London in my name and my Lorde archbishop of york his grace for the goode entertenement I resaved at his house, thanking her hienes most humble therfore, committis your g. to the protectioun of god frome S^{t} Andross the 16 of Junij 1584

Yo^{r} gracis verie lovinge and assured brother symmyste and cooperare in the lorde his vyneyard

Patrick, Archbischop of S^{t} Sanctandross

To my lorde his grace of Canterburie geove these.

[No. V. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 54, 63, 78.]

Extracts of Letters from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham concerning the administration of Arran.

Edinb. June 15, 1584.

———Upon a lre written to the Magistrats of this towne by Mr. Ja: Lawson signifyinge the causes of his withdrawinge himself from his charge the k. had caused an answere to be drawen & sent hether to the said Magistrats & Burgesses to be subsigned by them charginge Mr. Ja: and his fellow-ministers wth hereticall and seditious doctrine, wth other things verie hard in their reproche w^{ch} beinge presented vnto them and redd in open counsell the Provost who hathe ben heretofore condempned as a man to plyable to the hard commandements of this courte suddenlie brake forth into an exclamacon desireinge to lyve no longer as one that hadd alreadie seen too much of the miseryes to come vppon his country and immediatelie beinge readie to swonne in the counsell was conveiged home extreamlie sick and now lieth verie hardlie and not like to

escape. Notwithstanding both he and the rest thought it good to deput certen of their companie to repaire vnto the k: w^th^ their humble excuse and petition that thei might not be forced against their consciences to slaunder thos against whos integritie of lief and soundnes of doctrine thei cold never take exception, but in fine the p^r^sons and lre are retorned with flatt charge to subscribe it in the forme it is or aunswer the contempt at their p^r^ills. The Secretary Mateland beinge appointed to see it don and to take the names of soche as shall refuse the same.

At St. Androwes the Bushopp hathe in the meantyme played his part so well in the pursute of good men as that both the professo^rs^ and students in the Colledge of Theologie haue abandoned the place and w^th^drawen themselves for ther suerties where thei can find safeest refuge.

Edinb. July, 1584.

———Mr. James Skeene, the Jesuit of whome I haue heretofore aduertised your hono^r^ had as I credibly learne previe access [to a con]ference 40 * at St. Androwes It is assured me that [he hath] secrett comission both from 20 and others. & hath desyred sorely for the home comeing of diuers of his fellow Jesuitts w^ch^ he hathe thus farr obteyned that they shall be ouirseen and not troubled by his Ma^te^ or his lawes so they will tak their hazard against the popular fury, & with this caution that they be not ouirhasty therein till matters be better settled w^ch^ trafficque w^th^ him & others of his sorte doth wonderfully increase the fear & suspicion of this k. desertion or careles accompt of religion.—Your honor may have some ghess of o^r^ good natures in Court by their sorrow for the murther of the poor pr. of orenge w^ch^ 40 hath openly confessed to be such an end as he deserued. & is generally allowed and reioyced at amongst the most part of our pollitiques theare. Having written thus farr this letter being vnclosed till this morning by occasion of some expected aduyse from a friend or two I have in the mean tyme vnderstood that Mr. John Howeson minister of Paslay is apprehended & to pass on assyse the xxii^th^ of this p^r^nt at Perth, for inveighing against the late acts of p^r^liament & course taken against religion for w^ch^ he is lyk to be executed. And the whole Regents & others of the College of Glascow for the same opinion sumoned super inquirendis so as yo^w^ may see we are afrayd of nothing les [than that] the world should be ignorant what mark we shoote at.

Edinb. Aug. 16, 1584.

"On thursday p^r^clamcon was made here that all ministers should giue vpp the rentall's of their benefices into the exchequer to th' end that none hereafter receave any p^r^fitt of their livings but such only as shall submit themselues and subscrybe to their new framed pollicy. Mr. Andrew Hay who w^th^ diuers others hath absolutely refused yt is comaunded to dep^r^t the country w^th^in xx dayes w^th^ speciall inhibition not to repayre into Ingland or Ireland whose ayre they hold as contagious and for the same cause the vniversity of Glascow is by the Bishoppa diligence made vtterly vacant the colledge was lockt vpp, the students dismissed, & the Regents and M^rs^ commytted, the lyk curtesie being exercised towards them of St. Androwes and Abirdeene as if theis bishopps thought their glory and surety to stand in bringing in ignorance and confusion into the schooles & by the same degrees corruption & Atheisme into the church wherein their lab^r^ hath great appearance of effect, if this course be longe continewed.

The B. of St. Androwes hath addressed one Mr. Archibald Harbishoune into England aswell to call home some of his countrymen w^th^ vs & and of his own humor to occupy the roomes of honeste men as for some other purposes with the fr. ambassador.—There is littlo appearance that the Bishopps here can longer brooke their newe empyre w^th^ quiet either in respect to th^r^ cause or th^r^ p^r^sons w^ch^ are gneally condempned. At St. Androwes there was the last week an alarm given to the Bishopp by certain of the students remayning there & others to the number of xx or xxx p^r^sons euery man with his harquebuzt who bestowed the most p^r^t of the night in shooting against the wyndowes both of the Castell where the B. laye and of his house in the towne leaving a testimony behind them of their good meaning towards him. On the morrow the Bishopp thinking to haue gotten tryal of this fact caused the few students of the colledge w^ch^ were remaning to be conveened in the public schooles making very diligent inquisicon of the former nights disorder but found nothing save that such as were suspect and examined though they denyed their presence confessed they wished the Bishopp so well as it was not so sclender a revenge as that could satisfie them for the publique hurt he had done, and willed him to remember how fatall that sea had been to his predecessours & to looke for no better.

No. VI. [Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 34.]

Extract of a letter from Mr. D. Andersone to certain Ministers in Scotland, conveying information respecting Scotch Papists in Germany.

From Auspurgh in high Almanie the 27 of April, 1596.

Right worshipful and deare bretheren in Christ—I foreseeing the storme imminent and hearing of the pernicious intentions of the enemies, haue not desisted till I came to the knowledge, (yf not of all) yet of the most part of ther intentions actions & purposes, by using the help of good christians, abhorrers of idolatrie, men secrete, faythfull and prudent. At Rome Tirie the Jesuit, and Archibald Hamilton the apostat with great instance and manifold supplications have sollicited the Pope Clement the 8, and the College of Cardinals to erect a Seminarie ther for the education in Romish impietie of such younglins as by their direction doe come from Scotland; who afterwards being made masse priests and Jesuits may be sent into Scotland for the propagation of popish religion with the ruine of the present estate of that realme: but nothing as yet is determined; notwithstanding they are in hope that ther petition shall take effect, seeing Gregorie the 13 builded three seminaries in Rome for strangers, one for the English, another for the Dutche, and the third for the Mauretanians or Africanes: but the matter is not so hottlie prosecuted now as it was before, by reason of Hamiltons death, who departed at Rome the 30 of Januarie 1596. Leslio bishop of Rosse, John Hamilton popish priest and Ligeur; William Chrichton and James Gordon Jesuits, who remayn most commonlie in Brusels (except Gordon, who is most commonlie with Huntlie and Arole. either at Leids with the bishop of Colen, or at Namur in the companie of Spaniards) are verie busie with Albert Cardinall of Austria, presentlie Lieutenant for the Spanish King in the Netherlands, for obtaining of sum aide to assist Huntlie and Arole with their complices in Scotland for the extermination of all the professors of the true reformed religion in that realme; I heare that Walter Lyndesay for the furtherance of ther matters is sent unto the King of Spaine; but I hope in God, that they shall come short of ther expectations; seeing the Spaniard hath more ymes in the fyre than he can well handle, and more mightie princes in Christendome justlie his enemies, than he with all his forces is able to resist. The Spanish concile also taxeth the foresaid Earles of the breach of ther promise, who in the yeare 1592, (when the Spaniard concluded to aid the papists in Scotland with 20000 men) after the receete of great summes of Spanish gold, not only then but at diverse other tymes, oblished themselves to take armes with all possible diligence agaynst all those of the reformed religion in Scotland, and also to advance the King of Spayns practizes not only ther, but also in England and Ireland, to the uttermost of ther power; which nevertheless according to promise they have not performed. But they to excuse themselves, first alledge the reveling of ther intentions, secondlie that Robert Bruce (a principal trafficker in those treasonable affayres) delivered not those summes of money unto them which were promised, partlie for the hyring of souldiours; and partlie for the gratifying of gentlemen Romish Catholikes, and Clannes, to make the more prompt and courageous in the Spanish service; for which cause Brusse is straitlie imprisoned; and sharply accused by the forenamed Earles. In high Germanie the Scotish Papists have some abbayes presently in possession; as at Reusburgh in Bavaria, the abbots name is James Whyte borne neere aberdene: the prior is called James Winnet (Ninian Winniets nephew Whits prædecessour); monkes ther, Lesslie cosin to Lesslie the bishop; Darnpull; James Beg, John Bogs sone one of his majesties porters; two novices are gone thence to Rome, the one his name is Wddard borne in Edinburgh, he studied in prage with the Jesuits; the other is one Lermonth borne neere Sanctandrosse the laird of Darsies brother sone. Ther is also another popish priest sent to Rome by the Scottish abbots as I suppose, to obtaine a license of the pope that some of them may return into Scotland, to traffick ther with the papists and to bring some number of young boyes with them in Germanie (but more hereafter of

* It appears from another letter of Davison, (Cal. C. viii. 78.) that 40 is the cipher for the King of Scotland.

this purpose.) The popish priest that is sent to Rome is called Adame Sympson borne in Edinburgh, he was long a servant in Newbattle, afterwards in france he served Archibald Hamilton the apostat, and from him he went with the Earle of Westmorland into Spaine; lastlie he served George Carr, Trafficker for the Spaniards in Scotland. In the yeare of God 1594 and 1595 he said masse sometymes in the Lord Herise hous; sometymes in Arols hous, and in the young lord of Bonitons hous called Wodd: he came last out of Scotland in the companie of Huntlie, he is a verie craftie, cruel, and pestiferous papist, but unlearned. The second Scottish abbey in Germanie is at Wirtzburg in Frankland; the abbot ther is Richard Wrwin borne about Dumfrisse, he was sometymes servant to the old lord Herise, and attended at Santandrosse in the old college on his sone Edward Maxwell now abbot of Dundrennen and laird of Lamington: he was sent from Parise by the popish bishop of Glasgow to Winiet abbot of Reusburg, and ther made a monke; he is a drunken, ignorant, subtill and malicious fellow. The prior at Wirtzburg is called frances Hamilton of the hous of Stanhouse, as he sayeth, but I rather thinke that he is one of the Hamiltons of Santandrosse; he was sometymes at pont mison in Loraine, and afterwards studied under the Jesuits at Wirtzburg and Reusburg; ther is not a more blasphemous cruel and vtragious enemie against the gospel of Christ of our nation then this Hamilton: but withall a proud unlearned bodie: The third Scotishman at Wirtzburgh his name is John Stuard borne about Glasgow a boy of 18 years of age; more monkes Scotishmen they have not, because none of our nation that feareth God will enter into so infamous and idolatrous a society. The third Scottish abbey is at Erfurd in the land of Thuringia, the abbots name is John Walker, borne I think about Disert in Fyfe; he is all alone for want of Scottish papists. The Scottish papists of the foresaid places have had a meeting at Wirtzburg the 19 of April 1596 according to the direction of the pops legat in Germanie, and the bishop of Wirtzburgh, called Julius Extar (one of the greatest enemies that the gospel of our Saviour hath in Germanie) for the electing of some of these Scottish papists to send into Scotland this yeare, and that for two causes cheiflie; first, that they may learne the whole state and condition of the countrey, and consult with the papists ther, what is to be done for the subversion of the present state of religion in Scotland; secondlie to make a choice of childrene between the ages of 12 and 18 years to be broght into Germanie, partlie for the furnishing of their abbays, not only which præsentlie they possesse, but also of those places which they are in hope to obtaine at the pops and Emperours hands; the abbayes are there, one in Vienna, two at Colen, one at News at, one at Ments, and another at Wormes: and partlie that these younglings may be educated with the Jesuits to be sent afterwards into Scotland for the effecting of ther purposes: the bishop of Wirtzburgh hath promised to maintain at his charges threescore of these yong boyes, the Bishop of Saltzburgh fortie and the bishop of Reusburg twentie till they be able to be made masse priests, Jesuits or monkes: It is thought that either Wrwin or Hamilton shall be sent this summer into Scotland for that purpose. The lard of Lethington called Metalen departed from the Earles at Lieds about the 20 of August 1595 towards Rome, in all his journey he had long and serious conferences with the Jesuits: Gordon and Crichton Scots Jesuits and one called Holt an English Jesuit gave him letters of recommendation to all those places, as also a direction to receave of the Jesuits at everie neede three hundreth crownes for the better expedition of his affaires: what letters he had to the pope, college of Cardinals or the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, either from enemies at home or abroad I know not: your wisdomes may judge that his going so long and tedious a journey was not for small trifles. Whiles he remayned in Scotland in the Lord Herise his father in laws hous he had great intelligence with many popish priests both English and Scottish but namely with one Sicill an English priest that lurketh most commonlie in the Lord Herises hous or in the borders not farr from thence: they use commonlie the help of a poor craftie knave, unsuspected of any man because of his outward simplicitie, in carying and recarying of letters between the papists of England and Scotland whose surname is Horsburgh, he hanteth in Dumfrisse and those quarters. Places most dangerous in Scotland are the Southwest and Northeast where Gods, the kings, and whole realms enemies are receaved, harboured and interteyned. In Scotland præsentlie (yf they be not of late departed out of the land) there are Jesuits, Mackwhirry, Mirton, Abercromie and ane Murdoch, spies for the Spaniard, and notorious traitors to God, his church, the kings majestie, and the whole land. There is also in Germanie one named Archibald Anderson who is my half brother by the flesh a professor of the Greke tongue in the Jesuits Colledge at Grats in the countrey of Stiria, whom I soght to reduce from that papisticall bondage; but he knowing of my coming to Cramaw in Bohemia where then he remayned was suddenlie transported from thence by the Jesuits to Vienna.——

No. VII. [Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. M. 6. 9. num. 32.]

*Letter from John, Earl of Gourie.**

To my beloved brother M. Jhone Malcome Minister at Perth.

Ἐυλογητον ἐστω το ὀνομα του θεου εἰς αἰωνα.

Beloved brother

Having taken occasione to wret to Scotland wald not omitt my deutie to you in visiting you with this letter, that therby ye my^t vnderstand of my present estate quhilk continues as of before, praising God from my hairt that of the riche abundance of his gude grace and mere mercie hes maid the beames and licht of his countenance to shine upon me most fauorably to be ane guide to conduct me saiflie *per hunc Avernum* quherin mony here (*quorum oculi densa caligine et nebulis obfuscati sunt*) *o miserum spectaculum!* are drouned in his justice. I meane not at all, *absit*; for I am acquainted with diuers heir *qui etiam inter has paludes stigias* hes neuer boued ther kne to Baal: quhat ane maruell is this and quha can beleue it; and yet it is certanly true, *glorificetur igitur Deus in op^ribus suis ac eo magis quo sunt mirabiliora παρα την φυσιν.* There was ane notable exemple of constancie not long ago in ane Silesian minister of some threscore yeares and mair quha efter he hes beine deteined in prisone about nyne yeares and the Jesuites had trauailed with him to recant bot persaiffing that thei could prevaile nothing at his handis caused bring him to the fyre lyke bludie dogges quhere efter he had maid ane excellent discours and harang to the people shauing them the grat honor he was callit to in suffering for Christis sake and exhorted them to conuersione abode most patientlie without ony shrinking all tormentis magnifeing Godis holy name and praying that ther sinnes myt be forgiuen them. Efter he wes bront not being yet satisfied of the crueltie that thei had usit against him quhen he wes liuing did cast ane gret heap of stones vpon his ashes *multo saviores quam erant Judæi adversus Stephanum.* Ther were vtheris quha for feare of death ett that same tyme maid filthie apostacie fra the true Religione to that damnable Idolatrie and at that instant that ane of them begane to deny Christ in making defectione there isshued blude out of his nose in suche gret abundance that all did see him thout he sould haue dyed presentlie this wes ane visibill signe of the hand of God that chopped on him quha hed done suche ane villanie aganist his conscience for to purchase his owen lyffe quhilk he wes not worthee to bruik by the loss of his soule. Bot these renegates not the les escaped not ther awin punishment for they all were send *ad triremes, ubi non vnius horæ spatio vitam finituri sed morientes semper nec tamen morientur.* Laitlie efter these thingis ane certane Inglishe man being moved on zele to cast ther *sacra hostia* (as thei most falsie callis it) out of the priestis handis that wes careing it in processione to the grund, and to stramp on it with his fete wes apprehendit and denudit of his clothes therefter ane hude putt on his heade quheron wes painted the deuilis image and some with bleasis quha brunt him continually in the backe and brest as he walked fordwart bot he in the meane tyme wes occupiet in shauing the people hou thei were schamfullie abused be there miscent Iddolers quha wer leading them to there auin damnatione. In end he spake with suche ane vehemencie that the enymies caused knett his toung fearing some uprore to enseu if he had gottin ony forder libertie to speke so he wes brot to the place of executione quhere lifting vp his eyis to heauen and on his knees kissing the chaine he wes bund with, they caused firet cut of his hand for the fact he had committed with it and nixt burne him quicke. All thir thingis were done in Rome that mother of all vyce and hoorishe synagog of deuils. I am sory that my absence will not permitt me to kyth my mynd and gudwill in helping to sett furth Godis glorie ther *cui totus ex animo incumberem* bot quhen at his gude pleasure I returne

* This is the nobleman who is so well known, in consequence of his name having been given to that much contested and dark affair—the *Gowrie Conspiracy*.

sall with his grace indeuore my self to amend quhatsomeuer is omitted for laike of my presence. I thank you most hartfully of your rememberance of me in your prayeris desyring you carnestlie to contineu according to the loue ye cary to the salvatione of my soule. Thus remembering my very loving commendationis to yourselff with the haill nyⁱbouris of the toune Committis you with them all to the protectione of the Omnipotent.

At Padoua the 28 of Nouember 1595.

Youris alwayis affectionat
GOWRYE.

I dout not bot ye haue hard long since of the Papes benedictione given to the king of France quhilk hes turned to ane maledictione. No vther neuis occurris heir for the present, bot now againe laitly ther is some Inglishmen put in the hous of inquisitione in Rome.

No. VIII. [Melvini Epistolæ MSS. p. 29.]

Melvinus ad Senatum Anglicanum.

Artaxerxes cognomento memoriosus in veterem Judeorum ecclesiam ab exilio reducem Persarum Monarcha beneficentissimus, Legem de cultu divino et religione moderanda sanxit divinitus in hæc verba: *Quidquid est de sententia Dei cœlestis perficitur diligentur in domo Dei cœlestis: ut non sit fervens ira in regnum regem et filios ejus.* Hanc ego legem cum similibus sacræ scripturæ locis non negligentissime comparatam, multo antequam Angliam hac vice cogitassem, sæpe mecum et diu multumque pro muneris mihi divinitus mandati ratione, meditatus, tertio abhinc anno, Septembri mense vergente in æde Hamptoniana jussus sacris interesse, tam spectator quam auditor insolens, pro re nata carmen breve et Dramaticum, Regiæ majestati, invocato numine, recitandum feci. Cujus exemplum inscio me descriptum et depravatum et mutilum postea Novembri præcipite, mihi coram amplissimo senatu criminis loco objectum: et anni insequentis adulto vere denuo exacerbatum fuit. In hac causa dicenda sine fuco et fallaciis more majorum, et meis versicolis a criminis atrocitate cujus affinis non essem libere vindicandis, si quid mihi tam necessario tempore meo, minus decore pro hujus gentis indole et regni moribus respondenti humanitus excidit, quod quemquam mortalium jure offenderit, nedum Senatum amplissimum, ut ejus ego sive erroris sive rusticitatis pœnam biennali carcere adhuc luo: ita veniam supplex primum a Deo patre indulgentissimo, deinde a Britanniarum Rege Clementissimo, denique ab amplissimo Senatus singulari æquanimitate, etiam atque etiam peto.

No. IX. [Orig. in Arch. Eccles. Scotic. vol. xxviii. num. 6.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees.

My dewtie humblie remembered Please yoʳ w. being prevented by yoʳ undeserved kindness, I am emboldened to aske your counsel and good advice at this tyme. I heare that the Duke of Bullon hath requested his Ma. by letters and by my Lord Wotton Ambassadour, in my favour, and that his Ma. is not unwilling to shew me some gracious favour. Therfor I thought it my dewtie to offer my humble service unto the Prince Highnes as a naturall subject. And if bashfulnes wold suffer me to speak the truth, one come of those whome his royell progenitors hath acknowledged not only faithfull servants but also friendly kinsfolk. So that naturall affection should command me reverently to honoʳ and faithfully to serve his Ma. and progeny, namely his highnes whome the Lord advanceth to succeed in the royall throne. which is established by two ground pillars of Justice and Relligion, whereof the last hath been my calling and exerceis these 36 years at the least in my owne native countrie, except so much as England hath broken off the course of my ordinarie traveles. I was transported thirtie yeers ago by the advice & authoritie both of generall Assembly and three estats at his Ma. command from Glasco (where six yeers tho Lord had blessed my labours in letters & relligion to the comfort of the church & honour of the countrie) unto St. Androis for reforming of the Universitie, and erecting a colledge of Divinitie for the profession of learned tongues & Theologie against the Seminaries of Rems and Rome: wherein I was placed by Commissionars both of Church and Counsell, authorized with his Ma. commission in most solemn manner. And I for my part, in modestie to utter the truth, I dare not say but I have been faithfull in my great weaknes notwithstanding mighty opposition: but these four yeers bypast and more I have been withholden from yᵉ doing of my dewtie to my countrie and church of God therein, as is notoriously knowen, to my great regrate. Now Reason and Conscience bind me to this obligation of my calling and discharge of my dewtie, if so it wold please his Ma. And I feare the necessitie of that holy work wold crave help, that the fountaines of Learning and Relligion be not dryed up in our barren country. And my old age doth no less crave, if not rest from travel, at the least an honest retreat from warefare within my own garison and corsgard, with hope of buriall with my ancestors. In the meanetyme I offer my humble service unto the Prince his highnes, if your w. think it expedient, with the advise of my two intire and speciall friends Sir James Fowlarton and Mr. Thomas Murray, to whome these presents will make my heartie comendations. So taking my leave I recomend you Sʳ to the grace of God till a joyful meeting at his good pleasour.

Yoʳˢ in yᵉ Lord to be commandit
AN. MELVINE.

London Tower this first
of December 1610.

No. X. [Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9. num. 42.]

Letter from Andrew Melville to Robert Durie at Leyden.

Right reverend and dearly beloved father in the Lord Jesus, your last letter was full of kyndly stuffe, and so was very sweet to me, namely your owne godly and constant resolution, quhareunto *adscribe me socium in utrumque tuum paratum, ad * * * aut manendum, arbitratu nostri βραζεντων και αγανεθετων. Tecum ego viuere amem, etiam obeam ego libens.* Receave fra thir bearar, your sone Johne, his oration with thanks, and great hope he shall be a good instrument after our departing. We have heard nothing farther of Scotts or Inglish newes, but only the returning of Mr. Digbie ambassadar from Spaine who be now adjoyned to the secret counsall for his faithfull service. So that we look to hear shortly of the L. Somerset & his la. and vyers their complices. We expect the returning of oure duke and prince from Parise this weeke at the farrest, the peace being ratified from the parliament of Parise. From Mr. Johne Forbess neuer a word haue we yet receaved, and so remaine we in suspence: only the ministrie of Flissing as you wrait appears to say sumthing, whereof I gather litle comfort or gratious answer from the monarche, Lord be mercifull to his chosen and faithfull servants, *quibus vbi desinet humanum ibi incipit diuinum auxilium. In uno Christo sunt omnia ad bene beateque viuendum. Ipsa est lux, via, veritas et vita. Ab ipso est Paraeletus, και παρακλησις, και το παραμυθιον της αγαπης.* I thank you for Roseus and Godartius. things goes not euill as we haue heard. Bot we cannot bot feare the act from the state to the classes, howbeit we know not as yet the contents thereof. I thank you also for Mr. Robert Bruce that constant confessor and almost martyr of our Lord Jesus. The Lord [keep] him and his forever. I never remember him and his wⁱout comfort and heart lift up to God And so doe I when I remember or hears or speaks of any of you all that suffers for Christ and his church. Faine wold I hear good things from Mr. William Scotte, Mr. Johne Carmichell & Mr. Johne Dykes, whom I hope the Lord hath not left destitute of his good spirit, but that they shine as burning lamps in the mids of that confused darkness. Mr. Patrick Symsone triumphes, whose ecclesiastick history I heare be cum furth bot not cum to our hands, *quam ego pretio duplicato redimam.* I cannot tell whats becum of Mr. Jas. Carmichells labours, or whether he be yet aliue. Mr. Johne Davidsone left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr. Johne Jonstoun. I speak nothing of my cousing. I wold all were safe to mak out a true narratioun to the posterity. I left with my lufing and faithful gossep your father in law Mr. Knox's letters. I wish them to be furthcuming. Mak my hartly commendations to him & his, and learne what you can of all. Let the bishops be mowdewarps, we will lay our treasure in the heavins quher they be sure. Fed niche nearer to St. Androis nor Darisie could not (saue) their fed sowe from the graue. My collect, grauell and gutte be messengers (bot not importune) to spoyle my patience, bot to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I wold looke for in this age, praised be the true mediator. To whose glory it may serue, to the benefitt of his church. My cummer and all the bairns be locked wp in my heart, whom I recommend with you to the grace of our heavenly Father in the bowels of the Lord Jesus. This in great haist, with commendations to all friends thair.

Tuus ut suus
Sedani 24 Maij 1616. AN. MELVILL.

MEMOIR

OF

MR. WILLIAM VEITCH,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF:

WITH

OTHER NARRATIVES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES AND NOTES,

BY THOMAS M'CRIE, D. D.

PREFACE.

The pieces composing this volume relate to an important period of our national history, which, after all that has been written on it, still admits of farther illustration.

The Memoirs of Mr. William Veitch are printed from a MS. belonging to David Constable, Esq. advocate, who very obligingly put it into my hands with a view to publication. It bears to have been "written and carefully collated with the original, Aug. 11, 1727." In the Advocates Library is a copy of a Diary, chiefly religious, written by Mrs. Veitch, which confirms and throws light on several passages of her husband's Memoirs. The original of this is in the possession of W. Henderson Somerville of Fingask and Whitecroft, Esq. a descendant of Mr. Veitch, to whom I am indebted for the use of several documents relating to the family. Others were communicated by Mr. Short, Town Clerk of Dumfries. I have also to acknowledge the kindness of the Reverend Dr. Duncan of Dumfries, and the Reverend Mr. Somerville of Drumelzier, in furnishing me with extracts from the church-records in their bounds, which were very useful to me in drawing up the Supplement to Veitch's Memoirs.

Colonel Wallace's Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Pentland is taken from a MS. in the College Library of Edinburgh, which is rather strangely entitled "Rump Parliament," but which contains a history of the affairs of Scotland, chiefly ecclesiastical, from the year 1659 to 1675. It is evident that Mr. Kirkton had consulted it, when he composed his History; but a narrative of that affair, drawn up by the individual who commanded the Presbyterian forces, appeared to me to merit publication.

The collection is closed with a Narrative of the Rising suppressed at Bothwel Bridge, written by James Ure of Shargarton, a gentleman who acted a prominent part on that occasion. It is preserved in the Advocates Library, and may be viewed as an appropriate accompaniment to the preceding narrative. The circumstance of its having been composed by one who took the moderate side in the disputes which divided those who had recourse to arms at this time, was an additional inducement to publish it; as all the separate accounts of this affair already before the public, were written by persons attached to the opposite party.

Biographical notices of the writers of the two last articles are prefixed to their respective narratives. The object proposed in the notes was to illustrate the text, not to indulge in reflections on the facts which it details. In collecting materials for these, I derived much assistance from Mr. Meek, on whose accuracy in making extracts I could always rely, and who often discovered facts additional to those which he was instructed to search for. Some may be of opinion that unnecessary pains has been taken in the editing of the work; but having undertaken to superintend the publication of these memorials, and considering them to be valuable, I reckoned it incumbent on me to do them as much justice as possible. With a little more labour a connected history of the period might have been produced, but I am persuaded that no account which I could draw up would present so graphic a picture of the men and measures of that time, as is exhibited in the following historical

pieces. The reader has an opportunity of listening to persons who describe scenes which they witnessed, and in which they bore a part, more or less distinguished. Agreeing in their religious and political sentiments, they were placed in very different situations: one of them being an ecclesiastic, another a military man, a third a private gentleman, and a fourth a farmer and a merchant at different periods of his life. Their style of writing is of course various; but all the narratives have that pleasing character which marks the compositions of men who write on a subject with which they are familiarly acquainted, and in which they feel a deep interest.

In the Appendix some papers are inserted which do not bear a very intimate relation to the narratives in the preceding part of the work, but which I thought worthy of being brought to light. Of this kind are the letters which contain a notification of the seizure of the registers of the Church of Scotland, and which give an account of the printing of Calderwood's History. It appears from these documents that the last-mentioned work, though in a form much more contracted than that in which it was originally compiled, was exactly printed from a manuscript which the author himself had carefully prepared for the press; and, consequently, it can no longer be viewed either as of doubtful authority or as an abridgement made by a different hand.

Edinburgh, 16th May, 1825.

MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM VEITCH.

Mr. Veitch was born at Roberton, in the shire of Clydesdale, seven miles from Lanark, and in that presbytery, in the year of our Lord 1640, April 27. He was the youngest child of Mr. John Veitch,* minister of that place for the space of about forty-five years. His mother was a pious and frugal woman, very dexterous in house-keeping and educating of children; which her husband knew little of as to family affairs. Her name was Elizabeth Johnston, a merchant's daughter in Glasgow.

He (Mr. John Veitch) had many sons, three whereof were ministers, and of no mean repute in this church, viz. Mr. John Veitch was minister of Westruther, in the shire of Berwick, above fifty-four years. He died at Dalkeith, the month of December in the year 1703, as he was returning home from attending the commission of the Kirk; † and is buried there among his ancestors, who had a considerable estate in and about that town for a hundred years together; and his eldest brother Robert Veitch sold the last of it, and lies there himself: the one of them was eighty-four and the other eighty-five years when they died. On Oct. 4, 1685, by order from Chancellor Perth, Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruther, was taken, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh, by Sir Adam Blair of Carberry, younger; and lay all night in the guard keeped at Holyroodhouse. Oct. 5, 1685. He was sent to the tolbooth in a most unusual manner; made close prisoner, his keeper sworn neither to carry any word to him, nor take any out from him, nor to suffer any to speak to him; and in his absence, lest any one should speak in at the door to him, or he to them, two soldiers constantly guarded his door: pen and ink were taken from him. In this case he continued for the space of twenty weeks, ‡ till January 16, 1686. This was found marked with his own hand among his papers.*

Another son of his was Mr. James, who, after he had been seven years a regent in the college of Glasgow, was called to be minister in Mauchlin, in the shire of Ayr, about the year 1656, and was turned out by the prelates and parliament that set up prelacy, anno 1662; he being one of the seven leading ministers in the west, that the parliament took to task to see if they could bring them into a compliance with that new government; which, if they could have done, might be a mean, as they apprehended, to make the

* Mr. John Veitch, the father, was ejected from his parish, and in September 1664 was residing at Lanark. In 1671 he was still alive; for in that year, October 6, we find a retour—Mr. John Veitch, late minister at Robertoun, heir of Mr. David Veitch, schoolmaster at Salton, his brother. (Inquis. Retorn. Gen. 5464.)

† "Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruther, died at Dalkeith, going home from the Commission, Dec. 1703, I think." (MS. note on Mr. William Veitch's family Bible.)

‡ There must be some oversight here. It is not twenty weeks from October 4, 1685. to January 16, 1686. From the King's letter of the 17th October to the Council, (Wodrow ii. 577,) it is evident that his examination was on or before 21st September 1685. Perhaps October in Veitch, is an erratum for September. The same error is committed by Wodrow, ii. p. 577. Fountainhall has the following notice concerning him, October 24, 1685;—"J. Veitch falling sick, and supplicating for a physician, they would allow none to go in to him but the apostate Doctor Sibbald, which was looked on by some as strange." (Decis. i. 371.) The Doctor here referred to, is the well-known Sir Robert Sibbald, who had turned Papist.

* Wodrow has inserted a letter from the council to the King, (September 21, 1685,) giving an account of their having examined Spence and Mr. John Veitch, on some surmises thrown out by Sir John Cochran and his son, affecting the earl of Murray and the Lord Register, as to alleged correspondence with Lord Melvil, and some malversations of the Lord Advocate. The King, by a letter of the 17th October, rebukes them severely for interfering with the chancellor's prisoner, (J. Veitch,) and "admires by what persuasion" they could have been induced so to do. The council reply on the 25th, stating more precisely what they did with regard to Veitch, and adding, "One of the chief motives that induced us to believe that we might examine him, was, that my Lord Chancellor's order did not expressly bear that no person or judicature should examine him, which, if it had been, we would have had that just deference to my Lord Chancellor's order, as not to have examined him; but the order bearing only, that no person should speak with or see him, we only considered Veitch to be in the condition of other close prisoners, whom the council uses to examine. But whatever the practice has been, it is sufficient for us that your Majesty has excluded all examination in such cases for the future, which we shall humbly and heartily obey. And to show that no interest of ours did or shall induce us to believe, that your Majesty, by yourself or your order, may not examine any person whatsoever, either as to us or your Majesty's servants, we again renew the acknowledgement in our former letter, that informations are to be received against the best of servants; and we may be the safer in this acknowledgement, that we are so happy as to live under a prince who will protect the innocence of his approved servants." (Wod. ii. 576, 577, 578.)

It would appear that Mr. John Veitch had been prosecuted, if not imprisoned, more than once. Wodrow says, he was summoned before the council, October 5, 1680, for preaching without licence at Anstruther, probably Westruther. Not compearing, he was denounced, and put to the horn. "We shall afterwards hear that he was taken and kept close prisoner at Edinburgh about a year's time, under no small hardships. He was allowed neither candle nor fire the whole time; his wife was never allowed to speak to him, but in the presence of two or three soldiers. He pressed much to be brought to a trial, but that could not be allowed. The reason of this cruel and unchristian treatment was, that when the curate died, at the invitation of the people, he returned and preached to his own people from whom he had been violently thrust away." (Wod. ii. 128.)

Though his name does not appear in Wodrow's lists of indulged ministers, both that historian and Fountainhall speak of him as indulged. "August 2. 1683, seven of the indulged ministers being pannelled for breaking their instructions, in

other ministers that were outed of their kirks to comply also.* The ministers' names that were thus staged before the parliament with my brother, were, Mr. John Carstairs, minister of Glasgow; Mr. James Nasmyth, minister of Hamilton; Mr. Alexander Blair, minister of Galston; Mr. Matthew Mowat, and Mr James Rewat, ministers of Killmarnock; and Mr. William Adair, minister of Ayr;* all men of great worth. They were all put in prison except Mr. William Adair;† for whom Sir Archibald Primrose, then

preaching without their bounds, or against the test; five of them were continued under caution to the 1st of December next; and the other two, viz. Mr. John Veitch, once at Wester-Anstruther, (Westruther,) and Mr. Antony Shaw, were incarcerate, because their guilt seemed greater than that of the rest." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 236-7.) December 10, "Mr Veitch's diet is deserted, on caution that he compear when called." (Wod. ii. 307.)

"In 1684, at the circuit court held by Balcarras, Yester, and Drummelzier, for Berwick, Roxburgh, &c. at Jedburgh, October 10th, on application made by George Veitch, writer in Edinburgh, the Lords repone Mr. John Veitch at Westruther, against the sentence passed at Dunse upon absents, his absence being owing to infirmity, on the said George giving bond of 5000 merks for his father's compearing when called. In the abstract of their proceedings, they state that Mr. James Fletcher at Nenthorne was the only indulged minister within their district. (Public Papers.) If Mr. Veitch, therefore, had been formerly indulged, his indulgence must have been withdrawn; probably in 1683. (Wod. ii. 307.) The above-mentioned sentence at Dunse, in his absence, may have been on some charge of irregularity; or, if an heritor, the court, by their instructions, could punish him for absence from the King's host. The distinction, suggested in the following quotation, between *connivance* and *indulgence*, may perhaps explain what appears obscure in the above statement. In a cause of a nonjurant minister claiming his teinds, Feb. 16, 1694, "The Lords compared the late act with the 3d act 1662, depriving the Presbyterian ministers; the one (the act 1662) inflicted it *ipso jure*, and the other *ipso facto;* and it was *alleged*, that such Presbyterian ministers as continued to preach by connivance, contrary to the law, got their stipends, as was found in 1664, in the case of Mr. John Veitch, minister of Westruthers." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 609.) Possibly the subject of this note is the person intended in a retour recorded 2d April 1824, Christie patri. Among other lands of the barony of Bassendean, referred to, is the five merk land of Bassendean "acquisit. a Joanne Edgar de Wedderlie, at Mro. Joanne Veitch, evangelii ministro apud Woolstruther," &c. within the parish of Woolstruther and shire of Berwick. The date of the purchase is not given.

* In March 1669, we find Mr. James Veitch in a list of eleven ministers, who, at the instigation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, were cited to attend a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen at Ayr, for preaching and baptizing irregularly. The officer, a Major Cockburn, employed to cite them, not only obliged them to give bond for their compearance, but turned some of them with their families out of doors at twenty-four hours warning. Two of them, Veitch and Mr. Blair of Galston, were allowed 300 merks each for damages; so sensible were the council of the injustice done them. The council's procedure, and Mr. Fullerton's speech in name of the whole, are given in Wodrow. (Hist. i. 298, &c.) It is somewhat curious, that this matter was issued on the very day, (April 8,) that the council ordered a proclamation against conventicles in the shires of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, and Kirkcudbright, making heritors liable to a fine of £50 sterling for every such meeting held on their property; and in the printed copies, it is said, a clause was added, for fining tenants on whose bounds they were held in £100 Scots. (Wod. i. 300.) When the indulgence was resorted to, James Veitch was appointed to Manchlin, his former charge. (Ibid. i. 307.) In 1675, he, with Mr. John Gemble, confined to Symington, and Mr. Hugh Campbell, confined to Muirkirk, are summoned for exercising their office beyond their own parishes, appointing a fast, and ordaining young men. Wodrow gives the letters and summons at length, (Hist. i. 399. 400,) but supposes the prosecution had been let fall through the interest of Lord Stair, whom we afterwards find to be a friend to our Veitch. Nov. 3, 1681, he, together with Messrs. John Hutchinson at Dundonald, and Robert Miller at Ochiltree, is libelled before the council for excommunicating (debarring from the sacrament) such as deserted or disowned the covenant by taking the bond of peace; and not compearing, he was denounced. On the 24th of November he compeared, and petitioned to be reponed; but was served with an additional libel, further charging him with taking parents obliged, at the baptism of their children, to educate them conform to the National and Solemn League and Covenants; and with not only breaking his confinement, but keeping classical meetings for discipline and ordination. The Advocate referred all to his oath. Mr. Veitch denied all the articles of the libels "as they stand libelled," and no probation being ready, he was assoilyied. (Wod. ii. 176.)

On the 2d of August 1683, we find him one of the seven mentioned in a former note, (p. 427,) the others being his brother John, Messrs. Robert Miller at Ochiltree, John Campbell, Antony Schaw, Robert Boyd, and William Baily of Hardington. They had been inserted in the Porteous rolls, and remitted by the circuit to Edinburgh, and indicted on the charges contained in the Porteous rolls. Mr. James Veitch and other four have their diet continued. On December 19, he and Mr. John Campbell were remitted to the council, and found caution for their compearance. They compear on 3d January 1684, and are charged with the breach of their confinement, and the probation is remitted to their oath. They confess this charge; and also that they had prayed and exercised in private families; and that they had not read the proclamation for the thanksgiving. The council declare their licence void, and appoint them to go to prison, or find caution, under five thousand merks, either to go forth of the kingdom against the first of March next, or to attend the curates, and not exercise their ministry. (Wod. ii. 307, 351.) Mr. Veitch accordingly went into banishment, to his brother's, at Stanton Hall, in Northumberland, whence both of them retired to Holland, as will appear from the sequel of the memoir. During his residence there, "he continued under some trouble from Robert Hamilton and his party, but increasing in learning and grace till the toleration, he returned to his charge at Mauchlin." (Wod. ii. 351.) It would appear, that he had been in Rotterdam soon after the rising at Bothwel. Mr. Robert Fleming "was settled minister in the Scots Congregation in Rotterdam. He invited Mr. James Veitch, one of our Scots actually indulged, to preach with him, who was there occasionally." M'Ward, Thomas Douglas, Walter Smith, and others, heard and conversed with him, on which account Robert Hamilton and Mr. Bogue withdrew from them. See the facts stated at large in Walker's Remarkable Passages, p. 99. 102.

From a letter of Mr. John Dickson to Mr. M'Ward, 1679, it appears that Messrs. James Veitch, Robert Millar, and John Baird, were appointed by their brethren to answer the arguments brought by the ministers in Holland against hearing the indulged. (Wodrow MSS. LIX. art. 106.)

* Wodrow gives the proceedings with these ministers. (Hist. i. p. 132, &c.) On the 16th of September 1662, the affair was issued by an act of Council, ejecting them from their churches; prohibiting them from residing in Glasgow or Edinburgh, or within the Presbyteries where their said churches lie, and declaring that they have no right to the stipend for the current year.

Mr. James Nasmyth had in 1660 been before the committee of Estates, for words alleged to have been spoken by him in 1650, when pressing his hearers, of whom the English general, Lambert, was one, "to employ their power for God, and not in opposition to the Gospel; otherwise they might expect to be brought down by the judgment of God, *as those who went before were.*" He was imprisoned, and for several months was kept from his charge; (Wod. i. 12.) and now by the oath of supremacy, was removed from Hamilton to make way for Mr. James Ramsay, Dean of Glasgow. In 1670, when the ministers in the west, indulged and non-indulged, met with Bishop Leighton and his friends, Messrs. Adair and Nasmyth are found taking an active part. (Wod. i. 337.) Mr. Nasmyth is included in the indulgence 1672, and confined to Glasford. (Wod. i. app. p. 138.) That he accepted it with a protestation before the people, appears from the Grievances of the diocese of Glasgow to the Parliament, which state, that "generally, not only conventiclers, but indulged ministers, preach sedition, and pray to the same purpose; and, in their apologies at their entry, avow publicly that they owe neither to the King nor his Council their entry to their charges; as, Mr. Nasmyth at Glasford, Mr. Stirling at Kilbarchan, Mr. Wallace at Largs, and others." (Wod. i. 380.)

Mr. Alexander Blair, minister at Galston, was, in 1669, indulged to his own charge. (Wod. i. 307.) In 1673, when the Council furnished each of the indulged ministers with a copy of instructions, limiting them in the exercise of their ministry, Mr. Blair said,—"My Lord Chancellor, I cannot be so uncivil as to refuse a paper offered me by your Lordships, but I can receive no instructions from you for regulating the exercise of my ministry; for if I should receive instructions from you, I should be your ambassador." For this he was committed close prisoner. A petition which he presented to the Council for liberation, was rejected. Having sickened in the end of the year, he was permitted to go to a private house in Edinburgh, on a bond of five thousand merks, that he shall re-enter in a month, and not keep conventicles; and in the month of January following, "this excellent person died, in much joy and full assurance of faith." (Ibid. i. 358.) In the Wodrow manuscripts are three different copies of verses to his memory.

† We hear little of *Mr. Adair*. In Wodrow's list of nonconforming ministers, he is marked as confined to his parish. He is not in any list of the indulged; but is explicitly de-

Clerk Register, and a witty man and great politician, who had a great hand in the new government; interposed and got him off. The rest were kept so close that their wives and nearest relations had no access to them.

After several appearances before the parliament, the oath of allegiance was tendered unto them; which, under that name, had the oath of supremacy intermixed. The ministers desired a day to give their answer, and sent word to Mr. Adair, who was yet in town, to see if he would join with them in subscribing their answer; which was an explication of these oaths that were mixed, and contained certain conditions upon which they were willing to take it; but he took his horse and went home, and did not stay to join with them. Their answers were not pleasing to the parliament, and some of their speeches did highly offend them; for which they were more severely treated.

But it happened that Mr. William Veitch, being then governor to young Greenhead, at the college of Edinburgh, through the interest he had in Middleton's page who was then Commissioner, preferred a petition to his Grace, that he would give him liberty to see to the accommodation and provision of these ministers in prison, whereof his brother was one. This petiton was granted through the moyen of his servant, and Mr. William's fair promises, that he would endeavour, both by himself and others that he should introduce to them, to convince them of their errors, if they were in any, and reduce them to right: to which Middleton replied, "Quod si facias, eris mihi magnus Apollo." Some weeks after he went back to his Grace according to order, and condoled their obstinacy; and begged once more of his Grace, that he would give them liberty of seven miles about, to see if the free air, and a freer prison, might bring them into a better temper; so that the parliament gradually overlooked them, and let them fall under the six mile act.

Among others that Mr. Veitch introduced, the famous Mr. Wood, professor at St. Andrews, was one, to see Mr. Carstairs, his brother-in-law,* &c.; but the Parliament being to sit, he desired Mr. Veitch his company, at ten o'clock, to James Glen's shop, to see Sharp, whom he had never seen since he had turned bishop. He came up in the commissioner's coach, and coming first out, he turned to receive the commissioner with his hat off; so we had a full sight of his face, to which Mr. Wood looked very seriously, as being much affected, and said these words in my hearing, and others in the shop, "O thou Judas, and apostatised traitor, that hast betrayed the famous Presbyterian church of Scotland to its total ruin, as far as thou canst! if I know any thing of the mind of God, thou shalt not die the ordinary and common death of men." And though it was spoken about eighteen years before, yet it is well known that it was exactly accomplished anno 1679.

A third son of the aforesaid Mr. John Veitch was Mr. David, who was a minister about four or five years at Govan, near Glasgow; one to whom the great Mr. Rutherford gave that testimony to the presbytery of Biggar, when he passed his trials, (not being suffered to do it in St. Andrews, because he was a protester,†) that the like of Mr. David Veitch, in his age, for great learning and piety he had never known. He died about the twenty-fifth year of his age, being cotemporary and co-presbyter with the famous Mr. Durham, who foretold his death. The occasion of it was this:

Mr. Durham being several months confined to his chamber by sickness, before he died, the magistrates of Glasgow and some of the ministers at that time being for the public resolutions, the better party, called the protesters, were afraid that the magistrates and they, after Mr. Durham's death, would put a public resolutioner in his place: therefore they contrive the matter so as to get a commission subscribed by both parties, for Mr. Durham's nominating his own successor. The reverend and singularly pious Mr. John Carstairs,* being both his brother-in-law and col-

nominated an indulged minister, in an act of the Committee of Council at Ayr, 22d February 1678, denouncing John Muir late provost of Ayr, which will be found in the Appendix. I, would appear, however, that Primrose's interest failed to protect him; for he had been for sometime previous to his death prohibited from preaching.—"February 11, 1684, dies Mr. William Adair, the old minister at Air, who was laid aside a little time before for not taking the test, and Mr. John Stirling, indulged to Irwine, both worthy men in the ministry." (Law's Memorialls, p. 260.)

* An interesting account of the testimony which Mr. Wood gave in favour of Presbytery on his death-bed, is contained in a letter from Mr. Carstairs, his brother-in-law, to the Chancellor. (See Appendix.)

† The Scottish Parliament had passed some acts, particularly the act of classes, for excluding from places of trust, civil and military, persons who had manifested a malignant opposition to the religion and liberties of the nation. After the defeat of the Scottish army by Cromwell at Dunbar and Hamilton, the court, in the end of 1650 and beginning of 1651, put two queries to the Commission of the General Assembly, with reference to the admission of malignants. The Commission's answers otherwise called *the public resolutions*, were favourable to the views of the Court, and the act of classes was repealed. The resolutions, and subsequent procedure of the Commission and General Assembly, were *protested* against by a considerable number of ministers and elders. This gave rise to a division between the *Resolutioners* and *Protesters*, (as they were called) which, though accommodated, was not completely healed when the Restoration took place. The protesters, being the stricter Presbyterians, were most obnoxious to the restored government.

* Mr. John Carstairs, father of Principal Carstairs, was married to Janet, and Mr. Durham to Margaret Mure, (widow of Mr. Zachary Boyd,) daughters of William Mure of Glanderston. (Crawford's history of Renfrewshire, p. 40, 41. An account of his citations and appearances before the Privy Council may be seen in Wodrow's history, (i. 209, 315, 348; ii. 155.) In 1666 he was, in opposition to his own judgment, induced to accompany the party of Caldwell, Kersland, &c. who intended to join the insurgents at Pentland, but were prevented. (Kirkton, 246.) In July 1681, the Earl of Rothes, being on his death-bed, "appeared concerned upon views of eternity; and the Rev. Mr. John Carstairs, upon his desire, waited upon him, and prayed with him, the Duke of Hamilton, and many others of his noble relations, being present; and few were present without being affected very sensibly. When the Duke of York heard that Presbyterian ministers had been with the Chancellor, he is said to have had this expression, 'that all Scotland were either Presbyterian through their life, or at their death, profess what they would.'" (Wod. ii. 222.) From an interesting letter by Mr. Carstairs to the Secretary of State, Nov. 3, 1684, it appears that he was born on the 6th of January 1623. (See Appendix.) Wodrow thinks he did not long survive the date of this letter, which is rendered very probable by the postscript to a preface of his to Durham's Sermons, entitled, The Unsearchable Riches of Christ: "I heartily wish that this mite of service may be acceptable to the saints, it being not improbable that it may be the last service of this kind that I shall have access to do them. Feb. 4, 1685." He had performed various services of this kind, besides the one now mentioned; in prefacing Durham's Lectures on the Revelations in 1658; and his Sermons on Isaiah liii. in 1682, with a Dedicatory Epistle to the Earl of Crawford. The preface to Calderwood's printed History is mentioned as written by him in his correspondence with M'Ward, preserved among the Wodrow manuscripts. His Letters show the deep interest he took in that history, and the exertions made by him and Mr. Wylie to obtain the manuscript. Some of the letters relating to this work, and to the Records of the Church, will be inserted in the Appendix. We find also, in the same correspondence, some long papers between Carstairs and Frazer of Brae, respecting some peculiar doctrinal notions entertained by the latter. In 1677, Carstairs declined an invitation to become pastor of the congregation at Rotterdam, and proposed, first, Mr. Kirkton, and afterwards Mr. Fleming, the last of whom accepted the charge. In the debates on occasion of the indulgence, he was anxious to preserve peace between the two parties.

What follows is contained in a MS. preserved in the Advocates Library:—"The last words of Mr. John Carstairs, sometime minister of the Gospel at Glasgow, as they were taken from his own mouth when a-dying, anno 1685 or 1686, by Mr. William Crighton, sometime minister of the Gospel at Edinburgh.

"Being asked how it was with him, he answered, that he had laid aside all his duties and all his performances whatsoever; and that he had betaken himself to the righteousness of Jesus Christ, and rested thereon; and that thereby he

league in the ministry in the inner kirk of Glasgow, intimates to him one day while visiting, how desirous he was to know whom he intended for his successor, seeing he was to be his colleague after his death; the power being now in his hand to choose whom he pleased. After some scruple to tell him so soon, lest it should come to the person's ears, and his promise to conceal it from all persons, he told him that Mr. David Veitch was the man he purposed to nominate, but not until he was near death; thinking that then it would have the more weight with him. To which Mr. Carstairs cordially assented, saying, that was the man he himself would have chosen. But when a-dying having called some of the magistrates, ministers, and elders of the place, he named other three ministers, for them to choose any of these they pleased. This alteration so surprised Mr. Carstairs, that he could not satisfy himself till he had inquired the reason after the rest were gone, to which Mr. Durham gave this reply, "O brother! Mr. David Veitch is too ripe for heaven to be transported to any church on earth; he will be there almost as soon as I." This I had from Mr. Carstairs's own mouth, and it proved so. For this being spoken on Wednesday's night, Mr. Durham died on Friday at three of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Veitch preached next Sabbath, (knowing nothing of this prediction,) wherein he told his people, in the afternoon, it would be the last sermon that ever he would preach to them; and, going to his sick-bed that night, he died the next Friday, at the same hour in the morning that Mr. Durham died;* as good Dr. Rattray, who was witness to both their deaths, did declare.†

Mr. William being laureate at Glasgow, anno 1659, was called to Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead's family the year after,* where he resolved in his spare hours to read physic books, thinking to betake himself to that study, having so many brethren already in the function of the ministry; and especially now when episcopacy was like to be settled in the kingdom. But the great Mr. John Livingston, minister at Ancrum, who frequented that house, (as did other godly ministers,) with many arguments and much earnestness, dissuaded him from it, and exhorted him to follow the footsteps of his worthy brethren, who were in so great estimation in the church.

This happened a little before the setting up of prelacy by act of Parliament, anno 1662, which, when it was erected, not only ministers were turned out that did not comply with the government, but all chaplains and pedagogues, and he among the first, by the instigation of Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, about the beginning of the year 1663, in which summer he went into Murrayland, to Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder's family,† who was lately married to Lady Henrietta Stewart, sister to the Earl of Murray, to officiate as chaplain, thinking he might do some service to that new-erected family, being far north, and at a considerable distance from the court. To this undertaking he was earnestly solicited by the Lord Brodie (a gentleman of great piety and worth, and uncle to the said knight ‡) and the reverend Mr. James Kirkton; but

concluded that within a little he should be as well and much better than ever in the best frame of soul he was in, being made holy as God is holy, and knowing him as he was known of him. Being asked as to the public matters of God and the times, he said, that it was a very great depth; but if I be not far mistaken of the word and ways of God, the heart of God is not towards these men; and that notwithstanding of all their successes and prevailings of a long time against the people and work of God. He was persuaded *tandem bona causa triumphabit*. He exhorted all his friends to walk humbly with God, to lay on the dust before him, to wait patiently on him, and to shun all manner of compliance with this generation; the sooner, the better; the sraiter, the better; the more universal, the better. For himself he blessed the Lord, that he had in some measure preserved him; for God had made him many a time willing to have laid his head upon the block, if so be God had called him thereunto. He said he blessed the Lord, he had these twenty or thirty years no challenges for any mints he had made at the service of the Lord in the gospel; but he had many for his shortcomings therein. He left his children and family on God, who had given him them, and would be their portion. If it were possible that Christ and his interest in the world could ruine, I had much rather ruine and fall with him, (said he) than stand with any or all the powers in the world; but as I am persuaded that these cannot perish, so I am confident in the Lord these shall revive in all the churches of Christ." (MS. xxxiii. Jac. I. 25, art. 119.)

* This account is confirmed by the testimony of the writer of Mr. Durham's Life prefixed to his Commentary on the Revelation.—Durham died on Friday the 25th of June, 1658 Mr. David Veitch's death will therefore fall on the first of July that year. On August 5, 1662, Alexander Veitch is served heir of his brother, David Veitch, minister of God's word, at the church of Goveane. (Inquis. Retorn. Gen. 4608.)

† Doctor Silvester Rattray, a physician of some eminence at that time, being called before the episcopal clergy of Glasgow, for employing a presbyterian minister to baptize one of his children, gave in the following declaration; which is a specimen of the way in which many of the same persuasion reconciled themselves at that period, to continuance in the communion of the established church.—"I declare unto you, Sir, before this meeting, that really, I am of the Presbyterian persuasion and judgment; and that, not only because I was bred and brought up under it, but also being convinced by clear evidence from Scripture, that it is the only government Christ and his apostles did leave behind them, whereby the church should be ruled to the end of the world: as also, because of the many obligations, ties, and vows yet recent upon my spirit for adhering unto it: as also, I am convinced that Prelacy is an human invention, which derives its rise only from some antiquated customs in the church. And albeit the Lord, in his holy and sovereign providence, hath suffered this hedge of Presbytery to be broken down, wherein ye have borne deep shares to your power, I do declare, that I will not separate from the church of God, but will participate of the ordinances so long as they remain pure among us, only with this proviso, that this my participating of the ordinances do not infer my approving any unlawful or unwarrantable practice in you, or any other of the dispensers of the ordinances. Doctor S. RATTRAY." (Wodrow, i. p. 189.)

* Sir Andrew Ker of Greenhead married, in 1634, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Scot of Harden. (Douglas Baronage, p. 215.) In 1662, he was fined in L. 6000. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. vii. p. 424.) In 1664, he married Lady Catharine, fifth daughter of the first Earl of Wemyss. He died in 1665, and his widow in 1668. (Douglas Peerage, vol. ii. p. 621. Wood's edit.) On September 10, 1684, the Committee for Public Affairs report to the Council, "that the lady Graden is fined by the Sheriff of Teviotdale, in twenty-six thousand and odd pounds, the Lady Greenhead in sixteen thousand and odd pounds. The Committee find reason to sist execution as to her, and the Council approve." (Wod. ii. 363.)

† Feb. 6, 1662, Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder was served heir to his cousin-german, Colin Campbell. He was heritable sheriff of Nairnshire, (Inquis. Retor. Nairn. 25,) and was very friendly to the persecuted party. His name appears in the list of persons fined in 1662 for the sum of L. 12,000 Scots. (Wod. i. App. 61.) His engagements as cautioner for ministers amounted to upwards of L. 1700 sterling. Frazer of Bræ had been cited for a field conventicle; but being in the north, and afflicted with an ague, Campbell, who was his surety, proposed to him to write the council to put off his appearance. Frazer assured him that they would press it the more, in hope of forfeiting the bond. Campbell however wrote himself; and the consequence was, that the citation was renewed, requiring his appearance on Dec. 22, 1681. On that day however, in spite of all hazards, Frazer to save his surety, presented himself, and Campbell was relieved. (Wod. ii. 98. 177, 178,) Mr. John M'Gilligen of Alness, minister of Fottertie, being apprehended, Oct. 1676, and sent into Nairnshire, Campbell kept him in his house as a prisoner, and employed him as his chaplain. The Council summoned the sheriff before them, and reprimanded the Earl of Seaforth for encouraging his lenity. (Ibid. i. 425, 426, 442.) Jan. 11, 1683.—"At privy council, Campbell of Caddell is called as cautioner, for producing one Mackillican, a nonconformist minister; and they thought to have gotten his bond forfeited; but he had the man ready to sist. They remembered Caddell's opposing the Duke's interest in the Parliament 1681." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. p. 206.)—November 8th, 1683.—"Campbell of Caddell is called as cautioner for Mr. Thomas Hogg, a nonconformist minister; he produces him to the council." (Ibid. i. 241.)

‡ Alexander Brodie of that ilk was member for Elginshire in the Convention of Estates which met in June 1643;

after thirteen months stay there, Mr. Murdoch M'Kenzie, then bishop of Murrayland, sent Mr. Colin Falconer of Forres, and Mr. William Falconer, minister of Dyke, to confer with him; but his answer no way pleased the bishop, so he was forced to leave that place about September 1664.

In this cloudy season of the church, wherein presbytery was overturned, and the godly ministry, with the pedagogues and chaplains that owned that government, were most part turned out of their offices, the father of the said Mr. William being removed from his church at Roberton and dwelling at Lanark, called him in this solitude to stay some time with him, where, falling in acquaintance with the godly families of the place, he was induced to match with a young virgin in that town called Marion Fairly; who proved a wife of eminent piety, as several instances after narrated, and a manuscript of her own,* would testify, which I once did see; and it contains as strange actings of faith upon the word of God, answers of prayer, and revelations of the mind of God, as peradventure the age she lived in can parallel; and that both with respect to the public work of God, and also her husband and family's case, under their long and great sufferings, will abundantly evince. Her father was descended of that ancient family of the Fairlies, of the house of Braid, near Edinburgh, and a friend of the Lord Lee's first lady, who was of that house and name.

Being married anno 1664, November 23, and having lived together near two years, he was prevailed with by Mr. John Welsh, minister of Irongray,† and others, who came to his house at the Westhills of Dunsyre, to join with that party who were so oppressed by the inhuman cruelties and excessive robberies of Sir James Turner, and the forces he commanded, lying at Dumfries, for their non-compliance with abjured prelacy; so that they were necessitated to endeavour their own relief, if possible, by taking up arms and apprehending Sir James Turner, which might put a stop to the cruel usages of that corner: and then they resolved to march to Edinburgh to represent their grievances; but were broken at Pentland Hills near the city, by the prelatical forces, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, General Dalziel, and Major-General Drummond. And as several that were taken prisoners were executed, so those of any note that escaped were forfeited life and fortune, and that in absence; an illegal and new-invented piece of cruelty by Sir John Nisbet, the then King's Advocate; who, thinking that this wickedness might recoil upon him afterwards, got an act of Parliament to approve what was then done, and so did secure himself from any afterclap that might befall.

The Galloway forces who were commanded by one Andrew Gray and John Nelson of Corsack,* came by surprise, and apprehended Sir James Turner at Dumfries, and immediately after marched toward the west country, sending their messengers to the shires round about to come and assist them. And the information coming to Mr. Veitch that he would not only come himself, but bring as many as possible along with him, especially such officers, if there were any, as understood how to command. And Major Learmont living near him, a man skilful, resolute, and courageous enough, but of no great projection, he went to his house and persuaded him to join.† And so they with

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and during its sitting, and in subsequent parliaments, we frequently find his name on committees. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 13, 68.) He was one of the commissioners appointed by Parliament to go to the Hague in 1649, and to Breda in 1650, to invite Charles II. into Scotland on certain conditions. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 400. 451, 452, 513, 537.) In consequence of the Act of Classes, 23d January 1649, for reforming the judicatories, &c. a number of the judges were removed, and on June 26, 1649, "the laird of Brodie is nominate to be one of the senators of the Colledge of Justice." (Ibid. 465, 485.) On the invasion of the English, he seems to have been unemployed for some time, but was re-appointed to the bench in December 1657; Warriston having been appointed in the preceding month. (Hailes, Catalogue of the Lords of Session, p. 11.) In Middleton's Parliament, he was fined in L.4800 Scots. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 424.)

* This is the manuscript mentioned in the Preface.

† Messrs. Welsh, Blackader, &c. were at Edinburgh when the rising took place in 1666. At a meeting at Mr. Alexander Robertson's chamber, Ferguson of Kaittoch hesitated, the rest were clear to assist their brethren. Among these were Colonel Wallace, Mr. Welsh, and Mr Robertson, who appear to have gone off immediately. Blackader and others had got their accoutrements sent out of the town; but ere they could go themselves, they learned the hopeless state of their friends. Welsh appears to have taken Mr. Veitch's house in his way. (Kirkton, p. 234. Blackader, Mem. p. 141.)

According to Blackader's account, Mr. Robison was in Dumfries at the seizing of Turner. (Crichton's Mem. of Blackader, p. 138.) In all probability, he had come from the Westland men, for the purpose of procuring the assistance of friends at Edinburgh. In his way to the town, he could pass through Libberton, and thus be in case to promise Colonel Wallace 40 horsemen, a promise which failed. (Kirkton's Hist. p. 234.) After they had assembled, and were come to Muirkirk, Andrew Macormoch informed Colonel Wallace that it was the mind of Captain Robert Lockhart and Mr. Robison, that they should break up and dismiss the people. (Kirkton, p. 236.)

* John Neilson of Corsack entertained Messrs. Welsh and Semple when they were outed in 1662. (Black. Mem. MS. G. 2.) He had been early in this insurrection, and, with Robison and other two, made Sir James Turner prisoner. Andrew Grey, the chief of the party, coming up and offering to shoot the prisoner, Corsack, "a meek and generous gentleman," interfered, saying, "You shall as soon kill me, for I have given him quarters." (Crichton's Mem. of Blackader, 138, 139.) How well he deserved the above character, will appear from the following statement of his sufferings at Sir James's hand. "When Sir James Turner came first into Galloway, Corsack was soon delated by the curate (Dalgleish) for nonconformity, and Sir James exacted an hundred pounds Scots from him, and, contrary to promise, he was sent prisoner to Kirkcudbright. He suffered very much by quarterings of soldiers upon him; from the beginning of March, to the end of May that year, he had troopers lying on him, sometimes ten, sometimes six, sometimes four at once, and was forced to pay each man half a crown a day, which came to eight hundred and nineteen pounds Scots, and free quarters besides to man and horse; which, moderately computing at fifteen pence a day, amounts to four hundred and eight pounds, ten shillings. Next year, Sir James Turner sent six foot soldiers to quarter upon him, from March to the middle of June. These had each of them twelve pence a day, besides free quarters, which amounts to seven hundred and fifty-six pounds. By these hardships, Corsack was obliged to leave his house, and wander up and down; and upon his hiding, he lost his horse worth an hundred pounds, and was seized himself, and imprisoned for some time. The loss of his household stuff, victual, and most part of his sheep, cannot be well reckoned. When they had turned his lady and children to the doors, they next fell upon his tenants, and obliged them to bring them in sheep, lambs, meal, and malt, till they were well nigh ruined. And last of all, they drove all his oxen and black cattle to Glasgow, and sold them. And all this for nothing else but precise nonconformity. After all this oppression, of which I have before me an attested account, the reader can scarce wonder that he, and many others in the like circumstances, took hold on the first opportunity that offered to complain of, and relieve themselves of those calamities. When essaying this, he is taken at Pentland, and, when a prisoner in Edinburgh tolbooth, Sir James Turner used his interest to get his life spared, because Corsack, out of his truly christian temper, saved Sir James, when some were seeking to take his life, both at Dumfries and afterwards, though few had felt more of his severity than this gentleman; Mr. Dalgleish the curate, getting notice of it, applied himself to some of the bishops, and acquainted them, Corsack was a ringleader to the phanatics in Galloway, and if he were spared, he needed not think of continuing in his parish, and they might spare them all. This went farther than Sir James his interest could go, and so he was executed."

But his execution was not the greatest severity to which he was subjected; for, disregarding the claims which he had to gentler treatment, he was the first person whom the council put to the torture, a mode of examination which had been disused in Scotland for a great number of years. "Corsack (says Wodrow) was fearfully tormented, so that his shrieks would have melted any body but those present, who still called for the other touch." After his death, his wife and family were grievously oppressed. (Wodrow, i. 258, 259.)

† In the list of fines by Middleton's Parliament in 1662, is Joseph Learmont, Peebles-shire, L.1200. (Wodrow, i. App. xxxiii.)

"March, 1682, Major (Joseph) Learmont, an old soldier

several others went westward and met the forementioned forces on the hill above Galstoun, where, after consultation, they thought fit to halt in that country for a little time till their friends should come in; and that they might be more conveniently quartered, some of them went to Mauchline, and others to Tarbolton.

The next day they sent Mr. Veitch with forty or fifty horse to the town of Ayr to take up quarters for them; the magistrates absconding themselves for fear what might be the issue, he, upon information given him by some of his friends where one of them was lurking, did apprehend and bring him to a public house, causing him to give billets for quartering seven or eight hundred horse and foot. The forces following drew up in the citadel; and through the great rains and coldness of the weather, several that were not used to such hardships were like to turn valetudinary; and the worthy Mr. Hugh M'Kell had fallen off his horse if one had not laid hold of him and kept him up; and they carrying him into a house in that fainting fit, laying him in a bed, and giving him something for a cordial, by which his spirits returned, and he recovered.

After a little respite there, they marched up the water of Ayr toward Douglass, and from that to Lanark. In the mean time, General Dalziel and his forces came westward to meet them the length of Strathaven; but hearing that the west country men were got to Lanark between them and Edinburgh, they turned their march after them. The honest party at Lanark being about fifteen hundred horse and foot, thought fit that the ministers should preach something suitably to the people, and to the present circumstances of things, both in church and state, which they did; and there both the National and Solemn League and Covenant were renewed, for spiriting and encouraging the people to this work.

The rumour of Dalziel's pursuit made them that night send spies to find out the truth of it, and which way he was intending; and coming back before day with the information of the enemy's being resolved that night for Lanark, a council was called of officers, gentlemen, and ministers, to see what was most proper to be done in such a juncture. And it was by the generality thought most proper that they should abide at Lanark; and that because the enemy being on the other side of Clyde, and the rains having made it impassable except by boat, Dalziel and his forces could not reach them (the boat being broken) until the water decreased, which could not be very suddenly. And, if but five hundred of the western forces were sent to the place where they were to pass, would overawe them to venture upon the water. And, they being stopped there, they could not subsist without victuals and lodging twenty-four hours in such stormy weather; and therefore would be necessitated to retire back again: and this dash being given to them, it would contribute to discourage the enemy, and encourage their friends to arise for their assistance.

But a letter, I may say unhappily, coming from James Stewart (who after the Revolution was King's Advocate) to Mr. Welsh and Mr. Semple, to come as near Edinburgh as possible, where they would get assistance both of men and other necessaries, made them break their former resolution, and march instantly towards Bathgate; where night coming on, and no quarters could be had for such a number, they were forced to stand with their arms without in the field. And a great snow coming on like to discourage the company, some of the officers, thinking it was better to be marching than standing in such a posture, gave a false alarm that the enemy was approaching; and so they concluded to march to Collington and sent one before with a party of horse to take up their quarters. Now when they came there, it was necessary to consult what was fit to be done in answer to Mr. Stewart's letter. Among the rest, Mr. Veitch was called for to give his judgment; but he, both that night and several nights before having been wet to the skin, being several nights out of bed in that service, was lain down upon the top of a bed to sleep and refresh himself, ordering his men to let nobody into the room. When their messenger came, he returned with that answer, that he could not get access to him, for he was gone to rest; with which they not being satisfied, sent him back again, and told they would do nothing until he came. In their consultation, Colonel Wallace, who commanded in chief, was for sending one of their number into the city, if it were possible, to converse with James Stewart, to see how he would make good his promise. They generally voted that Mr. Veitch should go, but he refused, being persuaded that, the measures proposed at Lanark being neglected, they had lost an opportunity put in their hand, the like whereof he could not see they would get again; and if it had not been for discouraging of them he would have left them at Lanark; and he feared that, in such a malignant country, they would meet with a disappointment. However, Wallace told that, if Mr. Veitch would not go, he would do it himself; which made all of them urge him to a compliance, which he did. But how unreasonable and dangerous the undertaking was, you hear by what follows.*

Mr. Veitch sends for his man, orders him to bring him his baggage horse, an old hat and an old cloak; puts all off him that might give suspicion to any that should search him, as sword, pistols, &c.; and rides straight from Collington to Biggar way, that, if any should meet him going into town, he might say he came out Biggar way. Mr. Andrew M'Cormick (called afterward the goodman of the whigs) a minister in Ireland, a man of good years, and judicious, conveyed him to Collington, talking to him of several things necessary to be minded when he came to James Stewart; and then left him. Not long after, having ridden but a little in Biggar road, he met a very brisk strong-like fellow riding with a drawn sword, who asked him which way he came? He replied, he came out Biggar way. "But," says he, "did you not see all Collington on fire? I fear my house be burnt, for I

and now about 77 years, and a taylor to his trade, who was at Pentland hills in the insurrection, 1666, and at Bothwell bridge insurrection, 1679, was taken in his own house within three miles of Lanerk, in a vault which he digged under ground, and penned for his hiding; it had its entry in his own house, upon the syde of a wall, and closed up with a whole stone, so closs as that non would have judged it but to have been a stone of the building; it descended below the foundation of the house, and was in length about 40 yards, and in the far end, the other mouth of it, was closed with faill, having a faill dyke builded upon it, so that with ease when he went out he shutt out the faill, and closed it again. Here he sheltered for the space of 17 years, by taking himself to it at every alarm, and many times hath his house been searched for him by the soldiers, but where he sheltered non was privy to it but his own domestics, and at length he is discovered by his own herdsman. He is carried before the council, and examined; confesses he was at Pentland hills, and at Bothwell bridge fight, but came only there to advise the people to accept of the Duke of Monmouth's offers he made them in the king's name." (Law's Memorialls, p. 216, 217.) He had been forfeited in absence after Pentland, and on April 8, this year, was appointed to be executed on the 28, but through interest made for him the sentence was commuted into imprisonment in the Bass. He survived the Revolution; and soon after that happy event died in his own house of Newholm in the eighty eighth year of his age. (Wodrow, ii. 262.)

* Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, it appears that Mr. James Mitchell, afterwards executed for the attempt on Sharp, having gone from Edinburgh with Colonel Wallace, did, at the desire of Captain Arnot, return to town the same night Veitch was in it. (See the Act of Privy Council of March 12, 1674; in Wodrow, Hist. i. 376.) This act contains also a statement and revocation of that assurance of his life, on the faith of which he confessed his attempt on the bishop. It is well known that, on his trial, a number of the Counsellors solemnly swore that no such assurance had ever been given. (Ibid. 515, 516.)

hear the whigs are come there." But it was replied by Mr. Veitch that he knew nothing of it; thus they parted. This gave occasion to think what the issue of this journey was like to be.

So he went forward till he came to the ascent ere you come to the Greenhill park dyke, where three country women walking on foot met him; and asked him, "Friend, which way are you going?" He answered, carelessly, "Into the town." They tell him that, if he go by the Greenhill house into Bruntsfield Links, he is a dead man; for there the Lord Kingston, with several horse and foot under his command, are all drawn up to stop the whigs from coming into the town; praying him not to go forward. He considering the thing, and seeing a by-road upon his right hand, going down by the Grange to Libberton way, he turns into it, and rides on in that way till he came to the Sciennes; and, seeing a sentry upon horseback drinking, with his horse's head and his own within the door, he turns from him to the right hand, and rides through by the Burrowmuir to Dalkeith way. When he came thither he met a number of colliers, who asked him whither he was going? He replied, "Into the town." Say they, "You cannot come there; for all the gates are shut up, and guards without to apprehend every person that passes." This put him to think, whether it would be more profitable and creditable to go back, or go forward. Reason and light was for going back; but credit cried, you must go forward, else lose your reputation, as a coward that durst not go forward to prosecute your commission.

Upon which he proceeded and was taken by two sentries at the Windmiln; one of whom carried him into the Potterrow Port, when the captain of the guard searching and examining him, and finding no just ground to detain him, he desired him either to let him in at the gate, or let him go seek his lodgings in the suburbs. He replied that neither of these he could do; for he had not the key of the gate, and also he had a particular commission to send every one he apprehended to my Lord Kingston, who commanded the main-guard without the West Port: and so called a corporal with a rate of musketeers to carry him thither; which they did by the back of Heriot Work walls. The prisoner now, leading his own beast in his hand, and walking with them, thinking on his dangerous case, sent up some desires to God, that, if he had a mind to spare him and deliver him out of this danger, he would deliver him from fear, and give him presence of mind and courage; which was mercifully granted him, so that when my Lord Kingston, who was a huffie* and hot-spirited man, examined him, he gave him very smooth and suitable answers, and such as gave him to think that he had no ground to commit him.

But, in the mean time, an alarm arises that the Whigs were all at hand; and he crying to stand to their arms, the prisoner says, "My Lord, if you have any arms to give me, I'll venture against these Whigs in the first rank." To which he replied, "Thou art an honest fellow: if there be any arms let him have some." But the noise being quashed, the prisoner says, "Now what will your Lordship do with me?" Says he, "If I thought all ye had spoken were true, I would let you go; but I doubt of it." "Then," says he, "my Lord, if you will grant me one favour, I shall easily clear you; and that is, if you will send one with me to the dean of Edinburgh's house, viz. Mr. Robert Laurie, I shall bring a line from him to satisfy and clear your Lordship in the matter." "O," says he, "that is my friend, to whom I have as great respect as to any; but no doubt he and all his friends are fled to the castle for safety; but seeing you are a friend of his I let you go." He had not well said it, when a gentleman standing by him and looking toward the Links says, "My Lord, yonder is a prisoner coming in with our two scouts; and he, looking that way, perceives it to be Mr. Hugh M'Kell, which made him think it was high time for him to be going; and therefore says to my Lord, "I am sensible of your Lordship's kindness to me, for your friend and my friend's sake. I desire that you would order this corporal and the musketeers that are going back to the Potterrow Port, to bid the captain there look on me now that he may know me, that his sentries, that are standing in the streets in Potterrow and Bristo, may not apprehend me and bring me back to trouble your Lordship, when I am seeking my quarters;" which the corporal did, for which he gave him a shilling. Here was a remarkable delivery; for no doubt Mr. M'Kell would have owned me instantly and innocently; so we should have died together.*

* Huffish.

* A Mr. M'Kail's sufferings are frequently adverted to in accounts of this period. The notices of them by English writers furnish us with instances of their inaccuracy on the affairs of Scotland. In the Life of Lord William Russel, by his noble descendant, (vol. i. p, 169.) M'Kail is stated to have died under the torture; a blunder copied from Burnet, which might have been corrected by looking into Wodrow.—The following extract from a manuscript in the Advocates Library, is given as containing some particulars not generally known.

"The forementioned Mr. Matthew M'Kail, then apothecary in Edinburgh, and afterwards Doctor of Medicine, when he heard of his cousine Mr. Hew M'Kail, his being taken, and put in prison, went to Mr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to solicit for him: the occasion of this was, the said Mr. Matthew M'Kail, was employed at London, 1657, by the said Mr. James Sharp, to write several papers, to be sent to Scotland, concerning the affairs of the church, for at that time Mr. Sharp was agenting for the public resolutioners, against the protesters against the Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee. When Mr. Matthew spoke to him, he desired him to assure Mr. Hew that he would befriend him if he would reveal the mystery of the plot, which he not being able to do, occasioned his torture; but there was, indeed, a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirline, and Dumbarton, in July that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done.

"Upon the Thursday thereafter, the Bishop went to St. Andrews, and Mr. Matthew followed him on Friday, but reached only to the Weems that night. After dinner he arrived at the Bishop's house on Saturday, and the servant told that the barber was trimming him, and when he had done Mr. Matthew would get access. In the mean time, whilst he was walking in the outer room, the Bishop's son (about 12 years old) came, and enquired of Mr. Matthew if he came from Edinburgh, to which it was answered, yes; then he inquired for the news there, and Mr. Matthew answered there was none, but that other 4 of the west countrymen, were hanged yesterday; then the youth said, "No more! it will be long before they hang them all:" and thus was verified the old proverb, as the old cock crows the young cock learns. When Mr. Mathew got access, he delivered to the bishop one letter from the Marchioness Dowager of Douglass, in favours of Mr. Hew, whose brother Mr. Matthew was governor to her son, Lord James Douglas, and another from the Bishop's brother, Sir William Sharp, his lady; and when he had read them, he said, "The business is now in the Justiciaries hands, and I can do nothing; but however I shall have answers ready against the next morning;" at which time, when Mr. Matthews came, the bishop called his family together, prayed, and desired Mr. Matthew, to come and dine with him, and then he would give the answer: then he went to the church, did preach, and inveigh much against the Covenant. Immediately after dinner he gave the answers to the letters, and Mr. Matthew said, he hoped that his travelling that day about so serious a business [would give no offence;] to which the bishop answered, that it would give no offence. Then Mr. Matthew went to inquire for his horse, but the stabler's family were all gone to the church, so that he could not travel till Monday morning early; and when he came to Buckhaven, the wind being easterly, the fish boats were coming into the harbour, and he hired one of them immediately, and arrived at Leith in the evening, having sent his horse to Bruntisland. He went immediately to the Archbishop (Burnet) of Glasgow, and delivered a letter to him, who did read it, and then said, that the business was now in the Justiciaries hands. The next day being Tuesday, Mr. Hew was arraigned before the Justice Court, which sentenced him to be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh on Friday next; and the night before, Mr. Matthew went to the executioner's John Dunmore's house, and did drink with him, and gave him six dollars, desiring him not to meddle with Mr. Hew's clothes: and the next day the executioner did nothing, but put the rope about his neck, and a napkin about his face, and turned him off the ladder, and Mr. Matthew received him, and drew down his

Then, the prisoner being liberated, he went to the end of the Potterrow, where he knew there was a widow that kept a public inn; but when he came and looked into her hall, he saw it standing full of curates, who had fled out of the country, to shelter themselves from the whigs, but could not get in at the ports; so he slipped off, and turned about to Bristo Street, where he lighted upon a man that was a cow-keeper and seller of milk, to whom he says, as people do sometimes, carelessly, "What confusion is this about this town to-night; I cannot get in at the port, and think I shall not get quarters without; do you know of any hereabout?" Says he, "I can give you quarters for your beast, but I have none for yourself." Says he, "That will do very well:" upon which he went to his house and gave him his beast, and a sixpence to buy draff to it all night; and so left him, for it was just growing dark. And though the house he intended to lodge in was just above him, yet he passed by it at that time to blind the man, that he might not know where he was going, and returned within a little; and finding Mrs. Durham not within, he went up to the story above to Mr. Arthur Murray's house, who had been turned out of his kirk in Orkney.* And when he saw him, he wondered how he had got safely into his house in such a confusion; for he had heard that he in particular was among the whigs. He told him how he had escaped, at which he cried out, "O dear Billy, I hope God has yet more to do with thee." Then he told him his errand, and with whom it was, but saw no access how to do any thing in it; and it was the thing he told his friends ere he left them, that it was not likely he could get in at that time, for all would be in confusion. However, when my landlord told that the wicket of the Netherbow was open, they sent his wife with a verbal message to Mr. Stewart; but she could not get in. So he went to his bed, being exceedingly weary; and his boots not having been off for many nights before, and wet, they were forced to slit them off; and they were hanging there thirteen years after, when Mr. Veitch was brought prisoner out of England to Scotland, to die under a sentence in absence, as after will appear.

The next morning, being informed that the western forces were marching from Collington about Pentland-hill ends, and seeing that he could do nothing in the affair he was sent for, he resolved to venture a return to his friends, though against the advice of his landlord and others at Edinburgh. And going out by Libberton Kirk, towards the House of the Muir, he was like to be difficultied with some persons that were riding to the enemy at Pentland town; but advising them to go in and search for arms, he standing sentry at the town till they came out, in the mean time made his escape. But passing through Roslin Muir, and coming to Glencross water, a frontier party of Dalziel's horse had almost taken him up. But being within cry of Lieutenant Paton * who commanded the rearguard of the opposite forces, he returned, and beating back the other party, delivered him; and said to Mr. Veitch, "O! Sir, we took you for a lost man, and repented sore that we sent you upon so unreasonable an undertaking."

As they rode up toward Pentland hills, they observed their friends leaving the highway, and marching up their body to the middle of the hill, and a select party of horse to the top. It was about twelve of the clock, the 28th day of November 1666: it having been snow and frost the night before, the day was pretty clear and sunshine. General Dalziel's coming from Currie through the hills, of which they got notice, was the occasion of their taking of themselves to that strength; and within half an hour after, a select party of Dalziel's forces, commanded by Major General Drummond, fell upon their select party that was upon the top of the hill. Drummond and his party were instantly beat back to the great confusion and consternation of their army; hundreds whereof, as they were following disorderly through the hill sides, threw down their arms and ran away; and Drummond himself afterward acknowledged to the Reverend Mr. Kirkton, that if the Whigs had pursued their first assault, wherein they beat them back, they had utterly ruined Dalziel's forces.

M'Clellan of Barmagechan,† and Mr. John Crook-Shanks, commanded that first party, where some prisoners were taken by M'Clellan, but were let go in the evening, after the enemy had obtained the victory. Mr. Crookshanks and Mr. Andrew M'Cormick were both killed at the first rencounter.‡ Major Learmont commanded the second party, who beat the enemy again; where Duke Hamilton hardly escaped, by Ramsay, dean of Hamilton, his laying his sword upon the Duke's back to ward off the countryman's stroke, that

feet. When he was cut down, he was laid into his coffin, which Mr. Matthew had provided, and was carryed to Magdalen's Chapell; and when his grave clothes were put on, he was carryed to the Gray Friar's Church Yard, and was interred near the east dyke, a little above the stair, at the entry, being conveyed by a great company of honest men.

"It will not be amiss to insert here, that immediately after the execution of the forementioned four men, there came a letter from the king, discharging the execution of moe; but the Bishop of St. Andrews kept it up till Mr. Hew was executed, and then no moe were panelled for that business.

"The night before his execution, the said Mr. Matthew did ly with Mr. Hew, who did sleep, as before related in the print, which the said Mr. Matthew knew, having sleeped very little that night, because of a pain in his head wherewith he was frequently troubled. *And because no friend durst put on mourning*, the said Mr. Matthew did wear his black hair stuff coat wherein he was hanged, and that as long as it lasted." (MS. Jac. V. 7. 22.)

* "This good and aged man was living in the suburbs of Edinburgh, through which Dalziel's soldiers marched in triumph. When he opened his window, and saw them display their banners, and heard the shouts of the soldiers, triumphing over the prisoners, he was struck to the very heart,—took his bed immediately, and died in a day or two." (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 255.)

* John Paton, Meadow-head, is among the Scots Worthies. Veitch styles him only Lieutenant. Fountainhall, at April 12. 1684, mentions Captain Paton's being brought in prisoner to Edinburgh. "He carried himself very discreetly before the Justices; however he is sentenced to be hanged on the 23d April; but was for a time reprieved; and at length was hanged on the 9th of May. He was willing to take the test; but a quorum of the Privy Council could not be then got to reprieve him."—(Decis. i. 295.)—On a similar statement in Fountainhall's Diary, p. 92, the editor remarks in a note, "This was brutal enough, especially as a quorum could have been easily collected for the purpose of hanging him. An old Judge, Lord Nairne, was dragged out of Court—[*bed*, it should have been said]—to vote for Argyle's condemnation.

† Robert M'Clellan of Barmagechan, in the parish of Borg, shared deeply in the sufferings of that part of the country; under Sir James Turner; and now took part with his fellow-sufferers in the rising at Pentland, as he afterwards did in that of Bothwell. Wodrow. (Hist. ii. 567.) has given an account of his sufferings in his imprisonment at Dunotter, in his banishment and voyage to the plantations with Pitlochie, and in his return home after the Revolution.

‡ Mr. Andrew M'Cormick was charged with having been in Blood's plot in Ireland, along with Lackie and other six presbyterian ministers. Lackie, with Colonels Edward Warren, and Jephson, and Major Thomson, were executed. Thomas Blood, Colonel Gibby Carr, with Andrew M'Cormick, and Robert Chambers, nonconformist ministers, escaped. (Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 269, 70.) Messrs. M'Cormick and Crookshanks were, by some writers, supposed to have been active in exciting the insurrection, being themselves exposed to danger for their concern in the plots in Ireland; but the conduct of Mr. M'Cormick, referred to in a former note, (see page 431,) does not favour that supposition. Wodrow says, he has seen no evidence of Colonel Ker's accession to the Irish plot. (Hist. i. 188.)

Wodrow, (Hist. i. app. p. 78,) gives a list of fifty-nine nonconforming ministers in Ireland. Of these several came to Scotland before Pentland, as Messrs. Michael Bruce and Andrew M'Cormick from Newton Presbytery, and John Crookshanks from that of Logan. Bruce and Crookshanks attract the notice of the Council, who, on June 23, 1664, ordain letters, charging them at the Cross of Edinburgh, and Pier and Shore of Leith, to appear, July 27, for preaching without licence, and empower the officers and commanders of the forces to seize them. (Wod. i. 215.)

he saw he was bringing on him.* Dalziel sent up a party quickly to rescue the Duke, who beat back Learmont, and shot his horse under him; but he starting back to a fold-dike killed one of the four that pursued him, and mounting his horse came off in spite of the other three. The last rencounter was at daylight going, where the enemy's foot, being flanked with their horses on each side, firing upon the Whigs broke their ranks, their horses not being used with fire; then the troops upon the right wing of the enemy broke in upon them; and had taken and killed many more, if the night had not prevented them.†

Mr. Veitch falling in among a whole troop of the enemy, they turned his horse violently in the dark, and carried him along with them, not knowing but that he was one of their own; but as they fell down the hill in the pursuit of the enemy, he held upward till he got to the outside of them, and the moon rising clear, which made him fear he would presently be discovered, he saw no other way of escape but to venture up the hill, which he did, being well mounted; which, when the enemy perceived, they cried out, "Ho! this is one of the rogues that has commanded them." Several pursued him up the hill a little, and shot at him sundry times; but their horses sunk, and were not able to ascend the hill, so that he escaped, and came that night to a hird's house in Dunsyre Common, within a mile of his own dwelling. Giving the hird‡ his horso to carry home to his own stable, and to tell his wife, who was entertaining several of the officers that had fled, but weeping for fear her husband should have been killed, he lurked several nights thereabout, till he got ready things to go for England.

One remarkable passage on Friday's night after, which was the 30th of November, he cannot but mention; viz. that the Laird of Austown,‖ who lived near by his house in the Westhills, and was his landlord, having cleared some accompts between them, one particular was omitted, which occasioned him to go down in the moonlight to his house. And taking his servant with him, as he came in sight of the town, his man perceives a great many troopers, some of them riding about the dikes, and some of them searching the yards, for Major Learmont, the gentleman's son-in-law, whom Dalziel heard he had received; for it was his troop. Mr. Veitch's man says, "Master, Oh! yonder troopers; what will you do?" and so ran straight home. His master fearing that if they saw him they would follow him as a suspected person, he himself being in a country habit, like one of the hirds of the place, thought it fittest and safest to go forward; and coming to the green where the pedees and countrymen were holding the troopers horses till they searched the house and yards, goes to one of the tenants called Hugh Græme, an honest man, who was holding four or five of their horses, and says, "What think you of this night, Hughie? will it be snow or not?" He, perceiving who it was, says, "Willie, take two of these horses and lead; and he leading them to and again, when they got alone from the company, he said, "O, what brought you here to-night?" and he telling him that it was to speak with the laird, he says, "That you will not get done, for they are taking him away prisoner." In the mean time, they sent a party up to Mr. Veitch's house to search for him, but found neither him nor his horse; for his man had taken him out to the moor. When the troopers mounted and took away the laird prisoner, Mr. Veitch held the stirrups of the two horses till his masters mounted their horses, with his greasy bonnet under his arm. After that, he went to the hird's house all night, and lay in the calf-house among some straw.

The Saturday after he sent one down to Tweedale, to see if there was any safe travelling through that country; and the man that went carried his wife behind him, upon his fine horse, to Mr. Fleming's house, minister of Strobo;* and she was to send him word by the man, if there was any searching that way; and hearing of no danger, he came about midnight to Mr. Fleming's house, and taking his wife on behind him, they rode to Glenvetches before day, and the next night to Torwoodlee, and so to his brother Mr. John's, who had sent James Hume of Flass, his brother-in-law, to Edinburgh, to hear how all was going; who, returning the next day, brought the printed proclamation against the leading Whigs, to apprehend them wherever they could be found, and not to harbour them, as they would not be punished according to law, as the persons harboured did deserve. His name being there, he was forced that night to fly into England and leave his wife, who was at that time big with child of his eldest son William.

He left with his wife the fine horse he rode upon, being one of the Lord Loudon's horses that was taken from him, because he had sent his officer to warn all his tenants not to rise to the assistance of their friends. She delivered him at Edinburgh to a friend of my Lords, and went back to her family at the Easthills. He, intending for Newcastle, and being wholly a stranger in that country, and fearing to be robbed by the way, left his money with a merchant in Kelso; and not daring to take a written bill, he got a verbal token to Robert Ker, merchant in the Groat Market of Newcastle, to pay him the money; but, before Mr. Veitch came there, he had got advice by letter so to do. He found several of his friends there who were in the proclamation, and finding them go under other names for their safety, he took the name of William Johnson, his mother being of that name.

The worthy Mr. John Spreul, town-clerk of Glasgow, being fled thither,† they took a chamber and

* Whether through the Duke's interest, or his own activity and capacity for business, Ramsay was afterwards advanced in the church. "James Ramsay, son of Robert Ramsay, minister at Dundonald, and afterward principal of the College of Glasgow, was first minister at Kirkintullock, next at Linlithgow, and in the year 1670 he was made Dean of Glasgow, &c. (which deanry is annexed to the parsonage of Hamilton.) On the 22d July, 1673, he was preferred to the See of Dunblane, upon the translation thence of Bishop Leighton to the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow. On the 23d May, 1684, he was translated from Dunblane to Ross, (Publick Records,) and here he continued till the Revolution deprived him. He died at Edinburgh, 22d October, 1696, and was interred in the Canongate church-yard." (Keith's Catalogue of Scots Bishops, p. 121.)

† "I shall only notice," says Mr. Blackader, "that it was greatly wondered, that such a poor inconsiderable party of countrymen, so badly armed as they were, so outwearyed with cold, travel, and hunger, should ever have faced such a formidable enemy; they being scarce 900 of them who engaged against 3000 horse and foot, beside great multitudes attendants of noblemen and gentlemen in the country, all well armed with all manner of furniture for war offensive and defensive; and yet, not only in the morning, but twice in the afternoon, they both faced them and resolutely fought till they were able to do no more, being oppressed with multitudes. It is not known what number of Dalziel's men fell that day, but these who stood on the hill, when the second party charged the enemy, and chased them into the body, some honest men, I say, who stood among the rest and saw it, affirm they saw many empty horse run into the body of Dalziel's army." (Memoirs, MS. sig. K. 1.)

‡ Herdsman.

‖ John Hamilton of Auldstain, or Austane, was, in January, 1667, apprehended by the Council's order, upon a suspicion that Major Lermont, his son-in-law, had been in his house after Pentland. Nothing could be proven, and with difficulty he got out, upon giving bond to compear when called, under penalty of ten thousand merks." (Wod. i. 266.)

* In the roll of ministers who were nonconformists to prelacy, is "Mr. Patrick Fleming of Stobo." (Wodrow, i. app. No. xxxviii. p. 72.)

† Mr. Spreul had not fled, but was banished. He had been imprisoned in September 1660, along with John Graham, Provost of Glasgow, as a person friendly to the Remonstrance. At that time he obtained his liberty. But he was afterwards brought before the Council, "and the oath of allegiance being tendered to him, he refused the same, alledging he had not freedom to sign the same, by reason of the tie that lay upon him

dieted together that winter: where Mr. Veitch fell into a great flux, through the fatigue and cold he had got that winter. He met with great kindness from the good people in that place, so that he was not only able to live comfortably himself, but also to help his friends that were there in strait, viz. Mr. Spreul, Barmagaehan, Sundywell,* Andrew Gray, and James McDugald, with some others, who stayed all winter.

One of his greatest and kindest friends was Madam Johnson, wife to Mr. William Johnson of Kipplesworth, who, at that time, was present Mayor of Newcastle, who did often visit him *incognito*, especially in his sickness, letting him want nothing. And when he began to recover of his flux tabled him in the country with an independent minister, that he might have a better air for his health; and took him along with her as her chaplain to Naisborrow Spa,* which was an occasion to acquaint him with many persons in the several counties about, such as General Venables who lived at West Chester,† and Justice Sharpless at Blakeburn, with merchants about Leeds, Wakefield, and other places of that country, who earnestly invited him to come and sojourn with them. Venables earnestly solicited the lady Johnson to let Mr. Veitch to go into his coach with him, and stay with him the next winter; but he desired the lady not to grant it till he went back with her, and got things fit for such a journey.

After he returned with the lady, he longed to see his wife and family, and know what was become of them; hearing that she was greatly molested with parties of troopers, who ordinarily came in the night (offering to break up her doors if she did not quickly open) to search for her husband, and also for Major Learmont, who lived within two miles. And they being often disappointed of their design, made use of a malignant laird and lady who lived hard by, to inform them when he came home; and coming some weeks after to that house first to get information, they told that they never heard of his coming home, and it were a pity to disturb such a good gentlewoman, who was big with child: and, giving them drink, persuaded them to pass by to the major's house. Here was a special hand of God, for that night Mr. Veitch was come home, and they would have undoubtedly found him and his horse both. But he that evening went away, and advised his wife to give up the farm and go to Edinburgh where she might live quietly: and he returning to Newcastle, Justice Sharpless, who lived at a hundred miles distance in Lancashire, sent his son to conduct him into the country, where he sojourned with him and Gen-

by the oath of the Covenant: Wherefore the said Lords (December 18, 1664) judging it unjust, that any person should have the benefit of the protection of his Majesty, and enjoy the liberties of a free subject, who refuse to give their oath of allegiance, ordain the said Mr. John Spreul to enact himself under pain of death, to remove out of the kingdom against the first of February next, and not to return without licence, and find caution to behave peaceably till then, under the pain of two thousand pounds, and not to go within six miles of Glasgow." He returned 1671, and, in consideration of sickness and the infirmities of age, was liberated on bond. (Wodrow, i. p. 10, 216, 348.) Provost Graham, mentioned above, on regaining his liberty, retired to Holland with Provost Porterfield of Glasgow, who was in similar circumstances; and in the latter end of 1665, during the Dutch war, the Council declared them rebels and fugitives. (Wod. i. 266.) All the three were in the list of persons fined by act of Parliament, 1662; Mr. Spreul in L.1200 Scots, Provost Graham in L.1000, and Provost Porterfield in L.3000. Several letters from M'Ward to Porterfield are in the Advocates Library.

* James Kirko of Sundaywell was served heir to his father, John Kirko, July 2, 1647. (Inquis. Retorn. Dumfries, 196.) This public-spirited gentleman, and Andrew Hey of Craignethan, had the honour to be the two ruling elders who were present with Mr. James Guthrie, and other ministers, when they met in the house of Robert Simpson in Edinburgh, at the restoration of Charles II., to agree in an address to the King, congratulating him on his return, and putting him in mind of the engagements which he had formerly come under to God and his people. On that occasion he was imprisoned for some months, and was afterwards vexed with repeated fines and quarterings of military, which obliged him to quit his house and property. (Wodrow, i. 7, 269; App. 60.)

He was closely connected with those ministers who preached in the fields in the year 1665, as appears from the following account by Mr. Blackader. Being invited by Gordon of Earlston's lady, to baptize a daughter whom she had born at Drumshinnock, in her journey from Galloway to Edinburgh, Blackader (to use his own words) "would needs venture, finding it a necessary duty, none of the nonconform ministers being in the bounds, at least who would venture to do it; and also, the laird, her husband, being banished out of the kingdom, and at London, after the beginning of the persecution in Galloway. John Neilson of Corsack, a godly gentleman who was executed after Pentland, having formerly fled out of Galloway to Edinburgh, about the time of Mr. Ad. (Adamson, Blackader's assumed name) flying, did ride along with him to Drumshinnock that day they went out of Edinburgh, being to ride home secretly to see his wife; and when they came, Mr. Ad. baptized the child, who was called Margaret, now married since to Menstree; the child was presented by Corsack in the father's absence. After he had baptized this child, he rode forward next day, in the evening, to Barndannoch, to visit his children and servants whom he left behind; and though he came most privately there, souldiers being quartered not far off, yet it was discovered to several in the country, who brought thither five or six young children to be baptized, whom he baptized at night in his own house; and after he had ordered John Osburn to bring his youngest son, a child of two years old, to be carryed for Edin'. and meit him that night at Mr. Samuel Austine's, in the place of Auchinson, near Sanquhar, early in the morning he rode back to Drumshinnock, stayed while near night, and with a guide rode to the said Mr. Samuel Austin's where he had trysted his son, where also he met with Sundaywell, being on his journey to Edinburgh. In the morning they sent away the man, with the bairn on horseback before him; his father and Sundaywell followed soon after, and overtook them in the hollows of Menoch Water, an unusual way; having ridden a while beside the child, he, with Sundywell, was forced to leave him with the uncouth man, where he cried out pitifully till the hills resounded again. They were forced to take bywayes all the way, for the present danger. His father turned back a little and then rode on with Sundaywell, and came to the parish of Dunsyre on Saturday night, to Mr. Veitch's house at Hills, where he preached on the morrow, being Sabbath, but to a few persons, publick preaching not having been practised in these bounds before." This happened in spring 1666. (Blackader's Memoirs, MS. H. 3, 4.)

John Osburn, mentioned above, belonged to the parish of Keir, and was joined with the ministers against whom letters were directed January 25, 1666, alleging, "the said John Osburn does presume to take upon him to be an officer for giving notice to the people of the said unlawful meetings, and accordingly, from time to time, doth acquaint them herewith." (Wod. i. 234, 235.) His own account of his sufferings is here subjoined from a manuscript in the Advocates Library. "In the first place when the ministers came to preach in the hills, to wot, when Mr. John Welsh, Mr. Gabriel Sample, and other eight with them were denunced, and I was also denunced with them, as being muntan beddall, as likeways afterhend I was forced to flee, and afterward returning home, was apprehended at my master's harvest by a party of Turner's men; being taken to Dumfriece, was interrogate whoe they were that preached, and who were auditors of my acquaintance; the which I absolutelie refused upon all hazards. Thence he put me in the thives hole, and threatened me by sterving, keeping the key the space of three days himself, thinking to make me confess whome I knew to be preachers and hearers, the which I absolutelie refused; afterwards my wife went to one of the tune bailies, declaring to him that she would goe to Edinburgh and complain. Afterward I was brought out of the prison, and was put in another, where I received meat and drink, otherwayes I had sterved." (No. 6. MS. XL. art. 54.)

* Knaresborough, a town in the North Riding of Yorkshire, pleasantly situated on the river Nid, on a rugged rough rock. It is famous for four medicinal springs, and is 18 miles W. by N. of York. (Walker's Gazetteer.) And now (says Sir John Reresby) Lord Fairfax, a Roman Catholic, and Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding, being at York, observed to me, "it could be for no good ends that the Lords Devonshire and Danby were come down to the country; though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters of Knairsborough." Oct. 4, 1668, (Reresby's Memoirs, p. 275—6.)

† This is the city Chester, as evidently appears from what follows. After the battle of Naseby, Mrs. Hutchinson states, that "Fairfax tooke again the towne of Liecester, and went into the west, reliev'd Taunton, tooke Bristol, and many other garrisons. West Chester alsoe and other places were taken that way."—(Life of Col. Hutch. p. 253.)—The king when at York sent a message to the parliament, that he was going to Ireland, and would form a guard at West Chester. (Ibid. 88.)

eral Venables* many months: then came to Leeds, where his acquaintances there he had gotten at the Well made him very welcome. Among all these parts he preached to the people as conveniency offered, it being a persecuting time.

From thence he was invited to go to London, where he sometimes preached in meeting-houses, particularly for Mr. Nichol Blakie.† one Sabbath day, on Luke 19, 41, 42. "If thou hadst known in this thy day," &c. where there happened to be some hearers who were esteemed to be spies, (which was a Court trick at that time) who cried out after the blessing was pronounced, treason, treason; which surprised and frightened Mr. Blakie and the people; but the famous Colonel Blood, who went then under the name of Allan,* with some of his accomplices, sitting near the only door of the meeting-house, while the others who cried were on the far side of the pulpit, Colonel Blood stands up, saying, "Good people, what are these that cry treason, treason? We have heard nothing but reason, reason. You that are in the passage there stand still, and you who are betwixt and the pulpit, make way for the minister to come tome, and I'll carry him safe to his chamber." And so he did, and we heard no more of that business.

Thus did Mr. Veitch travel from place to place, sometimes at London, sometimes at Nottingham, sometimes in Cheshire, and sometimes in Lancashire; and stayed frequently at Mr. Scurr's house at Haguehall, five miles off Leeds; and preached much at the meeting-house of Topcliff-hall about three miles from Leeds; † and sometimes in Northumberland, espe-

* Colonel Venables arrived at Dublin with reinforcements to the Parliament's troops in July 1649. (Carte's Ormond, ii. 78.) He was employed in Ireland, and was in Cromwell's Parliament, which met September 3, 1654,) for the counties of Downe, Antrim, and Armagh. (History of Irish Parliament, ii. 242-3.) His attempts in 1650, to induce the Presbyterian ministers to own the Rump Parliament, proved abortive.—(Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians, p, 288—297.)—In 1655, an expedition was fitted out to St. Domingo, under the command of Pen and "General Venables. a gentleman of a good family in Cheshire, who had served long in the army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to command this expedition." Clarendon says, that both these officers were well affected to the King's service, and had, unknown to one another, signified so much to him; but he wished them to reserve their affections to a more proper season. (History vi. 739.) Having failed in the attempt on St. Domingo. the object of the expedition, though they succeeded in a descent on Jamaica, Cromwell was so highly incensed that at their return he committed them for some time to the tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again.—(Ibid. 744.)—In 1663 Venables was examined on the Marquis of Antrim's alleged correspondence with Cromwell or his officers.—(Carte's Ormond, ii. 279.)

† Mr. Nichol Blackie, or Blakie, was author of some Sermons under the title *Lazarus Redivivus*, published in 1671 at London, where they had been preached about the period when Veitch was occasionally with him. They were reprinted at Edinburgh in 1760, with a preface by the Reverend Adam Gib, who had looked in vain for the author's name in Calamy's Account of non-conforming ministers, but appears to have had no suspicion of his being a Scotchman. This, however, was the fact. Mr. Alexander Shields mentions his having gone to London with a letter of recommendation to one Mr. Blackie a Scottish minister.—(Minutes of the general meeting of United Societies, MS. p. 172. Advocates Library.) On looking into Wodrow's List of Scottish non-conforming ministers, I find Mr. Blackie ejected, by the Glasgow act in 1662, from Roberton in the Presbytery of Lanark, the very parish in which Veitch's father had been minister, and from which he was driven, after 45 years ministrations. But it does not appear whether Blackie was inducted to the parish after Veitch's ejection, or had been previously settled as assistant and successor to him. At any rate, both were turned out before this time, and Veitch's acquaintance with Blackie is accounted for. Mr. Blackie survived the Revolution, but I know not if he ever returned to Scotland.

From a passage of his Sermons, it is probable that Mr. Blackie was one of those who preached to the people of London, in 1665 and 1666, on occasion of the plague and burning of the city. "Was not this a hopeful beginning, to see a people coming out of the fire and from the plague—trembling and melted down at Christ's feet? Then *you spake* trembling, and he exalted you, by sending forth from these flames, the cooling waters of the sanctuary, that run plentifully towards you, when the gospel had a free passage, by the indulgence of the supreme authority, for several years." (Lazarus Redivivus, p. 17. ed. Glasgow, 1795.) "One great benefit (says Mr. Baxter) the plague brought to the city; that is, it occasioned the silenced ministers, more openly and laboriously to preach the gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the people; insomuch, that to this day the freedom of preaching, which this occasioned, cannot, by the daily guards of soldiers, nor by the imprisonments of multitudes, be restrained. The ministers that were silenced for non-conformity, had, ever since 1662, done their work very privately, and to a few (not so much through their timorousness, as their loathness to offend the king, and in hopes still that their forbearance might procure them some liberty; and through some timorousness of the people that should hear them.) And when the plague grew hot, most of the conformable ministers fled, and left their flocks, in the time of their extremity: whereupon divers non-conformists pitying the dying and distressed people, that had none to call the impenitent to repentance, nor to help men to prepare for another world; nor to comfort them in their terrors, when about 10,000 died in a week, resolved that no obedience to the laws of any mortal men whosoever, could justify them for neglecting of men's souls and bodies in such extremities; no more than they can justify parents for famishing their children to death: And that when Christ shall say, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these ye did it not to me: it will be poor excuse to say, Lord, I was forbidden by the law." (Life of Baxter, part iii. p. 2.) The pious intrepidity with which one of these ministers (Mr. Thomas Vincent, author of a well known Catechism,) devoted himself to this perilous work of love, surpasses any of the justly-lauded labours of the philanthropic Howard. To the arguments employed to persuade him not to expose his valuable life, by his brethren assembled for the purpose of dissuading him from his purpose, Vincent replied, "that he had very seriously considered the matter before he had come to a resolution: he had carefully examined the state of his own soul, and could look death in the face with comfort. He thought that it was absolutely necessary that such vast numbers of dying people should have some spiritual assistance. He could have no prospect of service in the exercise of his ministry through his whole life like that which now offered itself. He had often committed the case and himself to God in prayer; and, upon the whole, had solemnly devoted himself to the service of God and souls upon this occasion; and therefore hoped none of them would endeavour to weaken his hands in this work." "When the ministers present had heard him out, they unanimously declared their satisfaction and joy, that they apprehended the matter was of God, and concurred in their prayers for his protection and success. He went out hereupon to his work with the greatest firmness and assiduity. He constantly preached every Lord's day through the whole visitation in some parish church. His subjects were the most moving and important, and his management of them most pathetic and searching. The awfulness of the judgment, then every where obvious, gave a peculiar edge to the preacher and his auditors. It was a general inquiry through the preceding week, where he was to preach: multitudes followed him wherever he went; and several were awakened by every sermon. He visited all that sent for him, without fear, and did the best he could for them in their extremity, especially to save their souls from death. And it pleased God to take particular care of him; for though the whole number reckoned to die of the plague in London this year was 68,596, and seven persons died of it in the family where he lived, he continued in perfect health all the while, and was afterwards useful, by his unwearied labours, to a numerous congregation, till the year 1678, when he died at Haxton." (Palmer's Non-conformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 125-6.)

* "Thomas Allen, the pretended doctor, was really Mr. Blood, under that fictitious name. (Biographia Britannica, vol. ii. p. 365. Last edition.) This singular character comes to be mentioned again in the memoir.

† It is evident that the parts of England frequented by Veitch abounded with non-conformists. They had been deprived of their ministers by the act of Uniformity, and by subsequent procedure. The following notices relate to the places mentioned in the text.

Hague-Hall.—Mr. Leonard Scurr, ejected from Beeston, was a native of Pontefract, and had a good estate in that neighbourhood. About 1680 he and his family were murdered. The murderers fled to Ireland, but were apprehended. (Palmer's Non-conf. Memorial, vol. ii. p. 555.) Mr. Gamaliel Marsden, ejected from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1660, and from a chapel near Halifax in 1662. "He afterwards went into Holland, and at his return taught some young students at *Hague-Hall* philosophy," &c. He died May 28, 1681. (Ibid. p. 563.)

Topcliff-Hall.—Mr. Christopher Marshall, ejected from Woodkirk in 1662; preached in 1672 at Topcliff-Hall. He

cially in Reedsdale and the borders thereabout, until the year of God 1671. Being prevailed with by that people to bring his family into the north, that he might be some way useful among them, he removed his wife and two sons, William and Samuel, in creels, from Edinburgh into a village called Falalies, farming a piece of ground from Charles Hall, who was owner of that place and village, within the parish of Rodberry in Northumberland. After some years wandering, he had found that lot much embittered with his great and almost continual distance from his wife and family, as also with the great troubles they underwent, (parties of soldiers besetting and breaking up the doors at midnight,) so that he resolved to transport them into Northumberland; neither his affection nor ability serving to carry them farther at that time, he being forfeit life and fortune and all that he had taken from him, except a little they knew not of.

But they were not well settled there (though in a moorish retired place) when their neighbours of the Romish gang, which abound there, did stir up the Lord Whiterington * to mar some small meetings that he had. It being about the time of the English indulgence, † he pretended a commission to apprehend and secure all ministers that had not the king's license, and thinking belike that this stranger had scarce friends or time to procure one of the licences, he, accompanied with Esquire Thornton,‡ a great Romanist, and several other gentlemen, came to the minister's landlord, whom they sent to see for the license, and finding one, which indeed was come but the preceding day, went away with a great disappointment.

This liberty occasioned him to be called five miles farther into the country, and to farm an house suitable to the work, called Harnamhall, belonging to Major Babington,‖ where the auditory increased daily. The very report made several persons come to see the novelty, and satisfy their curiosity; of some of whom, it can be said, they went not as they came; for the profanation of the Sabbath by baking their bread, starching their clothes, mucking their byres, &c. was wonderfully reformed by his preaching on Sabbath sanctification.

Likewise many Anabaptists, who keep seventh-day Sabbath, came to hear, and being taken with the ordinances, did also keep our Sabbath, and were punctual attenders. One young gentlewoman who was married to a Presbyterian, after the baptism of her first child, was long under trouble of mind, and confessed that shame kept her long back; but coming over all at length, stood up in the congregation, and making a savoury confession of her faith, was baptized—(it was a weeping day, and I think it did more good than many sermons)—which did much good in the corner, several following her example. By this and other motives the meeting still increased, by many who lived at a great distance, they would have come ten miles on the one side, and as far on the other.

And here I cannot pass a remarkable story concerning a village called Fenick or Phenwick, about five miles off this meeting, where a godly weaver and his wife lived, who were the scorn of the place for their piety, and used to steal in the back way to their own house; but being discovered by a number of young men playing at the foot ball on Sabbath afternoon, they left their game coming to mock them; but the honest man addressing himself to some of them who were of good age, after he had laid before them the danger of such an open profanation of the Sabbath, he invites three or four of them to go once along with him and hear sermon, and it might be that they would change their thoughts; and if they were not persuaded to go again, yet he hoped they might be so far convinced as not any more to mock him for going. These went with him next day, and it pleased the Lord that they got that which made them invite others, and they others, till the most part of the town came; and family worship, with Sabbath reformation, was so remarkable there, that it was the talk of the country about, and greatly incensed the clergy.

Whilst the bulwark of indulgence continued he preached peaceably, although some of several offices, professions, and qualities meanwhile were sharpening their teeth and snarling, which visibly appeared upon the back of that proclamation recalling the liberty. For Sir Thomas Lorrain of Kirkharle, a justice of the peace, being instigated, as is confidently reported, by several of his pot companions, the clergymen, did once and again issue out warrants to the high and petty constables of that ward to apprehend him; which proving ineffectual, he, to gain his point, retrieve his credit, and gratify the renewed desires of his forementioned friends, drinking one Saturday afternoon with him in his own house, did solemnly promise that the next Sabbath, which was then very nigh, he would go himself in person and apprehend him, and consequently, once for all, put a stop to that meeting. But not many hours after, if any, he by an unusual mean got his leg broke, so that for many weeks he could not travel: his lady, Sir John Fenwick's sister,* calling him out

died in 1673. (Ibid. 579.) Mr. James Calvert "had been several years at Topcliff, when he was silenced by the act of Uniformity." After some stay at York, he, about 1675, became chaplain to Sir William Strickland of Boynton. On his death he removed to Hull, and thence to Northumberland to Sir William Middleton's, who made him his chaplain, and left him tutor to his only son. (Ibid. p. 596.)

Leeds.—Mr. Richard Stretton, ejected from Petworth in Sussex, preached in Leeds from about 1670 to 1677. (Ibid. p. 469.) He was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Sharp, ejected from Addle, in the West Riding, who survived the Revolution. (Ibid. p. 469.) Mr. Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton, West Riding, was one of four who preached in a meeting house erected in Leeds on the indulgence, 1672. (Ibid. p. 556.) Messrs. Robert Todd, James Sales, and Christopher Nesse, were ejected from Leeds. (Ibid. p. 565–6–7.)

Wakefield.—Mr. Jeremiah Marsden was ejected from Ardesley chapel near Wakefield in 1662. (Ibid. p. 552.) Mr. William Howden, born near Leeds, being ejected from Broadsworth, removed to Wakefield, where he preached, even after the loss of his sight, which happened about 1690. (Ibid. p. 558.)

Blackburn.—Mr. Charles Sager, master of the school of Blackburn, Lancashire, preached there, or in the vicinity, till 1668 or 1669. He was afterwards imprisoned. (Ibid. vol. i. p. 335.) Mr. Jeremiah Marsden, mentioned in the last paragraph, had preached at Blackburn, and in various places in Yorkshire, Cheshire, &c. previous to his settlement at Ardesley. (Ibid. ii. 553.)

* Sir William Widdrington of Widdrington Castle was expelled the House of Commons, 1642; created a Baron by the King in 1643; and slain at Wigan on the march of Charles II. to Worcester. William, Lord Widdrington, his son, was one of the Council of State on the Restoration.—Hutchinson's Northumberland, ii. 317.)—Being Governor of Berwick, he took offence at a sermon which Mr. Luke Ogle, the minister of that town, preached on the 5th of November, shut him out of his church without waiting for the act of Uniformity; threw him afterwards repeatedly into prison, and refused to allow him to live in Berwick, even after the English indulgence was granted, unless he would conform.—(Palmer's Nonconf. Memor. ii. 244—6.)

† March 15, 1672.

‡ Sir Nicholas Thornton's estate was sequestrated by parliament 8th Nov. 1652.—(Hutchinson's North. ii. 283, note.)

‖ "Harnham was the mansion of the Babingtons (a family as ancient in Britain as the Conquest) and of Colonel Babington, in the reign of Charles II. Governor of Berwick. His first wife, Catharine, was under excommunication for contempt of an ecclesiastical sentence, on which account she was not entitled to sepulture on consecrated ground."—(Ibid. i. 217—8.) It is probable that protestant nonconformity was her crime, as she was the widow of Colonel George Fenwick, and eldest daughter of Sir Arthur Hezelrigge of Nosely, and of Dorothea Grenville, sister to Robert Lord Brook. (Ibid.)

† Thomas Loraine of Kirkharle, was created a Baronet in the 26th year of the reign of King Charles II. and died in January 1717. He married Grace, daughter of Sir William Fenwick, Baronet of Wallington, in the county of Northumberland. Sir John Fenwick was executed on Towerhill in

from the instigators to the stairhead, being in a passion, kicked him down stairs for selling four oxen and spending the price of them in drinking.

The clergy then resolved to make use of their instruments of death, seeing his were blunted; and that they might be completely furbished and sharpened effectually to do the work, one Parson Ward of Kirkharle * goes up to the chief grinder and polisher at Durham, viz. the bishop,† and no doubt returned, as he thought, well armed for the destruction, not only of this but of other non-conforming ministers and people about: and being so well pleased that the bishop had given him and his brethren about, orders to excommunicate all of them, &c. But being a considerable way off his church on Sabbath (being detained by the parson of Pontiland who drank all night together) rides so hard to be home in time, that he tired his horse by the way, and not being able to get him on alone, he hires the herdman of Harnam, the town where this minister lived, to lead him, taking his club to drive him on. But while he is unmercifully (as it is like) beating the poor beast, it doth (without respect had to his coat, the canons, or the orders he carried) smite him violently with his foot upon the cheek bone until the blood gushed out and he fell; and so like the ass in sacred story presaged his unsuccessfulness. The boy that led the horse runs into a lady's house hard by: the old gentlewoman sent out the two servants that waited on her (the rest being at church) with a barrow, and they with the boy carried him in. She dressed his wound, and he lay there several weeks under cure; by which providence their malicious design at that time was disappointed, and I am credibly informed he carries the mark of that stroke to this day.

After he had preached four years in a hall at Harnam, the house and ground pertaining thereto got a new master, one Thomas Dawson, a roper in Newcastle, who, upon reasons best known to himself, refused to continue this minister his tenant, and thereby that meeting was dissolved; yet he was a dissenter, and his riches melted away afterwards.

This occasioned his removal to Stantonhall, in the parish of Longhorsly, May 16, anno . . . where he found his lot fallen in none of the best places; the country side abounding with papists, and the parish church filled with a violent persecutor, one Mr. Thomas Bell, a Scotsman, of whom more afterwards: and there wanted not justices of peace at hand meet helpers for them, two whereof, viz. Sir Thomas Horsley of Longhorsley,* and William Ogle of Causeway Park,† came with some men to take Mr. Veitch at a meeting in his own house, upon the second Sabbath of August 1677. One of the justices with his party came to the foregates, but Mr. Ogle with his came to the postern gate and broke up a nailed door about three of the clock in the afternoon, without ever demanding entrance, and bursting up another door that the minister's wife was shutting till her husband escaped, whereby she had certainly been spoiled, she being great with child, if the falling down of the sneck had not prevented it. In the mean time the minister got into a hole within the lining of a great window which had been made on purpose, for the whole room was lined about with wainscot.

A Scotsman that was their gardener came along with them, and bursting first into that room perceived the minister going into the hiding place, which his wife perceived, and standing near him, he observed her to be afraid of him, and he said to her "Fear not," which eased her mind. They sent their servants up through the rooms and garrets to search for the minister and others; and one of their servants falling in upon the garret that was above a great lower hall which was the meeting place, looking down through a hole that was broke, he saw a great crowd of people (which were the town's folks gazing,) and one of them being in black clothes, whom he took to be the minister, he cried with a loud voice, "Master, master, where are you? I have found 'em all." Justice Ogle running into the hall, cried "Where are they?" "Sir, you are just among them." "Come down, sirrah," says he; "the d——— confound you, for here is none but the people gazing." "Troth," says he, "Sir, I have been through so many garrets that I know not where I am." So missing their design, and advising his wife to let her husband preach to herself and her children only, then she should not be troubled, they went away. Their carriage was very rude, coming in with pistols in their hands; and all this was done upon the naked information of one single person, seconded with Mr. Bell's threatenings and persuasives.

The laymen being vexed, and the clergy about galled at this disappointment, resolved, on more frequent and close pursuits, to catch the prey. Mr. Bell drinking with a mixed company, some professed papists, others little better, who it is like were stimulating him on against that meeting and minister, vowed, as it is reported, that he should either ruin him or he him; and as the event proved, he was no false prophet. For after several essays against him and others, both such as dwelt in the country, and those that came in transiently from Scotland and preached, he, with several of that gang, as we hear, represented to Lauderdale, returning from Scotland to the court, the dangerous condition of these northern counties, and that because of many vagrant Scotch preachers, by whose means the begun infection did spread, and was like to pass Tyne Bridge, and approach the very noble parts of the nation if not timeously prevented.

1696 for a conspiracy against King William.—Hutchinson's North. i. 220, 221.)—"Northumberland.—Sir John Fenwick, a Captain under the Duke of Monmouth, and promised a place at Court, had L.2000 given him for his election."—(Marvell's Works, ii. 571.)—He appears to have sitten in all the parliaments from the Restoration to the Revolution.—(Hutchinson's North. ii. 447—8.)

* "Kirkharle vicarage.—Ric. Ward. 1671. Pr. Thomas Lorraine."—Hutchinson's North. State of Churches, p. 46.)

† On October 22, 1674, Nathaniel Crewe was translated from Oxford to Durham. (Surtees, Durham, vol. i. P. i. p. cxv.) "In 1677, the Duke of Monmouth was sent as general against the Scottish Covenanters. Bishop Crewe's zeal for this service cannot be doubted; he posted to his diocese, [of which he was Lord Lieutenant] raised the militia of the county with great promptitude, and entertained the Duke at Durham both on his progress and on his return." He solemnized the marriage of the Duke of York with Mary of Modena, and on the Duke's accession, "went headlong into the destructive measures which hurled that prince and all his family into exile." Though he voted that James had abdicated the throne, he was excepted from the general pardon granted by William and Mary, and fled to Holland, but having returned and taken the oaths to the new government, was restored to his bishopric. On Sir John Fenwick's trial for treason against King William, the Bishop had King James's thanks sent him from St. Germains for his attention to the prisoner. Bishop Crewe felt the ruling passion (aversion to the Whigs) strong in death; as he lay dying on the marble slab before the fire, he cried out, in almost his last moments, to his chaplain Richard Grey, "Dick! Dick! don't go over to them." (Ibid. vol. i. p. i. cxv—cxix.)

* "Long Horsley.—The family of Horsley held lands within this manor from distant ages." (Hutch. North. ii. 319.) Edward Horsley Widdrington, whose only daughter and heir married Thomas Riddall, Esq. of Swinburn Castle. (Ibid.) Sir Thomas Horsley, Knight, was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Northumberland, anno 1679, (Statutes of the Realm, vol. v. 915.)

† "Cawsey Park—the inheritance of a younger branch of the noble family of Ogle." James Ogle, Esq. of Cawsey Park, a steady royalist, died 4th December 1664. (Hutchinson, ii. 318.) William Ogle, Esq. was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Northumberland, anno 1679, and member for that county, anno 1685. (Statutes of the Realm, v. 915.)

Shortly after his arrival at Court, several troops of horse and dragoons were sent thither, to crush all meetings, apprehend the abettors, and stop the infection. One Major Main was over the horse, and Major Oglethorp the dragoons.* These were sent to chastise the now bad (commonly called, and never more deservedly, the good) town of Berwick upon Tweed. These men being all strangers were to act by counsel and command of Colonel Strothers, a deputy lieutenant of Northumberland, who was set over them, and preferred to have a troop of his own raising for his own guard; and as their commission was ample, so he was *sine quo non* in all their actings.

After they had carried on their work a great length (being feasted and encouraged by the papists, the clergy, and the corrupt justices) Major Oglethorp having notice given him in the very night Mr. Veitch came home, by some hired for that purpose, he being a stranger in the country, hires one Thomas Cleugh, a sheriff's bailiff, to be his guide from Morpeth; and after they had beset the house upon the 19th day of January 1679, about five of the clock in the morning, this Cleugh rapping on the glass window of the parlour where the minister lay, and calling him till he awaked, Mr. Veitch being surprised asked who was there, which, when Cleugh heard, "Now," said he to the Major, standing beside him, "Yonder he is, I have no more to do." Upon which the Major broke down the glass window, thinking to get in; but finding iron bars in his way, called to open the door quickly, quickly; and being impatient they broke in at the hall windows, and had their candles lighted ere the maid opened the inner doors; apprehended the minister, and carried him to Morpeth jail, where he continued prisoner twelve days. The warrant they had was by way of letter from Colonel Strothers and Mr. Ogle of Causeway Park his son-in-law, and now Lieutenant to his troop. It was given several months before, and directed to Major Main at Wooler; he directs it to Oglethorp at Morpeth, three or four miles from Stantonhall, to execute, the true copy whereof is as follows:

"Sir, We are credibly informed that there is one Mr. Johnson, a preacher or teacher to the nonconformists in the church of England, who stands outlawed for rebellion in the kingdom of Scotland, and a fugitive in this kingdom; his constant abode is at Stanton, about four miles from Morpeth in this county. We desire that you will give out your order to some of your forces under your command, that the said Johnson may be taken and sent to jail: and the jailor, his deputy or deputies, is hereby required, and in his Majesty's name straitly we command him or them, to receive the body of the said Johnson into their custody, and him safely keep in their jails until the next assizes, and this shall be the jailor's security.

Sir, this with our humble
service to you, we rest
your faithful friends and servants,
Wm. Strother.*
Wm. Ogle."

"*Fowberry, Nov.* 21. 1678."

It was thus directed.

"For the Honoured Major Main, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, in these Northern Counties, at his quarters at Wooler."

It seems that this warrant is sent to Major Oglethorp, Major of the dragoons, who lay at Morpeth, to be put in execution.

This warrant was no way formal or legal, as afterwards was declared by good lawyers. The executing it upon the Sabbath day was against a late act of Parliament.† But the zeal and love of reward carried them over all these difficulties, and a deep storm of snow to the boot; which made the Major and Griffith his Lieutenant, and Ensign Owen, (who was hanged at York, the Lammas after their disbanding, for robbery,) and the rest walk on foot all the way, and were often up to the middle in snow missing the tract in the night.

The foresaid Justices being acquainted by a messenger from the Major, and fearing the warrant, (for the Head Sheriff,‡ upon information of the illegalness of it, wrote to his deputy to turn the prisoner out of his jail, which he obeyed not,) two days after, they send another directed to the jailor Fenwick, to keep him in safe custody until Lammas assizes, and that without bail or main prize. This warrant had Henry Ogle of Eglingham's hand joined to the other two.‖

* During the rising at Bothwell, the Privy Council of Scotland desired Major Main to march to Kelso, and both he and Major Oglethorp appear to have been actively employed in suppressing the insurrection. (Wodrow, ii. 52, 596.) The forfeiture of life and fortune which followed the affair at Bothwell (says Ker of Kersland) "still affects some gentlemen who then forfeited, because their estates were given by the Crown to Colonel Cornwall, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, and General Main, three Englishmen, who never having any of their effects in Scotland, could not be reached by the laws of that nation. Nevertheless Mr. Gordon of Craighlaw, Mr. Gordon of Earlston, Mr. Cochrane of Waterside, Mr. Ferguson of Caithlock, Mr. Martin of Cutcloy, and others, have been always reckoned among the loyalest subjects, since King William of glorious memory came to the Crown; who from that year 1679 have laboured under insuperable difficulties, (which all others who then forfeited, were relieved from) without any probability of reparation, as much as if the forfeiture had never been reversed, notwithstanding all the representations that have been made of their case, not only to the government and Mr. Cornwall himself, but by the Parliament also recommended to the Crown, and even in spite of the Union too." (Memoirs, p. 5.) "If Clavers and Oglethorp had been left to their own discretion, they had put an end to that rebellious crowd, and purged the nation of much superfluous and corrupted blood." (Memoirs of Dundee, p. 12.)

* "Fowbury, the possession of the Fowburys, in the reign of King Edward I.; afterwards of the family of Strothers, and now of Sir Francis Blake of Twizell." (Hutchinson's North. i. 240.) William Strothers was a Commissioner of Supply in 1679, (Statutes of the Realm, v. 915.) and an active agent of the Council in Scotland, for apprehending Scottish ministers who had taken refuge in Northumberland. (Wodrow, ii. 254, 257.)

† Veitch refers here to the Act for the better observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, by the Parliament 1677, of which the following is an extract; "Provided alsoe, that noe person or persons upon the Lord's day, shall serve or execute, or cause to be served or executed, any writt, processe, warraut, order, judgement, or decree, (except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace) but that the service of every such writt, processe, warrant, order, judgement, or decree, shall be void to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And the person or persons soe serveing or executeing the same, shall be as lyable to the suite of the partie grieved, and to answere damages to him for doeing thereof, as if he or they had done the same without any writt, processe, warrant, order, judgement or decree at all." (Statutes of the Realm, v. 848.)

‡ Marke Milbanke "was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1679." (Hutchinson's North. ii. 461.) He was of Scottish extraction. Ralph Milbanke was cup-bearer to Mary Queen of Scots; and having fought a duel in Scotland, retired and settled at Chirton, near North Shields. Marke Milbanke, "his grandson and heir," was twice Mayor of Newcastle, and once High Sheriff of Northumberland. He was active in the Restoration, and a contributor to the money sent by the town of Newcastle to the King at Breda. Mark Milbanke, Esq. his "only surviving son and heir, was advanced to the degree of a Baronet [of Halnaby, Yorkshire] 13. Car. II.—and dying June 1680," was succeeded in honour and estate by his eldest son, Sir Mark Milbanke.—(Baronetage of England, ii. 223, 224.) Sir Ralph Milbanke of Halnaby, the father of Lady Byron, took the name of Noel in 1815. (Surtees, Durham, vol. i. part ii. p. 274.)

‖ "Eglingham is a seat of a branch of the Ogle family," of whom was "Henry, one of the sequestrators of lands in Northumberland for Parliament 19 King Charles I. 1643." "He was representative for this county in Parliament 5 King Charles II. 1653." (Cromwell's Parliament.) He is also in the list for 1654. "Henry, High Sheriff for this county, 6th Queen Anne 1707." (Hutchinson's North. i. 234, ii. 447.)

In his account of Mr. Henry Erskine's sufferings, Wodrow says:—*July* 2, 1682, [it should be 1685. Palmer's Noncouf. Mem. ii. 253.] he was apprehended by eight of the militia horsemen, and carried first to Wooller and next day to For-

The lawyers being consulted did, notwithstanding, declare the prisoner bailable, and the Justices fineable for refusal; but for all this many refused, and this order that was procured from two Justices, was by Mr. Green the under-sheriff, rejected. The tenor whereof follows:—

"Northumberland.—Whereas you have in your custody the body of one Mr. Johnson, *alias* Veitch, committed the 19th day of January instant, for holding and keeping unlawful assemblies and meetings; and himself hath preached and teached contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord and King that now is. And whereas there has been sufficient sureties given before us for his personal appearance at the next quarter sessions to beheld for the county. These are in his Majesty's name straitly to charge and command you, the keeper of his Majesty's jayl for the county aforesaid, to bring before us the body of the said Mr. Johnson *alias* Veitch, immediately upon sight hereof, that such care may be taken as the law shall direct; and hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your utmost peril. Given under our hands and seall, this 29th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1678. [1679.]
Bellshaw, Jan. 29, 1678. Wm. Middleton.*
Cheesburn Grange, Jan. 29, 1678. Wm. Widdrington.†

"For the keeper of his Majesty's jayl at Morpeth, for the county aforesaid, his deputy or deputies, these."

In the mean time an express was sent to London, to acquaint his majesty that the prisoner was apprehended: and the king no doubt being greatly misinformed, an order was dispatched from the king and council to transport the prisoner to Scotland, there to suffer for alleged misdemeanours. Therefore, he is safely to be conducted to the borders, where the sheriff of the Merse, the county next England, by the king and council of Scotland's order, was to receive him off the English hands.

After this order came, quick despatch was made, lest the prisoner should have been liberate. Major Oglethorp meets Colonel Strother at Alnwick to consult about his transportation; and then they send the king and council of England's order to the under sheriff, and officers of dragoons, lying at Morpeth; which was read to the prisoner with a great deal of ceremony and insulting; performed by that confluence gathered together in the jailor's low hall, to which he was brought down to prison from a guard of musketeers.

They appointed him to make ready for his journey by eight of the clock next morning, being the 30th day of January. But he told them, he knew not how to make ready, for he had access to speak to no person, either for getting horses, or any other necessaries: and desired liberty to see his wife. They allowed him to send for any in town to provide horses, and to bring his wife to him, who came through a deep storm of snow to an inn at Morpeth after midnight, and sat at the fireside till next morning; and when she came to her husband, she was not admitted to speak to him but before the soldiers; * a guard whereof was that night set in the room to watch him, in conjunction with a fellow that the jailor had hired every night, lest he should escape, which care was not taken of the popish priest, prisoner in the same room, as was observed, either before or after.

The next day the kettle-drums beat early, and by Lieutenant Griffith he is brought to Alnwick, where the fore-mentioned justices that had given the two warrants to apprehend him, with the majors and other officers, about twenty of them, all assembled at the post-house to see the prisoner. The lieutenant drew up the guard before that door, and Colonel Strothers called out to bring up the prisoner, and, as he entered the dining-room, saluted him, regretting his hard circumstances, and hoping he would not mistake them, being obliged, by their places, to obey his majesty's orders. To which the prisoner replied, that he thought all persons in their several stations and capacities should act so in every one of them, as they may be answerable to a good conscience, the kings of the earth, and the Sovereign Judge before whom all of us must appear at the great audit. So he was desired to dine with them, but not to say grace, for some of them made the fashion of taking off their hat, and some not.

When the healths drinking came about, he refused, at which Major Main cried out, "Colonel Strother, you see what a rebel this man is, who refuses to drink the king's health." To which he replied, "Sir, if you understood the law you would [find] yourself the rebel, and not me. It seems you know not that the king, by proclamation, has discharged healths drinking, and his own in particular, which you will find in the booksellers' shops at Newcastle."† After that he

berry [Fowbury], to Colonel Struthers, who acquainted him he must go to Newcastle to Sir John Fenwick, by virtue of an order from the King, and so was returned that night to Wooller prison, where he met with the Reverend Mr. Luke Ogle, a fellow prisoner. July 4, both of them were carried under a guard to *Eglingham, to a Justice of Peace his house;* and upon Monday July 6, for it seems the English were a little more careful of the Lord's day than our Scots persecutors, they were taken to Newcastle." (ii. 257.) It would seem they had grown more religious since Veitch's imprisonment.—Between 1648 and 1662, a Mr. John Pringle was minister at *Eglingham*, a nonconformist. (Hutchinson's North. vol. i. State of the Churches, p. 7.) Walter Pringle of Greenknow visited him at Eglingham in company with Mr. John Livingston, minister of Ancrum.—(Memoirs of Walter Pringle of Greenknow, written by himself, p 21. Edin. 1751.)

* "Belsay Castle, the seat of Sir William Middleton—was part of the family possessions in the time of King Edward II." (Hutchinson's North. i. 218.) Sir William Middleton was created a Baronet in the 4th of King Charles II. according to Hutchinson, (p. 219.) but the 14th according to the Baronetage of England, (ii. 269.) He was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1666. (Hutchinson, ii. 461.) In addition to the proof formerly given of his favourable disposition to the nonconformists, it may be mentioned that Mr. Robert Leaver, ejected from Bolham, Northumberland, preached sometimes in a chappel in the same parish belonging to Sir William Middleton; "and Mr. John Davis, ejected from Bywell, preached sometimes at Sir William Middleton's at Belsay." (Palmer, Nonconf. Mem. ii. 247, 249.)

† "Cheeseburn Grange lays to the North [of Rutchester.] The manor belonged to the priory of Hexham, afterwards to the *Widdringtons*, and now is the possession of Ralph Riddle, Esq." (Hutchinson's North. i. 130.)

* The following passage in Mrs. Veitch's Memoirs refers to this part of their family history. "Several years after it pleased the Lord to let my husband fall into the enemy's hands, who took him January 19, about five o'clock in the morning, 1679, in Stanton Hall.—All the time the officers were in the house he supported me so, that I was not in the least discouraged before them, which made Major Oglethorp to say, he wondered to see me. 'I told him that I looked to an higher hand than his in this; I knew he could not go one hairbreadth beyond God's permission. He answered, 'he permits his enemies to go a great length sometimes.' They took him to prison, where he lay about twelve days.—Much means were used for his liberty, but all to none effect, which bred new errands to God for him and me; but misbelief coming in, and telling many ill tales of God, was like to discourage me; viz. that I was a stranger in a strange land, and had six small children, and little in the world to look to; but he comforted me with these words, 'O, why art thou cast down, my soul, what should discourage thee? and why with vexing thoughts art thou disquieted within me? Still trust in him, for I shall have good cause to praise him.' Ps. xliii. 5.—He wrote to me in the night that there was an order from the King to remove him to Edinburgh. When I opened the letter he had that expression, 'deep calleth unto deep,' &c. But he was pleased to set home that word, 'good is the word of the Lord,' which silenced much my misbelief. I rode along with the man that night, but could get no access until the morning. When I came in the soldiers were guarding him, the kettle-drums beating, the troop presently in arms; we were soon parted, and he carried out to the streets, and set on horseback among the ranks, the town's people running to gaze. I went after to a friend's house in the town, and wept my fill, and some friends with me." (MS. Memoirs, p. 3, 4, 5.)

† There may have been proclamations of a later date, but I give the following extract from a "proclamation against vicious,

was bidden drink no more healths. Dinner being ended, the trumpet blew, and Major Oglethorp, with a fresh party of Major Main's horse, borrowed to ease his own dragoons, the way being deep, and storm great, conducted him to Belford, another stage, sending an express before to Captain Ivory, who lay there with a troop of his dragoons to be ready to receive them and keep guard all night. The main guard lodged in a great barn before the post-house; Major Oglethorp and the prisoner lay in two beds in a chamber at the end of the lower hall. There were ten dragoons ordered to stay in the hall all night, and one of them to stand sentry within the chamber door, at the prisoner's bedside. There was a great coal fire in the room all night, which was very refreshing, both for light and heat, in such a cold night.

About midnight, our guard in the hall were all got drunk, and had neglected to relieve the sentinel, he crying out to the corporal to relieve him, and he bidding one of the dragoons go to it, and he bidding him go himself; they fell a-fighting, and made such a noise as they awaked the major, who came leaping out of his bed towards the prisoner, to see if he was gone; but he perceiving it, said, "Major, what are you afraid of?" Said he, "I thought you had been gone." So going to his bed, he asked the sentinel within the door what the matter was, who told him that they had got a little drink, and they would not come and relieve him. He caused the captain to tie them all neck and heel in the main guard till he arose, and put fresh soldiers in the hall.

The next day they went to Berwick, and thought to have delivered the prisoner at the boundary road; but the Earl of Hume, the high sheriff, sent him word that he had no orders as yet to receive the prisoner, and the magistrates of Berwick refusing to receive him into their jail, he was committed close prisoner in a room at the Crown, and a guard in the room with him night and day; none to see him or correspond with him; pen, ink, and paper taken from him, so that none got into his room but a servant maid to make his bed and fire, and bring him his meat. Providence fitted her well for his case, both for wit and affection; for when she came to make the bed, she brought paper and an inkhorn, and laid in the bed's head, and letters now and then, as they came to her hand, under the pillow, and looked to him, not daring to speak, to take notice thereof, the soldiers being at their game in the other end of the room; so that he had letters from his wife and friends, giving him an account of matters that fell out at home and elsewhere in which he was concerned.

Under that hard usage he continued twenty days, in which time Duke Hamilton, coming from London, and lodging there, the prisoner was removed to another room; that being his bedchamber.* The maid carrying up the candles before him, he cunningly asked her, "Who lay in this room last?" She answered, "If it please your grace, an honest minister, though now a prisoner." "It seems," said he, "you have a kindness for him." "Indeed have I," said she, "my lord, and would give any thing in my power to have him set at liberty; and would forgive your lordship, all my drink-money, and all that you will leave in the house, if you will befriend him;" with which he was so taken, that he left double drink-money, as was said. He sent quietly his master of horses, to see wherein he could do the prisoner a kindness. He gave his service to his grace, and thanked him, telling that his owning him at this time would be no kindness, when he and Lauderdale were so hotly contending.

He was now parted from his dear and loving wife, a meet helper for him indeed, in this very case, and six small children; and was necessitated to sell his stock for money to bear his charges, and by so doing to let his farm lee, rendering it presently useless to his family, yea, so disabled as the way-going crop was lost, in which sad posture he left them; the children young, insensible of the matter, and unfit to do for themselves, so the whole burden was laid upon the mother. Trouble and sorrow did not compass her about in this darkest hour of her twelve years night of affliction. Her soul melteth for heaviness and grief; she is now in deep waters in a foreign land, far from her relations, friends, and acquaintances; distress and desolation at home, and destruction and death abroad; the sad report whereof, with trembling, she expects every day, because of the fury of the oppressor. This put her on a most serious exercise, and firm resolution to take God for all. He should be the husband, and he should be the farm; he should be the stock and the crop; he should be the provider, the food, and the raiment, the master of the family, the father of the children, yea, she resolved to cleave faster unto this relation than Ruth did to Naomi, for that which parted them should bring her to the greatest nearness, most inseparable and comfortable communion with her God. Thus, while the deep called unto deep, she held by her compass, and followed the precedents of the word. Her prayer was in this night to the God of her life, and Jacob-like, she gave it not over till she got a new lease of her husband's life granted her; which, when she obtained, she wrote an encouraging letter to him at Berwick, (the weaning of her child Sarah not suffering her yet to visit him) telling him, that he should be like Isaac, with the knife at his throat, near to death; but the Lord would find a sacrifice, and the enemy should be restrained. She wished him also not to be anxious about his family, for the meal and the oil, little as it was, should not fail; not only till he returned, but also the kingdom to Israel. These instances, so clearly and convincingly borne in upon her, gave her good ground to say with the Psalmist, "Thy word is my comfort in all my afflictions;" her prayers and pleadings were turned to praises, and his statutes were her songs in the house of her pilgrimage; and she was persuaded that her night would yet have a day succeeding it, wherein he would, as a special

debauch'd, and prophane persons.—Given at our Court at Whitehall, the thirtieth day of May, in the twelfth year of our reign." [Anno 1660.] "Charles Rex.—There are, likewise, another sort of men, of whom we have heard much, and are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their time in taverns, tippling-houses and debauches, giving no other evidence of their affection to us, but in drinking our health, and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute temper; and who, in truth, have more discredited our cause, by the license of their manners and lives, than they could ever advance it by their affection or courage. We hope that this extraordinary way of delivering us all, from all we feared, and almost bringing us to all we can reasonably hope, hath, and will work upon the hearts, even of these men, to that degree, that they will cordially renounce all that licentiousness, prophaneness, and impiety, with which they have been corrupted and endeavoured to corrupt others; and that they will, hereafter, become examples of sobriety and virtue, and make it appear, that what is past, was rather the vice of the time than of the persons, and so the fitter to be forgotten together." (Pamphlets in Adv. Libr. ccc. 3. 12. No. 9.)

* The Duke did not find such good accommodation in Berwick on a former occasion. "Dec. 8, 1673. Duke Hamilton, and the Earle of Tweedale, take jurney for London, to present to the king's majestie the grievances of the kingdom of Scotland, and to keep themselves fra being mistaken by the king in their actings that way. Lauderdale compliments them at their departure; they went not with his consent. Duke Hamilton, in his jurney to London, is necessitat to pass through Berwick, and that night seek lodging elsewhere, in regard of the great convoy he had with him, of an 100 horse, that lenth; which the governour wold not suffer to abyd in the city. The governour intercepts the letters beforehand the duke had sent for London, and sent them to Lauderdale at Edinburgh, whereby he understood all his and his parties projects. Lauderdale keeps great hopes of the king's favour, and tells his favorites that Duke Hamilton will come down Commissioner, Tweedal Secretar, and Sir John Harper Lord President. He seems to be very little concerned in all this adoe." (Law's Memorialls, p. 56, 57.)

favour to her and her family, command his loving kindness.

What insultings were over him and his honest hearers it were strange and tedious to rehearse: his enemies concluding, he should trouble them and the country-side no more; and who boasted more than Mr. Bell, the parson of that place,* as having now accomplished his design and forementioned vow? For, meeting with a gentleman, (about two days after Mr. Veitch's transportation,) called Mr. Moor, who was a friend and hearer in the meeting-house, after other bitter invectives, Now, said he, this night he will be at Edinburgh, and hanged to-morrow, according to his demerits; and could such a rebel as he, who did so and so, expect to escape the just judgment of God? But though the good man was silent, and gave him no answer, yet he met with a remarkable one within three days. He being then in his journey to Newcastle, and returning to Pontiland, (a fatal place to my persecutors,) on Wednesday afternoon, falls a drinking there till about ten of the clock at night, and then he would needs go home. But the parson of that place† urged the contrary, the night being dark and stormy, and the water big. No persuasions will prevail. He is not well got out of that town till he loses his way, and riding on, comes at length to the river Pont, where it is probable his beast stopped; and, he alighting to find where he was, and, as the jury apprehended, moving forward to feel with his foot in the snow what stopped his passage, slipped over the brink of the river unto the armpits, where, though it was of great depth, yet the old ice bare him up; the water, because of the two days thaw, running that deep above it; and now the frost returns so violently, that it freezes him in. He was found two days after, standing on his feet, with his arms stretched out, his hat on, and all dry above the arms. He had wrestled much to get out, as his boots and gloves did testify, being worn with his struggling among the ice. When he was found, the rumour went; and albeit several came to help out the dead man, yet few conducted his corpse home, or else they would never have carried him laid cross the horse, as they did, with one end of a rope about his neck, and coming under the horse's belly, was tied to his feet to keep him on.‡

This speaking dispensation made great and various impressions on the people, especially those who knew how instrumental he had been in Mr. Veitch's trouble, and to show how bitter an enemy he was to the nonconformists' way, I shall only set down what he said to a parishioner of his whom he was chiding for going to conventicles. The man told him it was better to go to them than to play at foot-ball or go to an alehouse; to whom he tartly replied, "You had better drink drunk and kill one in your way home, as go hear any of these men."

Now this Mr. Thomas Bell was a Scotchman, of the meaner sort of gentry, born in the parish where the prisoner's brother, Mr. John, was minister, who took him from herding, (his father being brought low,) put him to the grammar school, and got the presbytery's bursary to him when he went to the college. After his laureation, and losing that benefice, he made his moan to the minister, that now he was in worse case than ever, and intreated his help for a little till he sought out a place. Upon which he wrote a letter to Torwoodlee, and some other good gentlemen, each of them to give him so much money at his desire, which they did; and he, falling in company with Sir Thomas Ker of Fairly, continued drinking with him some days, which irritated the gentlemen; and he hearing that they were sending to Mr. John Veitch to come and take their money from him again, which was like to be ill bestowed, he took straight to England, and complying with that government, obtained his parsonage. By this you may see what a bad requital he gave to the minister that did so much for him, when he persecuted his brother at such a rate.

Upon the 20th of February, 1679, Major Hope, then deputy-governor of Berwick, and most of the officers there, carried the prisoner, guarded with a company of foot before him, another behind, and they riding on each hand to the boundary-road betwixt the kingdoms, and delivered him over with a great deal of ceremony, to the sheriff's depute of the Merse, attended with some petty gentry, and a party of the Earl of Airly's troop of horse: commissions from the king for so doing being read, and volleys shot on both sides. He was conducted by these, first to Ayton, where there was a treat of claret provided for the English officers; and after they had drunk some hours there, he was carried that night to Dunbar. The magistrates were required, in the king's name, to send eighty men to guard the house and him all night. David Hume of Newton,* the sheriff-depute, being well acquainted with the prisoner, at his desire, sent his man quietly off to his brother, Mr. John, to meet them the next day about two or three of the clock in the afternoon at such an inn in the foot of the Canongate, where they might converse together a little before he should go to prison, which was done; and then the sheriff carried him quietly up in a coach in the evening to the tolbooth, where he met with a very unexpected treatment. For, thinking on nothing he could purchase that night, being so late, for his accommodation, but candle for light and a stool to sit on, till the next day, which he desired the jailor would please cause one of his servants bring him these for payment. And he, calling

* "Allenton curacy. Thomas Bell, A. M. ap. Scotos, Cur. Allinton Ord. Deacon. Sept. 20, 1663. Joh. Stewart. 1671. (Hutchinson's Northumberland, I. Stat. Chur. 4.)—"Longhorsley Vicarage, Tho. Bell, A. M. 21 June, 1665, Pr. Cha. D. Somerset." (Ibid. p. 46, 47.)

† "Ponteland Vicarage.—Gawen Knight, A. M. 1672, P. Mort. Nanson. Vincent Edwards, A.M. 1679, P. Mort. Knight." (Hutchinson, North. I. Stat. Chur. 55, 56.)

‡ The following is Mrs. Veitch's account of this affair. "He (Bell) was a great enemy to my husband, because some of his hearers withdrew from him and would not hear him. Three or four days after he was taken, one William Collinwood, who lived in Mr. Bell's parish, came to see me. He had been once a hearer of his, but had withdrawn and heard my husband. He going to Mr. Bell's to pay him some tythes, I desired him to come to me back, and tell what Mr. Bell said of my husband; for, I said, its like he may think now he hath gotten his desire accomplished. I'm told he bad him go to Edinburgh and get a preaching, for he would be hanged against Tuesday. When he told me, that Scripture was in my mind, "Let them curse but bless thou;" and that also, "He that rendereth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house." He was just going to Newcastle when he spoke to William Collenwood, he stayed all night and came the next day to Pontland, where he drank till 10 o'clock at night with the curate. There was a great storm of snow on the ground, and that day there had been a thaw. He would be home that night. They took his watch from him, his horse they locked up in the stable, but all would not do. He told them, he had a good horse; and nobody knew what way he rode, but he was found 12 [two?] nights and a day afterwards standing in a water, frozen just to his arm-pits, dead; for there came on a great frost that night. His hat was on, his hand dry, his gloves on, he standing at the side of the water, had worn his boots and gloves to get out of the water. They could scarce get as many countrymen as carry him home, and getting forehammers, they brake the ice, and ty'd him on a horse and carried him to his wife. The whole country about was astonished at the dispensation, and often said to me there would none trouble my husband again; for they all knew that he was an enemy to my husband. I told them, they that would not take warning from the word of God would never take warning from that. That Scripture was often borne in upon my spirit, "Rejoice not at the fall of thine enemy, lest He see it and be displeased." (MS. Memoirs, p. 57.)

* 10th July, 1678. David Home of Newton was appointed a commissioner of supply for the shire of Berwick. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 224.) In Fountainhall's Decisions, (ii. 195, 196,) we find Edgar of Newton "bound cautioner" for David Hume "to Mr. John Veitch, minister at Foulstruther, [*Woolstruther*, as Westruther was anciently written] and sundry others his creditors."

one of them, bid him go fetch his wife, and she, after salutation, and drinking a glass of wine to the prisoner, said, "Sir, I am come to give you that compliment this night which I never did before to any prisoner, and that is, to convoy you to your chamber;" which was the only best room in the tolbooth, called Montrose's chamber, where the room was well and plentifully furnished, a good bed and chairs, fire, and a great candle on the table, several bottles of ale and brandy standing in a corner, wheat bread, and a great pigeon pye on a shelf, and coals laid in. When I asked how this came to be done; she answered, "It is a thing you must not inquire about for it was ordered to be done, under promise of secrecy, by one of the greatest ladies in Scotland."*

Griffith, the English lieutenant, came along with the prisoner, having an order from his Majesty to the Lords of the Treasury, to pay to Major Oglethorp or his order 200lib. sterling for taking him; but he only got 111lib. English. He went to several merchants in Edinburgh to return it, but none of them would; saying, it would spoil all their money.† Oglethorp would have come himself, but was called back by an express from Berwick to London; and, coming to ask the prisoner what service he had for him there, he said there was one kindness he would beg if he would do him it, viz. that he would write a letter to Lauderdale, and inclose it to him by the post, if he would deliver it, which he frankly promised. "Then," said the prisoner, "you must order me paper, pen, and ink, that I may write it."—"Yes," said he, "but you must read it to the governor; and if he like it, seal it, and he will send it to me." When the governor read it, he says, "Will you indeed send this to my lord? If so, your circumstances are not so bad as men think." But he, instead of sending it to London, sent it out to Colonel Strother; and they afterward sent it to the Major; but he delivered it not till several days after the prisoner had been at Edinburgh, and written a second letter to Lauderdale mentioning that. When it came the Duke was in passion, and said, for any gentleman to promise to do a prisoner a kindness, and not to make it good, was a base and unbecoming treatment.*

On the 22d of February, 1679, he is brought before a committee of the council, whereof Sharp, the archbishop of St. Andrews, was preses. As he was coming along the pavement, the Earl of Mar's gentleman came to him from his master, desiring him to give the archbishop his titles;† that would prove a likely mean to prevail with the bishop for his liberty. He, giving his service to the Earl, answered, that he resolved to act according to his light. The bishop put many questions to him, to see if he could ensnare him, which were urged by Paterson, the bishop of Edinburgh. One whereof was, "Have you taken the covenant?" He answered, "All that see me at this honourable board may easily perceive that I was not capable to take the Covenant, when you and the other ministers of Scotland tendered it." At which the whole company fell a laughing, which nettled the bishop. "But," says he, "did you never take the covenant since?" To which he replied, "I judge myself obliged to covenant myself away to God, and frequently to renew it." At which Paterson stood up and said, "My lord, you will get no good of this man; he's all for evasion. But," says he, "was not you at Pentland fight?" To which he replied, "If you will give me power and liberty to seek witnesses to prove it, I was *alibi*;" having been all night and that morning at Edinburgh. Many other questions they posed him with; and Hugh Stevenson, the under clerk, wrote all.

Being put out a considerable time, he was called in, and the bishop said, "Hear your confession read." Many sentences they had interlined to make him a criminal, which, as he heard, he denied he had spoken such words, and refused to subscribe his confession when they desired him.‡ "What," says the bishop, "will you not subscribe your own confession?—"Not I," said the prisoner, "except you write it *in mundo* without your additions;" at which they were like to be irritated. But my Lord Lithgow, sitting next the prisoner on the one side of the table, and

* It appears from the following notice, that Veitch had a number of warm friends in Edinburgh. "February 5, 1685. At Privy Council, James Row, George Mosman, and many others of the merchants of Edinburgh of the Presbyterian persuasion, are pursued; as also Anderson of Dowhill, Craigie of Dumbarnie, Oliphant of Condee, &c. as they who, since the last indemnity in August 1679, have frequented house or field conventicles, resetted fugitive ministers or other rebels; and particularly did contribute money to see if they could procure a remission from the king to Mr. William Veitch, a fanatic forfeited minister; *item*, to educate and breed up some young students in the Presbyterian form, to be a nursery to perpetuate and hold up the schism. Some redeemed themselves by offering to take the test; others escaped by taking the oaths of allegiance and prerogative, without any additions or limitations of their own, (which were all refused,) but as it is explained in the Assertory act, made in the parliament 1669, and which was expressly put to them. A third sort refused both, and so were committed to prison as disaffected to the government." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 338, 339.)

† The meaning appears to be, that Griffith got L.111 in English, and L.89 in Scottish coin, which last he wished to exchange for English, but that the merchants of Edinburgh refused this, on account of the badness of the money issued by government at that period. This last fact is established by a process before the Court of Session in 1682 and 1683, against Lord Halton (then Earl of Lauderdale) for malversations as late General of the Mint, "in making the fineness below the standard," &c. (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 184.) In Halton's defences, it was pleaded, *inter alia*, that he was discharged and pardoned by the general indemnity; for "this oblivion and indemnity in 1679 is more ample than any of them, being drawn in the most ample and comprehensive terms deviseable, as mainly designed to secure Lauderdale and his party for the Highland army that they sent in upon the West in 1678, &c. and *the pardoning the rebels who rose at Bothwell Bridge was but a sham and colour to draw on the other.*" The Lords sustained this plea, and, upon that ground, altered an interlocutor which they had already given in the cause; "*for after serious deliberation they durst not make too bold with the loosing of this act of indemnity.*" (Ibid. p. 208, 209.)

It may be added, that the exchange of money between the two kingdoms was, at that time, a matter of considerable difficulty. A Mr. Mertin, sent in 1683 from the protestant lords at London to Scotland, brought an unsubscribed letter in the hand-writing of Jerviswood (who was then in England) to Lady Tarras, his niece, desiring her to transmit to him some money which he had left with her. This, at Mertin's desire, was given to Torwoodlee. "When Torwoodlee (says the Earl of Tarras, in his deposition on the trial of Sir John Cochrane, &c.) had gotten the money of Jerveswoods before spoaken off from my servant, he layd it by, and asked me, if it was in English money. I said, it was the same I supposed he had left at my house; he said, it was noe matter, he would send it to Will. Veitch who would have a cair to get English money for him." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 36, 37.)

* It is gratifying to record instances of humanity in the rulers of that time. "*October* 5, 6, and 7, 1680.—Robert Curry, writer, being bound as cautioner, to present a man who was imprisoned upon suspicion as one of the rebels, but bailed by him to this council day; and the man being very sick and like to die, Robert, to exoner himself, did cause bring him from his own house, carried by five or six people on a bed, and brought him to the Privy Council doors, and took instruments on his presentation, to free himself. The Chancellor and Council took this rude and cruel usage of the poor sick man so ill, that they commanded Curry to prison, seeing he might, by a bill, have represented it, and got himself liberate." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 113.)

† The refusal of these had been severely resented. Mr. Alexander Smith, minister at Cowend, who had been driven from his charge in 1663, was brought before the High Commission Court "for preaching privately, and giving Bishop Sharp only *Sir*."—He was put in the thieves' hole with a madman; and, when the sympathy of the people of Edinburgh followed him there, the bishops caused remove him to another room where he sickened. He was then banished to Shetland, where, for four years, his only food was of barley, and his fuel sea-tangle. In 1667, he was brought before the Privy Council at Edinburgh, and ordered to Orkney. (Kirkton, 208, 209. Wod. i. 176, 280, 291.)

‡ A similar device was employed in the case of Mr. Gabriel Semple; but whether from the motive which he apprehended, or at the instigation of some friend who wished to bring him off, may admit of a doubt. (Wodrow, ii. 175.)

Lundie, afterward Earl of Melford, (who had been influenced to favour him,) sitting on the other side, speaks over to Lithgow, upon which he says to the archbishop, "My Lord St Andrews, cause write it *in mundo* to the young man." So he was put out again, and it written over; and being called in, it was read over to him; and when laid before him to subscribe, he begged liberty to read it over himself before he could subscribe it, which was granted. They found nothing in it whereof to accuse him, so they remanded him to prison.* The archbishop did little more in public after that, being within a few days cut off at Magus Muir, as history will tell.

The next news was a letter from the King, to turn him over to the criminal court, and there to intimate an old illegal sentence of death unto him,† as the process registrate in their court-books will declare, and the best lawyers had done; for the testimony of the two witnesses did not agree. And whether the iniquity of the sentence was not attested by the omniscient and just Judge in the remarkable judgments that befell these witnesses, I leave to every judicious and sober reader. They were relations of one surname, viz. Mirrie, and tenants to Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, one of the Lords of this Justice Court, who took particular notice of the thing, and he himself declared they never did well after, one of them falling into murder, the other into adultery, upon which they both fled and were never heard of, their families broken and ruined. The murderer was since found and hanged at Edinburgh. Some said that he was taken that very day that Mr. Veitch was released by a sentence of banishment; and yet upon this sentence in absence must the prisoner die without granting him a new trial; and the 18th day of March is appointed for the sitting of the court, and the intimation thereof, viz. the sentence; but the perplexedness of the case occasions an adjournment until the 8th of April.‡

The prisoner wrote to his friend Lauderdale; and some ladies obtained a letter from archbishop Paterson to the Duke in his favour; and his brother, Sir William, brought it open to the prisoner, and read it, being very well penned, directed to Dr. Hicks, his chaplain, to present, which the prisoner's messenger did at night; and coming next morning for an answer, Hicks showed him a letter per post, forbidding him to deliver it; so he returned to Shaftesbury, and the bishop cheated the ladies.

In the mean time the prisoner's case was represented to the Earl of Shaftesbury by his papers, a messenger, viz. Mr. Gilbert Elliot,‖ being sent therewith, containing the sentiments both of English and Scotch lawyers, all of them declaring the illegalness of the procedure against him in both kingdoms; as also a testimony of two justices of the peace in Northumberland, witnessing how long and how peaceably he had lived there. All which being patiently considered by that judicious and renowned patriot the Earl of Shaftesbury, he influences Prince Rupert, the Duke of Monmouth, with several other great persons, to join him in petitioning the King for sending him back again to England to be tried there; and that because he was an English subject, having lived so long in the kingdom; that the laws were affronted in his removal, and this practice would make men expect little security from them; and that it was more expedient to liberate, preserve, and encourage protestant ministers, than to take their lives at such a juncture as this, when so horrid a popish plot is discovered for the ruin of the protestant interest, lest his Majesty should be thought a complier therewith.

Notwithstanding all the arguments made use of by these great persons for bringing him back to be tried in England, yet the King would by no means grant it. For the Duke of Monmouth (upon the King's saying that he thought by this time he would be execute, and deserved more deaths than one if his information was true,) said to his Majesty that he might yet be retrieved; but the King answered, "I have written with my own hand to execute him; and what I have written I have written." In this he acted like Pilate to the Jews. Upon this the Earl of Shaftesbury told his Majesty, that seeing the petition of so many of the greatest peers in England now standing before him, for a thing so just and equitable, could not be granted, the new parliament for inquiring into the popish plot was now sitting down;* and no person that they found guilty, presbyterian or other, should escape death, if the parliament would take his advice, and the lords now before the King; and then his Majesty should have pears for plumbs.

Upon this Shaftesbury sent his servant to Mr. Elliot, who was waiting on, to go to the Parliament door, and distribute to the members as they went in the doubles of these petitions; and the lords taking their leave of the King, followed after; and seeing the members standing here and there reading them, Shaftsbury asked their lordships what they were reading? When they told him, he answered, "O, my lords, is that the text? Come, I'll give you the sermon upon it;" and, so telling them the case of that minister as it stood in law, he influenced them to say, that if it be truly so, we'll pass an order immediately when we sit down for his remanding. Upon which one of the Tories (for

* On the 25th of February the Council appointed Mr. Veitch to be sent to the Bass, but it does not appear that this order was carried into execution. (Wodrow, ii. 6, 7.)

† This sentence was pronounced on the 16th of August 1667. Previous to this, a query was moved to the Lords of Session, "Whether or not a person guilty of high treason may be pursued before the Justices, albeit they be absent and contumacious, so that the Justices, upon citation and sufficient probation and evidence, may pronounce sentence and doom of forfeiture, if the dittay be proven;" to which their Lordships having considered the query, answered in the affirmative. But as strong doubts were entertained of the legality of this step, an act of Parliament was afterwards procured, ratifying and approving of the conduct of the Lord Advocate, Sir John Nisbet, and the process and sentence against Veitch and others, who were in the circumstances described in the above query. (Wodrow, i. 267, 268, App. p. 109, 110; Acts of Parliament of Scot. vii. 562.) On the 19th of July, 1690, the parliament declared, that "all sentences pronounced by the Justice Court, in absence for perduellion, or any other crime, before the year 1669, were from the beginning null and void;" restored "all persons, or their representatives, so forefaulted by the Justices *in modum justitiæ*, and particularly the representatives of Muire of Caldwells, Ker of Kersland, and Mr. William Veatch, minister of the gospel;" and rescinded the act of parliament anno 1669, "in so far as it ratifies these forefaultures." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 199, 200.)

‡ Several documents relating to this process will be found in the Appendix.

‖ Gilbert Elliot of Craigend and afterwards of Minto and Headshaw. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 342, xi. 259—261, 462, App. 129.) was, on the 16th of July, 1685, found guilty of treason, and forfeited, for being in arms with Argyle. In the process, he is described as "writer in Edinburgh." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 366. Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 490, App. 44, &c. Wodrow, ii. 492, 493.) Having obtained the king's pardon, he applied, November 8, 1687, to be admitted an advocate, on which occasion the examinators "stumbled to meet with him, till he first shewed his remission, least it might infer converse against them." (Fount. Dec. i. 475.) At the Revolution, the act of his forfeiture was rescinded, he was created Sir Gilbert Elliot, was appointed clerk to the Privy Council, and had extensive practice as an advocate. (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 166, 211, 290; xi. 140.) On the 28th of June, 1704, he took his seat in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Minto. (Lord Hailes, Catalogue, p. 15.) Wodrow (ii. 493.) says, he was also one of the Lords of Justiciary.

When Lord Minto visited Dumfries, of which Mr. Veitch was minister after the Revolution, he always spent some time with his old friend, when their conversation often turned on the perils of their former life. On these occasions, his lordship was accustomed facetiously to say, "Ah! Willie, Willie; had it no' been for me, the pyets had been pyking your pate on the Nether Bow Port;" to which Veitch replied, "Ah! Gibbie, Gibbie, had it no' been for me, ye would ha'e been yet writting papers for a plack the page."

* The Parliament met on the 6th of March, 1679. (Life of Lord Russel, i. 147.)

the house was made up of Tory, Whig, and Trimmer,) taking the petition in his hand, went instantly to the King, and telling all he had heard from the Earl of Shaftesbury about that person, begged his Majesty to consider the thing; for this was not his sixteen years' old parliament, and he knew not what they would do; and it was dangerous for his Majesty, upon so mean an account, to set two kingdoms by the ears. Therefore he begged that he would presently send for Lauderdale to dispatch an express for Scotland to stop all procedure against the criminal, and he would report it to the lords to take them off their resolved measures; which was done. And, which is to be noted, this letter came to the hand of the Justice-General Tarbet, (he being providentially stopped by the Earl of Perth, who, at ten of the clock, took him up stairs again when he was coming to the court, and kept him till it was after eleven,) just as he was entering the Parliament close, where the Lord Tarbet stood and read it at great leisure; and then going through the throng, many standing in the pavement to see the issue of that business, and beholding the criminal's brother, Mr. John, called him and told, "Now I can give you better news of your brother than I could in the morning, when you were with me; for he has relinquished Lauderdale and betaken himself to Shaftesbury and the parliament of England; and they are like to bring him off, and I am going to dissolve the court." You may observe here how exactly this answered the prophetical letter he got at Berwick.

The prisoner's brother, and Mr. Thomas Rigg, his agent, ran like Cushi and Ahimaaz, who should first tell the prisoner the good news, which was very surprising to the prisoner, but not so much to his wife: for, though she often fell into fits of weeping, yet she had interludes of hope, saying, "I am often thinking that this day will produce what I saw."

This, indeed, gave the great stop to the rage of the persecutors, but the prisoner was not yet released, but still kept in close prison, which gave him ground to fear that the storm would return. And there fell out such things within a short time as increased these fears; such as the killing of the Bishop at Magus Moor, remarkable for the way of it, for the instruments that did it went out that morning from their houses with no such thought or design, for they had combined together that morning to be avenged upon one ——— Carmichael, who was put in conjunct Sheriff-Depute by the King's order to his council in Scotland, obtained by the archbishop, for the more vigorous, or rather rigorous execution of their iniquitous laws, for compelling all to come to church and comply with the government.* Now this ——— Carmichael had ruined several families by taking their corn, cattle, and all they had from them, so that hearing that he was to hunt in Coupar fields, they were resolved that day to be avenged on him; and while they were coming up the fields that day, toward the hunters, they from suspicion and fear, leaving the dogs, rode to Coupar for their safety. Upon which the pursuers turned aside toward Magus Moor, with an intention to dissipate themselves; and calling at a house for drink, the barnman came out to talk with them, (being it seems of their acquaintance) and said, "O, gentlemen, yonder is a prize for you; if you have missed the one, you may hit the other who is the cause of all your trouble. Bishop Sharp is just going by, and I see none riding with him but one servant, and you may easily do his business." Upon which it seems they resolved on the enterprise; only Hackston of Rathillet (who was afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered for the thing) would not go with them, telling them it would be thought revenge, for the bishop and he had fallen out but the other day about his teinds, so desired to be excused. The rest went on, and one of them riding faster than the rest stopped the coach, by cutting the harness. They shot several pistols at him while he was in the coach, at length pulling him out, Burley, a petty gentleman, one of those that had been so miserably spoiled and ruined, having a brazen blunderbuss charged with several musket bullets, fired it so near his breast, as that his gown, clothes, and shirt, were all burned: at which he fell flat upon his face, and they thinking they had made a window through his body, and that he was undoubtedly killed, went away, leaving his daughter, who only was in the coach with him, crying beside him. But it happened that one of them being alighted on the far side of the coach to tie his girth, and hearing the daughter calling to the coachman to help up her father, for he was yet alive, rode after the party, and telling them the story, and that if he lived they would be worse than if they had killed him; they turned back, and the foresaid Burley, as it is said, came up to him lying flat on his face on the ground, and putting his hat off with his foot, struck him on the head till his brains were seen; at which giving a great cry he expired. They searched his pockets and found the King's letter empowering him and the Council to execute these cruelties; as also a little purse in which they found two pistol bullets, a little ball made up of all colours of silk, bigger than an ordinary plumb, and a bit of parchment the breadth and length of one's finger, with two long words written upon it, which none could read; the characters were Hebrew or Chaldaic. These they brought with them, but meddled neither with his gold, money, or watch.*

The council met upon the news, and it being shortly after his severe examination of Mr. Veitch, which made people talk that he designed his execution; it made the rumour go that he would be brought out and sacrificed to his ghost; which came to the prisoner's ears, and could not but occasion thoughtfulness thereanent.

The council sent two surgeons to view his corpse and embalm them, at the desire of his brother Sir William Sharp, and to report upon oath the manner of

* Proofs of the activity of the archbishop and his clergy, in stirring up the government to severe measures against the nonconformists, will be found in the Appendix.

* It is singular to observe how differently persons think and express themselves respecting deeds of assassination, according as the victim happens to be of their own party or of the opposite. Clarendon charges the parliamentary officers as guilty of murder in trying and shooting Sir Charles Lucas, who had, with his own hand, put some soldiers to death in cold blood, and engaged in an insurrection while a prisoner on parole. (History of Rebellion, v. 239, fol. edit. Brodie's History of the British Empire, iv. 146, 147.) But when he comes to relate the second and successful attempt to assassinate the parliamentary officer, Colonel Rainsborough, "Mrs. Macaulay remarks, that Clarendon, to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul, unmanly deed." (Brodie, iv. 137; Clarendon, v. 245, 256.) The reader may consult Brodie (iv. 264.) for the account of the murder of Dr. Dorislaus at the Hague, and Oldmixon (Critical Hist. i. 223.) for that of Ascham, resident for the parliament at Madrid, of whom Clarendon (who was then in Spain) speaks in a manner not very creditable to himself. The following letter of Lord Arlington, and the accompanying statement of a staunch cavalier, show that others besides Presbyterians can interpret divine judgments.

"*Whitehal, Septem.* 8. [16]64.—My Lord, The News Book will tell your Excellency a strange story of Lisle, the Usurper's keeper, which is in every word true; and the observation of it very well made, that God Almighty's justice would not let those villains go quietly to their grave." (Arlington's Letters, ii. p. 43.) "August the 21st, that notorious regicide Lisle, overtaken by divine vengeance at Lausanne, where the miserable wretch was shot dead by the gallantry of three Irish gentlemen, who attempted the surprisal of him and four more impious parricides." (Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, p. 504, apud Biog. Brit. v. i. p. 3032, London, 1760.)—Speaking of Captain Manning, a spy of Cromwell, the author of *England's Triumph* (p. 52) says, "one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to orders) pistoled him; which, though it came far short of his desert, yet it was not so well done, in sending the devil his due before his time, and wronging the hangman of his labour."

his death, that they might have more legal grounds to pursue the murderers; which they did, and declared that they found about his back and shoulders the blue marks that the pistol bullets had made; his clothes burnt off his breast, and a great deal of it blue; but in all these places the skin was not broken, so that the wound in his head only killed him. This occasioned a universal talk, that he had got proof from the devil, against shot; and that the forementioned purse that he carried about with him contained the charm. His brother obtained liberty to erect over him a marble tomb in St. Andrews, and there it stands yet a monument for his infamy. I leave it to history to tell how his posterity and relations were brought low and extinct.

Another thing that gave an occasion of fear was, the falling out of that rising, called Bothwell-bridge, in May following. The occasion of it was—the laird of Claverhouse, afterward Earl of Dundee, coming on a Sabbath day to break a great conventicle upon a moor called Drumclog near Strathaven, was beaten by a party of the hearers, commanded by William Cleland, afterward made Lieutenant-Colonel to Angus's regiment, and killed at Dunkeld; a youth extraordinary in warlike affairs and promising, a great philosopher, physician and divine, very sober and pious; whose loss was great in the very beginning of that happy revolution under the great King William.* They beat Claverhouse off the field, who sent an express that night to Edinburgh to acquaint my Lord Lithgow, then Major-General of the Forces; whose lodging being over against the prisoner's window, where the express came to give my lord the account after one of the clock at midnight; the post horn winding, and the horse's feet making a noise alarming the prisoner, he arose, and lying over his window heard the post-boy tell the whole story to the sentry—that the Whigs had beaten Claverhouse, killed his fine horse, and several of his men, taken his standard, and that he was fled to Glasgow; and that they were following and would destroy my Lord Ross and Claverhouse, if Lithgow came not quickly to their relief.

The storm did increase by the gathering of the west country people, which so frightened the Court, that the Duke of Monmouth and several English forces came down from England to their assistance and the suppression of the Whigs. The prisoner wrote out a letter to Mr. David Hume and the other ministers there, sewed within the sole of a woman's shoe, who carried it and delivered it, intreating them, if by any means they could, to accommodate the matter upon any reasonable terms as quickly as possible, (the Duke of Monmouth intending tenderness for them) lest the divisions that were begun among them should expose them to greater ruin. But they not hitting it among themselves, ere they went to Monmouth at Bothwell Bridge, made it uneasy and unlikely to compound it with him; and so they were broke, and many brought in prisoners to Edinburgh.

It cannot be denied but Monmouth was as tender and careful to avoid blood-shed as possibly he could;† and obtained an universal indemnity to all that had been there, and all other prisoners upon certain conditions, which severals, especially ministers, could not come up to. One of them was that the ministers should never preach without liberty given; and though the Duke, upon Shaftesbury's recommendation, inserted Mr. Veitch's name among the ministers that were to be liberated, when the roll was read before the Council table, Bishop Paterson rose up and opposed it; saying, he was brought from England upon other heads, and so cannot be comprehended here. It being put to a vote he was excluded.

From what is said, it may be seen what grounds of fear the prisoner had notwithstanding the foresaid stop; for now he saw no probable outgate. But what follows teaches us that man sees not as God seeth, for that which the enemy thought to destroy him by, viz. their instigating Lauderdale more violently against him, because he had betaken himself to Monmouth and Shaftesbury's side, God's providence did work the contrary to what they purposed. For the Duke of Monmouth, seeing he could not deliver the prisoner, rose in a passion from the Council-table, telling the Chancellor and the rest, that seeing they treated him so unkindly in excluding that person, he was now going post for London, and it should be the first business he would bow his knee to the king for.

Here it is to be considered that Shaftesbury, who was president of the Council of England, and his party, had sent down Monmouth to Scotland with a design to break Lauderdale's interest there; for which cause Lauderdale had a constant spy upon him while he was here, to see if he could find him trip in any piece of his management. Here likewise it is to be considered that Duke Hamilton and Lauderdale lying at this time by the ears at court, Lauderdale had by the King's order sent for several who had the trust under him in Scotland, for justifying his government, viz. the Lord Tarbet, Justice-General; old Stairs, President of the Session; Sir George Mackenzie, King's Advocate; the Lord Glendoick, Clerk Register; and Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Justice-Clerk.* These persons were to answer Hamilton's grievances, and satisfy the King. The prisoner's case coming in among these, and these great persons among themselves discoursing upon it, Stairs, who was the prisoner's underfriend always, though apparently an enemy, did demonstrate to them, that in law they could not justify the taking of the prisoner's life: Glendoick and the Justice-Clerk did second him, and so persuaded the rest to comply with their turning his sentence of death into banishment: and that it was fit they should jointly acquaint Lauderdale with their sentiments, that he and they might represent it to the King; which when they did, he told them it would not do well yet; the King being hot upon it, and stirred up thereto by the Duke of York, and he by the priests in Northumberland, where the prisoner had been a preacher, his Majesty behoved to have some weeks for cooling and putting it out of his mind, and then they would do it. All this was done, as my Lord Stairs told the prisoner some years after in Holland, before Monmouth was sent to Scotland, but was kept

* Colonel William Clelland was son to Thomas Clelland, gamekeeper to the Marquis of Douglas. (Wodrow, i. 524.) He was educated at St. Andrews, where he entered St. Salvador's College in 1676, and was matriculated on the 2d of March, 1677. His regent's name was Mr. Edward Thomson. (Records of the University of St. Andrews.) Having, with his brother-in-law, Baillie Haddoway, accompanied Mr. Blackader to Fife in 1678, he showed his courage, particularly at Divan, in facing the troops which came to disturb their meetings, or to pillage the people on their dismission. (Crichton's Blackader, 211, 212, 213.) A collection of Poems and verses by Lieutenant-Colonel Clelland, was printed Anno Dom. 1697, in 12mo. They are chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, and discover considerable talent.

† "*November* 18, 1680.—At Privy Council, Greenhead, (Veitch's pupil) Chatto, and some other lairds of Teviotdale, being pursued for absence from the host at Bothwell, pleaded the General's (Monmouth's) licence or pass. The Council found that the General had no power to grant licence of absence till they had, by their appearance at their colours, put themselves under his command. Yet in regard "Monmouth was a stranger, they excused these gentlemen for this time, but would not sustain it hereafter. There was great ground to suspect their licenses were obtained *ex post facto*." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 117.) Lady Melville produced to the Lords of Articles, a declaration under the hand of the Duke of Monmouth, warranting Lord Melville to send a messenger "to the rebells armie to Mr. John Welsh and Mr. David Home, and tell them from him that they might send a petition to the Duke of Monmouth, and that they might expect good conditions." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 57—59.)

* See Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 43

secret among themselves, and not as yet made known to the King.

But the good providence of God put an unexpected opportunity in their hand; for my Lord Stairs, as he afterwards told him, having the draught of the prisoner's sentence of banishment in his pocket for several weeks together, which was consented to by the rest, waiting the season of the King's being in an humour for that effect; he happened to visit Lauderdale that week Monmouth took post from Scotland, and that his spy * had sent him an account what Monmouth had sent when he rose from the council table toward the relief of the prisoner as soon as he saw the King; and Lauderdale giving this letter to Stairs to read, he says, "Now, my lord, Monmouth is upon his way, and is like to relieve this prisoner. I think it were best for your lordship to send for the King's Advocate, and the rest of the lords who are here, and we will get this sentence of banishment out of the kingdom past upon him before Monmouth come up; and if the King have any scruple about it, his advocate and the other lords will clear him thereanent. This will be for our credit, and stop the mouths of all in Scotland who reflect on our severity; and if he come and do it, the dirt will lie upon us." To which Lauderdale replies, "On my conscience we will do it, and Monmouth shall not have the honour and credit of it. We'll send for the lords instantly, and tell the King a new story that will make him do it;" which they did; the King superscribing and Lauderdale subscribing the new sentence; and also an order from the King to his Council, to put the same in execution upon sight. My lord Stairs sends for Mr. Elliot, the prisoner's agent, and delivers it to him.

At this time was there also an order granted for the relieving Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart out of the Castle of Stirling, and a third for removing the sentence of James Stewart that so he might appear in public again. The three agents thinking it was too expensive for all of them to ride post, they cast lots which of the three should do it, and it fell upon Polwart's agent, a Merse gentleman, who came by Mr. John Veitch, and bringing him in with him, they went to the Chancellor Rothes, who called the council, wherein they past an order to the lords of justiciary to call the prisoner before them, and intimate the new sentence, which they did next day, and so he was released.†

This deliverance was very remarkable, if we consider that it was done by Lauderdale out of a mere antipathy to Monmouth, which pushed him on, not only to do it, but to do it before he should reach the Court; and also upon this account, that Monmouth, though he undertook fair, yet he could never have done it; yet that brisk undertaking was the spring that moved them to do it. For Monmouth was never admitted to the court,‡ York and Lauderdale having prevailed with the King to debar him and order him to go abroad out of the kingdom; so that if this had not fallen out, the prisoner in all likelihood had perished; therefore he ought to admire, and cry out as long as he lives, "O the depth of the wisdom, mercy, and goodness of God! his thoughts are unsearchable, and his ways past finding out!" Next, if we will consider that the sufferer had not only the enemies to that interest in one kingdom but in both to grapple with. In the third place, if we consider how eagerly, and withal treacherously, the prelates sought his life; an instance whereof Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, gave, (as formerly mentioned,) when the prisoner's blood was laid at his door by some worthy ladies, being the person that appeared most against him. He, to take off the odium, writes a very plain and urgent letter to Lauderdale's chaplain, Dr. Hicks, to show his lord in the prisoner's favour. He sends it up to the prison with his brother Sir William, and reads it to the prisoner and his friends, and seals the same, delivering it to him to give his agent, who was taking post for London; and, in the mean time, by the public post, writes a contrary one, discharging him to show it, as the agent at his arrival discovered.* And, lastly, if we consider how highly they incensed the King by their misinformations, so that he wrote down three several letters with his own hand to the criminal lords to despatch him, as can be made good. Now, that after all this he should escape, and that by a letter from the King ordering to release him, as has been said, is such a thing as will not find many parallels in history.

Besides all the other troubles which attended him and his family through the forfeitry and giving away of what they had in Scotland, and the many removings from place to place occasioned by the prelates and their abettors, this sore trial involved him in great debt, being so expensive a business every way. It is well known also that it was the Lord's blessing other means that he was necessitated to follow for the maintenance of his family, being in a poor country side, that kept them together; for what the people gave was never able to do it; and it was his wife's observation, that things came never in so plentifully, nor went so far, as when they had most strangers; their house being a resting and refreshing place for the wandering and weather-beaten flock of Christ.

His return home to his dwelling house in England made glad his friends, and more than formerly galled his adversaries, so that Daniel Collingwood, Esquire,† and Justice of the Peace, in a meeting at Morpeth with Sir John Fenwick and others, would needs have him taken again, had they not put him off, which debate occasioned a friend immediately to write to Mr. Veitch and advise him to retire for a season; there being little access to redress such irregularities as they might commit. Upon which information he withdrew a considerable time, and after his return made his acquaintance more westward in the English borders, where he frequently preached, viz: Keilderhead, Wheel-causeway, Dead-water, &c. What wonderful success the preaching of the word has had, by ministers retiring thither under persecution, in order to the repressing, yea almost extinguishing these feuds, thefts, and robberies, that were then so natural to that place and people, is worth a singular and serious ob-

* This statement, so far as it relates to the watch set on Monmouth's conduct during the time he was in Scotland, is confirmed by Sir John Reresby's account of his interview with him at Doncaster on his return to London. (Memoirs, p. 97.)

† "*July* 28, 1679.—Mr. William Veitch, who had been forfeit in absence for being in the rebellion in 1666, and many ministers who were in prison, were all liberated by virtue of the King's pardon, indulgence and indemnity; and if Mr. William had been reponed to his defences, or needed them, it was alleged the decreet of forfeiture pronounced against him, upon a probation taken in absence of his being in the Pentland rebellion 1666, had a material nullity; viz. that the executor of the ditty of treason, and the witnesses were not sworn in Court upon the truth of the execution. 2do, The ditty was not executed at his dwelling-house, which he had before the said rebellion and rising in arms."—In the case of Macdowall, of French and others, 9th February, 1680, "the witnesses to the execution were sworn." (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 54, 83.)

‡ This statement is not altogether correct; for Monmouth appears to have had several interviews with the King, after he returned from Scotland. (Burnet, History of his own Times, ii. 269, 270.) He left Edinburgh on the 6th of July, was at Windsor on the 11th, and on the 29th, the King, "for that great trust that he reposes in his entirely beloved cousin and Counsellor, James, Duke of Buccleugh and Monmouth," grants a Commission to him to be Captain General of all the Forces in Scotland. (Wodrow, ii. 73, 79, app. 39.) This was withdrawn in September, after the Duke of York's arrival from the Continent, on occasion of the King's real or pretended illness. (Wodrow, ii. 99; Carte's Ormond, ii. 493, 494.)

* Other instances of such conduct, on the part of the clergy of that time, may be seen in Wodrow, ii. 458, 513, 514.

† This gentleman obtains a place in Andrew Marvell's list of labourers in parliament, in the design of popery and arbitrary power. "*Berwick.* Daniel Collingwood, Esquire, a court janizary; a pensioner of L.300 per annum, Governor of Holy Island. (Marvell's Works, ii. 571.) In 1679, he was member for Morpeth. (Hutchinson's North. ii. 294.)

servation. These news ought to be matter of joy and thanksgiving to all the truly godly in Britain, that though the ark, the glory and goings of our God, be, alas! too, too much removed from Sailon, Ephratah, the ingrounds, the places of greater outward plenty and pleasure, yet that he is to be found in the borders of those lands, in the mountains and fields of the woods. Some of the gentry on both sides of the borders commissionate to repress such enormities, have been forced both to see and say, that the Gospel has done that which their most severe execution of the laws could never accomplish. And is not such a change worthy a remark? to see a people who used to ride unwearied through the long winter nights to steal and drive away the prize, now, upon the report of a sermon, come from afar, travelling all night to hear the Gospel; yea, some bringing their children along with them to the ordinance of baptism, although the landlord threaten to eject his tenant and the master the servant for so doing.*

Mr. Veitch having returned home again, by a sentence of banishment, to his family and friends, and resolving to carry on his ministerial work at Stantonhall, as he did formerly, is forced, as has just been hinted, by the malicious designs of the justices of the peace, and others of that kidney in the country, who were resolved to take him right or wrong, to retire into the western borders, where he exercised his ministry to the people of both sides of the borders, Scots and English; keeping always the place of meeting upon the English ground, for fear of the Scotch forces, who were sent to Teviotdale, under the command of Meldrum and others, who much haunted Teviotdale and the Merse, to break all meetings upon the Scotch side.

It is worthy our noticing, that among other things that gave occasion to the sending of these forces, was some reflections that were cast in Lauderdale's teeth; that though he had made an act of Parliament† for punishing all the landlords upon whose grounds meetings should be kept, yet it proved for several years inoperative. And it happened at the time of the making of that act, that Mr. Veitch being at Hume, meeting with several preachers of the fields, and several other gentlemen to whom the news of that act was sent out, after several of that meeting had given their sentiment of it, thinking it would effectually break all meetings, and were lamenting the sad providence, they asked Mr. Veitch, what he thought proper to be done in this case. His judgment was, seeing Lauderdale had been the author of such a malicious act, the best requital he thought could be given, was to set up public field meetings in his bounds. They all liked the overture well, but were at a strait to find one that would venture to begin, and bell the cat (as we used to say): and so fell upon importuning him to do it, seeing he lived in another country for the present. After their refusal of several excuses he made, "Well," says he, "gentlemen, if you be so unanimous and forward for the thing, seeing I proposed it, upon the condition ye will keep it up as far as possible, I will venture to set it up Sabbath next, at the Blue Cairn in Lauder moor;* and you may warn them if you please from Dan to Beersheba to be there." And the meeting that day, at that place, was computed to be above four thousand hearers; and it was so visibly blessed of God, that it raised a spirit of zeal and forwardness both in ministers and people in that country; both to keep up that meeting, and set up several others in the Merse and Tiviotdale, to the great advantage of religion for many years. And Mr. Veitch promised at that time, that, before that meeting should fall, upon their acquainting of him, he would come and help them to support it, which he frequently did. And it is a step of providence worth the observation, that after King William's happy Revolution, he was the first minister appointed to preach at Lauder church, (being appointed by the council, and by the great and good Earl of Crawford personally, to go and declare it vacant) where there was a vast confluence of people met upon the report of it to see the happy change; but the lady Lauderdale hearing of it, caused neidnail† all the church doors and windows, that there might be no access for such ministers. In this posture Mr. Veitch found the church when he came, the lady and the magistrates of the town all retired, so that he could find no magistrate to open the church doors. When he was in this strait, several of his old hearers sent him word quietly that they would make open doors if he would allow them, which he did. And so, in the bringing the ark from Ephratah—from the fields of the wood, into the church and house of God, the proper seat of it, it proved such a day of weeping and singing as the like had not been seen heretofore; the minister lecturing and preaching upon the 132nd Psalm, and the text he preached upon was, verse 8. "Arise, O Lord, into thy rest."

This meeting at the Blue Cairn, after several years, and the importunity of the godly people about Berwick and the east end of the Merse, was removed to Fogo-moor for their better conveniency; and Mr. Veitch was sent for out of England to do it, which, at the importunity of the people, he did. His lecture and preaching was upon the 102nd Psalm, especially these words, "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time, even the set time, to favour her is come." It was a great and good day, as the auditory witnessed. It was the first day and it was the last day of meeting in that place; for that very evening, several of the forces, both horse and foot, by special orders, came from Haddington through Lammermoor, and fell in upon Gordon and Hume, and the places about; searching all night to find Mr. Veitch, who

* The parishes of Rothbury, Bolam, and Longhorsley, in which Veitch had resided, bordered upon Redesdale and Tynedale, the wild districts of which Bishop Carleton, in his Life of Bernard Gilpin says, "the word of God was never heard of to be preached amongst them but by the ministry of Gilpin." (Surtees' Durham, vol. i. P. i. 166, 167.) In 1776 Hutchinson writes, "The church of Symondburn has two dependant chapels, Bellingham and Falston; the parish is between thirty and forty miles in length, extending to Liddesdale, in Scotland. There is within this district, between Falston and the extreme boundary, an extensive tract of country where, till the last century, conversion had scarce reached, or the benefits of religion, and the rites of the English church been promulgated, except in the collection of tithes. (Tour in Northumberland, i. 215.) Surtees calls it "the wealthy church of Simonburn." Durham, vol. i. P. i. p. xliv.) Mr. Gabriel Semple, accounting for his quiet possession of Ford church for some years after Pentland, says, "these borderers were looked upon to be ignorant, barbarous, and debauched with all sort of wickedness, that none thought it worthy their consideration to look after them, thinking that they could not be brought to any reformation. Yet in the Lord's infinite mercy, the preaching to these borderers had more fruit than in many places that was more civilized." (Semple's Life, p. 51, 52, MS. *penes* the Reverend Dr. Lee, Edinburgh.) From a Jacobite account of the proceedings of the General Assembly 1690, it appears that the people from twelve parishes on the borders of Northumberland, made application for the continuance of Mr. Gabriel Semple with them; pleading that he had taken compassion on them in their blood, and been twenty-four years among them. (Historical Relation of the General Assembly, 1690, p. 45, 46.)

† I suspect it should be *Act of Council*, April 26, 1676, which extended the provisions of a proclamation of the 8th April 1669 to the whole kingdom, ordaining "all heritors to be liable to the fines above specified, (L.50 sterling, *toties quoties*) in case any conventicle be kept on the ground of their lands, or in houses belonging to them." (Wodrow, i. 419; comp. p. 380.)

* "In this district [of Roxburghshire, between the Gala and the Leader] about four miles northward of the Tweed, there is a remarkable object called *The Blue Cairn*, from the colour of the stones. A large space which is sufficient to contain many persons, is completely enclosed, and may be said to be fortified by a natural rampart of stones." (Miller's Hebrides, p. 67, 68, *apud* Chalmers's Caledonia, ii. 72.)

† Fasten with nails.

very strangely and providentially escaped them by James Hume of Flass's * carrying of him that night in the dark to the old lady Stitchell's at her house in Coongecarle,† which the troopers passed by, upon the information that she was an old weakly gentlewoman.

Lauderdale being then in Scotland, and incensed that the meetings should have been so frequently kept upon his ground, inquired at the south-country gentry, when they came to see him, what minister it was that set it up first, resolving to make him an example. Many of the gentry shifted to tell him; but Sir Alexander Don, not out of any dislike, but mere heedlessness, told it was Mr. William Veitch. "Was it so?" said my lord; "My own relation! I'll think upon him." And indeed he did so: for it made him cause search England diligently for him; and stirred him up vigorously to pursue when he was sent prisoner to Scotland. This piece of the history, you see, did precede his being taken and sent into Scotland.

Another thing remarkable after Mr. Veitch returned by a sentence of banishment, and preached upon the borders, was his going to Berwick, upon a line from his friend Mr. Temple, a merchant there, chiding him for his unkindness in not coming to give the good people of that place‡ thanks for their great kindness while he was prisoner there. It happened to be at the time when the Earl of Argyle escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh. The news of which running through the town by an express, some officers who had read it at the post-house, coming along by Mr. Robert Watson's gates, where Mr. Veitch was taking his leave of him and his lady, and perceiving him to be in town, turned back to the post-house, where the governor was, telling him that such a one was in town, and he might have a hand in Argyle's escape, which was worthy the governor's consideration. They unanimously concluded that it was fit for them, in the first place, to double the guards; and then to go to the mayor to get a warrant to search.

In the mean time, Mr. Veitch, knowing nothing of the news, or of their resolutions, went confidently along the street to his lodgings, in order to his going out of town homeward, in company with Mr. Temple, his landlord. They see the mayor, who was brother-in-law to Mr. Temple, going up street to his house a little before them; upon which Mr. Temple says, "Yonder is the mayor going to repay your visit yesternight, and take his leave of you." When we came into the hall where Mr. Lowk, the mayor,* was standing, he says, "Mr. Veitch, I'm come to tell you great and strange news; the Earl of Argyle is escaped out of Edinburgh Castle, and it's thought he is either for his own Highlands or London." Mr. Veitch smiling at it as a mere story, says he, "You need not doubt it, for I have read the express just now at the post-house."

The main guard was just over against that lodging, and the drums beating, the mayor says, "Let us go up stairs and see what the matter means." He opening the casement, one tells him that it was for doubling the guards. He, still looking out, perceives the governor, and the officers, with an additional party of guards, coming up. The governor comes from them to a barber's shop that a soldier kept, belonging to Mr. Temple, and inquires at him if Mr. Veitch lodged in that house. He declared, he knew nothing of it. "Well," says he, "hold your peace." The fellow, when he is gone, pulling to his half-door, and going down street, comes about to a back entry of Mr. Temple's house, and calling him down tells the story. At which Mr. Temple comes quickly up stairs, and acquaints us, that all this was a-doing to secure the town, in order to the searching for Mr. Veitch and Argyle, if he was with him. At which the mayor, like one in a surprise, without speaking one word, hastens down stairs, and goes home, thinking they would presently be at him for a warrant, which he could not give without two justices, according to the law of the place. One of them he knew was gone for Newcastle; he sends his boy to the other, desiring him, in all kindness, quickly to go out of town, and not to return that night. The boy was not well come back, when the governor and officers came to the mayor, requiring a warrant. "O," says he, "by all means;" and calling his boy, "Run," says he, "for these two justices, and bring them hither quickly." The boy after a space returning, told they were both out of town, and would not be in till to-morrow. "Well," says the mayor to the governor, "you know I can give no warrant till they come; and you, having doubled the guards, may secure all till then."

In the mean time, Mr. Temple carried Mr. Veitch through back-ways to the curate's beadle's house, where the wife being fanatic undertook to secure him; and he dined with one skipper Mitchel, who had a great tobacco ship lying over against one of the gates of the town walls; and had liberty from the mayor and governor that the gate might not be shut as the rest until ten of the clock at night. Betwixt two and three of the clock in the afternoon, Mr. Mayor comes in surprisingly upon Mr. Veitch, bringing some bottles of wine with him; and, his man being put out of the room, telling him all he had done for his security, drinks a glass to his safe delivery, and says, smilingly, "I can do no more for you, but commit you to your fanatic friends:" and so takes his leave. Mr. Veitch desires him to send Samuel Shell, the town solicitor, to him, which he did; and he being Mr. Veitch's acquaintance formerly at London, was very careful to do him service, and told him that this night,

* James Home of Flass was a Commissioner of militia in 1689, and Commissioner of supply in 1690, for the shire of Berwick.—"*May 17th*, 1689, The Committee of Estates, doe give warrand to James Home of Flasse, with the commanding officer of the troop, to muster the horsemen ordered to be raised out of the shire of Berwick, upon Tuesday next at Dunce." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. app. p. 31.)

† Robert Pringle of Stitchell, who died in 1649, left a widow, whom his son, Walter Pringle of Greenknow, in 1664, calls his *aged mother*. Walter's elder brother, John Pringle, *fiar* of Stitchell, who died before his father about 1647, appears also to have left a widow. (Pringle's Memoirs, p. 11, 14, 52.) *Oct.* 23, 1651. Robert Pringle of Stitchell is retoured heir of his father, John Pringle feodatary de Stitchell in *Coningcarle*, in dominio de Stitchell. (Inquis. Retorn. Roxb. 201.)

‡ "Sept. 20, 1684, by an order from the king, there is a search made in Berwick for Polwart, Mr. James Daes, and other Scots fugitives residing there; but they had advertisement of it beforehand. There was also a *quo warranto* issued out at the king's attorneys instance against the charter of Berwick, as forfeit by this misdemeanour of resetting, and also because they had refused to surrender, as many burrows and corporations had done. But the king's difficulty lay in this, that, by a clause in their charter, they can only be judged by an inquest of twelve burgesses of their own town: Yet, in Nov. 1684, having debarred sundry of the Whig party by excommunication, for not keeping the church, they, by a vote, surrendered their charter to the king." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 304.) Dec. 8, 1688, York and Berwick declared for a free parliament. (Lady Russel's Letters, p. 187.)

"*Circuit Court, Dunse, Sept.* 29, 1684.—The Lords being informed, by depositions, &c. that several rebels and fugitives were reset in the major's house of Berwick, resolved to write to the committee."—"*Jedburg. 11th October.* 1684.—Upon a letter from the governor of Berwick, signifying that he was informit Polwart had not made his escape as yet, and that the minister of the said parochin could give notice thereof, the lords ordered the minister of the said kirk to be cited before them; who compearing, deponed, that he had not seen Polwart since his escape and the search made for him, and that he knew not where he was or could be found." (Minutes of Circuit Court for Berwickshire, &c.)—Polwart left his concealment in his own house about the time of Mosbeth Fair, a few days after Jerviswood's execution. (Lady Murray's Memoirs, p. 41, 42.) Jerviswood was executed on the 24th December, 1684.

* 1677 and 1679, commissioners of supply for the borroughe of Berwicke-upon-Tweede: John Lucke, maior for the time being, Daniel Collingwood, Sir John Fenwicke, Robert Watson, &c. John Lucke and Robert Watson were also commissioners in 1688-9, and 1690. (Statutes of the Realm, v. 819, 915; vi. 41, 121, 199.)

his brother, the town-clerk, had a child to be buried with torches, where all the leading persons who were his friends in town would be; and there they would consult the best way of his escape, which they did: causing two honest boatmen lay their boat to the off-side of the tobacco-ship before-mentioned, betwixt seven and eight of the clock at night; and two merchants, when they knew all was ready, went out at that gate talking about the cargo-buying, to blind the two sentries that stood upon the wall above the door head: and finding no difficulty, came back and took Mr. Veitch and put him in the ship's boat, which the Skipper had laid at the key, which carried him out to the far side of the ship, and put him in the other boat, which landed him in Tweedmouth, where he had left his horse and riding gear, and getting two friends there, they accompanied him six miles to Mr. Luke Ogle's house,* the outed minister of Berwick, who laughed heartily at the story. It being Thursday's night, he engaged him to stay till the Sabbath was over, and perform an old promise to Ittall† and his lady, giving them a Sabbath day's sermon, to which he assented.

But going to bed after this confusion and weariness, and falling asleep, he dreamed that his house at Stanton Hall, more than thirty miles off that place, was all on fire, which made him awake with great consternation and trouble of mind, and think of altering his resolution and taking his journey home to-morrow morning, wishing it were near rising time that he might go. But hearing the clock strike two in the morning, and that it was not seasonable to trouble the house till six of the clock, he fell asleep, and dreaming the same over again, and awaking all in a sweat, took the doubling of the dream to be a clear call to go home, which next morning he did, making his apology to Mr. Ogle, and telling him his dream, (which he said was like one of his maggots) and desiring him to excuse him at the laird and lady's hands. It being a violent frost and the day short,‡ he could not ride above twenty miles, so that the next day being Saturday, it was near night ere he got home.

About a mile and a half from his own house, as he was going up a lane, he sees two men and three fine horses meeting him. The foremost of whom, when he perceived who it was, came riding fast up to him, (it was Torwoodlee's man,) saying, "O, Sir, you are long looked for at your house;" which made him ask, what is the matter? is my wife and family well?" "Yes," says he, "but there is a stranger longs to see you, viz. Argyle;‖ and your wife and he have been sending about the country these two days to find you." Then he saw that the dream was a clear call to bring him home.

After their meeting, and talking about matters, Mr. Veitch, with his wife's consent, who was then near her time, undertook to do his best for bringing him safe to London, and advised to send his two servants to-morrow morning being the Sabbath, to Newcastle, to stay there until farther orders.

He took Argyle, now called Mr. Hope, in disguise, along with him to Millburn Grange,* where he was to preach all that Sabbath day. On Monday morning he took him to a friend's house between Newcastle and Newbern, where he left him, until he went on to Newcastle and bought three horses for him and his two servants, which cost him about £27 Sterling, which Mr. Veitch paid out of his own pocket, finding Mr. Hope scarce of money. Having done this, he ordered Mr. Hope's two servants to go to a change house in the way to Leeds, seventeen miles from Newcastle, and he and Mr. Hope crossed Tyne at Newbern, and went to a by-in over against Durham. They called next day for the servants, and took them along. On Thursday night they came to Leeds, where Mr. Veitch was well acquainted. The next day they went towards Roderam, thinking to lodge four or five miles beyond it that night; but the day being

* Probably at Bousden, where Mr. Ogle had a property, to which he retired when expelled from Berwick. His ejection from that place at the Restoration, and his imprisonment along with Mr. Henry Erskine in 1665, are already mentioned. (See above, p. 60, 74.) He was called to the parish of Langton in the Merse during the indulgence in 1679, but this being quickly withdrawn, he had returned to his old retreat. Upon King James's toleration he was invited again to Berwick, and fixing there had a numerous congregation. In King William's time he had calls both from Kelso and Edinburgh, but could not be prevailed upon to leave Berwick, "where God had signally supported, and owned and blessed him. There he lived beloved and died much lamented in April 1696, aged sixty-six." (Non-conformist's Memorial, ii. 244, 246, 253.) He is very affectionately mentioned by Walter Pringle of Greenknow, (Memoir, p. 12.)

† Mr. Gabriel Semple is meant, as his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Ker of Ittell.

‡ It was the 23d of December.

‖ Previously to the fact for which the Earl of Argyle was brought to trial, the Duke of York and his party had testified their hostile intention towards him, both on his father's account and his own well-known zeal for the protestant religion. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 151, Wodrow, ii. 205.) On this account some of his friends had urged him to retire into private life; but, trusting in his loyalty and innocence, he refused to comply with their advice. (Paper by Andrew Donaldson, Wodrow, MSS. lxxv. art. 10, Adv. Library.) When called in, as a member of privy council, to take that self-contradictory oath, the Test, he declared that he "did take it as far as it is consistent with itself and the protestant religion; and that he meant not to bind up himself, in his station, and in a lawful way, to wish and endeavour any alteration he thought to the advantage of the church and state, not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. App. p. 47; comp. Wodrow, ii. 206, 297.) For refusing to retract this declaration, so honourable to him as a protestant and a patriot, he was immediately deprived of all his offices; upon which (says Lord Fountainhall,) "he, with great magnanimity, firmness, and constancy of spirit, answered, 'Seeing he could not serve his Majesty and the royal family any more in his counsels within doors, he should never be wanting to do them all the service in his power without doors." (Decis. i. p. 160.) But, determined to put his loyalty to a still severer test, the government brought him to trial for the above declaration; and, on the 13th of December, 1681, he was found guilty of *treason!* "There was a great outcry against the Criminal Judges, their timorous dishonesty. The Marquis of Montrose was chancellor of his assize. Sir George Lockhart called it lucrative treason, to the advantage of church and state; and admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for saying, he would endeavour all amendment he can to the advantage of church and state." Even those who thought the words deserved some lesser punishment, called it "diabolical alchemy to screw them into treason." (Ibid. i. 166.) "*December* 20, 1681. This evening, about nine o'clock at night, the Earl of Argyle, fearing his life might be taken, escaped out of the Castle of Edinburgh under the disguise of a page, and holding up the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter, and sister to the Earl of Balcarhouse." (Ibid. p. 167.) On the 23d of December, the criminal court pronounced sentence of death against him. (Ibid. Wodrow, ii. 214.) Lord Halifax told Charles II. that "he understood not the Scotch law, but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime." (Fountainhall's Diary, p. 21.) Both Charles and his brother endeavoured afterwards to excuse their conduct in this affair. The latter pleaded, as his reason for refusing the intercession of Lauderdale in behalf of Argyle, "that he would not be diverted, to make friends for himself, from pursuing the king's interest." Charles, on the other hand, thought fit to issue out a proclamation for apprehending my lord Argyle, "that, if it missed his person, it might convince the world, at least, he was satisfied with the Duke's management." (Life of King James II.) "What an affecting picture of brotherly love!" says Lord John Russel. (Life of Lord William Russel, ii. 15.)

On escaping from the castle, Argyle, by the direction of Mr. John Scot, minister of Hawick, rode straight to the house of Pringle of Torwoodlee, who sent his servant along with him to conduct him to Mr. Veitch. (Wodrow, ii. 212, 490.)

* In August, 1684, Mr. Robert Leaver, ejected from Bolam, the parish in which Harnam is situated, "was apprehended at his inn in Gateshead, for being the preacher at a conventicle at *Mr. George Horsley's of Milburn Grange*, a gentleman of family and fortune, who spared neither his pains, nor purse, nor person, to serve the interest of religion among the despised nonconformists, and was a considerable sufferer, paid £60 for two sermons preached at his house in one day, by Mr. Owen and Mr. Leaver." (Palmer's Noncon. Mem. ii. 247.)

very rainy, and he complaining he was wet to the skin, and seeing we must take up at Rcderam, we resolved to take the post house, as least suspected, rather than a by-inn.

We were not well in our chamber, and got some faggots to dry us, when a liveryman, well mounted, and calling for the hostler, asked briskly, "Came there not here some gentlemen shortly?" which put us all in fear. But, after inquiry, it was some gentleman's servant, who, having seen us before them upon the road, and, thinking we might call at the post house and take up the best rooms, had sent this fellow to see. Mr. Veitch, calling for a flagon of ale and a bottle of wine, and some bread, called for the landlord landlady to drink with them, and talked a little, asking for several gentry in the country, how far they lived from that place, telling them that they were relations to some of his neighbour gentry in Northumberland. This he did, that the landlord and landlady might know they were Englishmen, which happened well; for while we were at supper, the postboy, coming in from Doncaster, gave his master a letter from that postmaster, which after he had read, he at length reached it up to the table head to Mr. Veitch, who was sitting there as chief gentleman of the company, having Argyle's page, now in disguise, standing at his back. After Mr. Veitch had read it with great leisure, he was almost nonplussed what to think or say: for the narrative of the letter was to tell, that Argyle was escaped out of his castle, and there was £500 Sterling bid for him, whosoever should apprehend him. "If you find him," [said the postmaster in his letter] "and apprehend him in your road, let me go snips with you; and if I find him, you shall go snips with me." He [Mr. Veitch] broke out by way of laughter, and said, "Mr. Hope, here are admirable good news for you and me. The Earl of Argyle is escaped by these news; we that are travelling southward may come to hit upon him; for if he be come to England, he will readily take byways, and if we hit upon him, £500 reward will do us good service: only I fear he ride much these moonlight mornings. I could find in my heart to give my landlord a bottle of sack, to let his hostler direct us early in the way to Clown, and I promise him, if we find the prize he shall share of the reward." To which the landlord replied, "The hostler is at your honour's service." So Mr. Veitch called for a bottle of sack to drink to their good success. They went early in the morning away, and searched the house, but found not one lodger. Ere they came to the Clown they dismissed the hostler, and breakfasted at that place. After which Mr. Veitch sent the servants to the Plume of Feathers at Nottingham, and set Argyle upon the horse that carried the cloak-bag. So they rode that Saturday's night to Mr. Willis's house at Glapwell,* and staid there till Monday. It was one of Mr. Veitch's haunts, and he preached all the Sabbath to the meeting.

In the mean time Mr. Veitch thinking upon the alarm given, and that things looked more dangerous and difficult like, he thought fit to advise with an honest old Oliverian captain, Lockyer,† (one of Colonel Blood's‡ accomplices at that time,) about their safe getting to London, who generously offered to conduct my Lord Argyle safely thither; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr. Smith's a sugar-baker's house, whose lady was a very pious, wise, and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children. The servants sent to Nottingham were ordered for London, to a place were they should stay till further orders. Madam Smith being informed who Mr. Hope was, concealed it from her husband and all others; and he passed for an ordinary Scots gentleman.

Within a day or two she sends down a note to Major Holmes, one of her great trustees in the city, to provide two chambers at a good distance from one another, where two friends of hers might be quiet and

* Glapwell is in the parish of Bolsover, Derbyshire. Clown is a parish in the same county. (Pilkington's Derbyshire, vol. ii. p. 361, 365.)

† See Kennet's Chronicle, p. 116.

‡ Colonel Blood is a character too extraordinary to be discussed in the confined limits of a note. In the singular circumstances in which persons are placed in the convulsions of civil discord, we need not be surprised at inconsistencies, real or apparent, in the conduct of men whose character in the ordinary course of affairs had been unimpeachable. Many actors in such scenes stand in need of the liberal treatment which Cromwell receives at the hand of the celebrated Edmund Burke. "Cromwell," says he, "was a man in whom ambition had not wholly suppressed, but only suspended the sentiments of religion, and the love, as far as it could consist with his designs, of fair and honourable reputation. The country was nearly as well in his hands as in those of Charles II. and in some points much better. The laws in general had their course, and were admirably administered." (Works, vi. 14, 15, edit. 1809.)

Thomas Blood had fought, during the civil war, under the standard of Charles I. After the ruin of the royal cause, falling in, on his way to Ireland, his native country, with some of the presbyterian ministers in Lancashire, who were then writing against the violence which the sectarian army had done to the king and parliament, he became a convert to their views. He lived in Ireland quietly, and performed the duty of a justice of peace with great approbation, till the Restoration, when the government having forfeited the pledge which it gave in the declaration from Breda, he took an active part in a conspiracy, formed by some members of parliament, and others, who had been deprived of their lands. (See their Declaration in the Appendix.) On the discovery of this plot, he made his escape to England, where he contrived to live unknown as a medical practitioner, under the assumed names of Dr. Allan, Dr. Clarke, &c.. When he was in this situation, his daring resolution was displayed by the rescue of a captain Mason, who was on his way to York to stand trial. It has been said, but without good ground, that he was at the battle of Pentland. (Carte's Life of Ormond, ii. 421.) In December, 1670, he seized the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Haymarket, and attempted to carry him off. In the following year, he made an attempt to carry off the crown from the tower of London, and it is thought, would have succeeded, had he not spared the keeper's life. But what is still more strange, after this treasonable act, he was admitted to an interview with Charles II., pardoned, and allowed to appear publicly at court, even in the presence of Ormond. Writers have been exceedingly puzzled in attempting to account for this favourable treatment. In 1680, he was accused of a conspiracy against the Duke of Buckingham, but while he was preparing for his trial, he sickened and died. The [illegible] which he had inspired did not cease with his life; his burial was looked on as a trick; the body was disinterred, and, after a strict examination, was at last identified as his, by the uncommon size of the left thumb. (See Biog. Brit. 2d. edit. art. *Blood*, where almost every thing written about him is collected.) Baxter appears to have entertained, upon the whole, a favourable opinion of his character. (Life, part iii. p. 88.) Carte exclaims against his "matchless impudence, in pretending to godliness and tenderness of conscience." (Life of Ormond, ii. 423.) Evelyn, who dined with him in the Lord Treasurer's along with several French noblemen, after his attempt on the crown, says, he "was not only a daring, but a villainous, impudent fellow, a false countenance, but very well-spoken, and strangely insinuating." (Memoirs, i. 413.) But Evelyn was a better witness than judge of character. Blood was of a restless disposition, and despised not courage; but it is not so evident that he was cruel, perfidious, or altogether devoid of a sense of religion.

From the following extract of a letter from Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Aug. 25, 1666, it appears that Blood was an author: "I am assured from several hands, that *Blood* alias *Mene Tekel*, so called from the villainous book he wrote with that title, and some few others of the same principles, are lately gone into that kingdom (Ireland) hoping to work effectually their wicked ends upon the new militia especially." (Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 434.) In the following lines of the satirical Marvell, "Upon Blood's stealing the Crown," the wit turns on the circumstance of his having gained admission to the Tower in a clerical garb.

"When daring Blood, his rent to have regain'd,
Upon the English diadem distrain'd,
He chose the cassock, cincngle, and gown,
The fittest mask for one that robs the crown:
But his lay-pity underneath prevail'd,
And whilst he sav'd the keeper's life, he fail'd
With the priest's vestment had he but put on
The prelate's cruelty, the crown had gone."
(Marvell's *Works*, iii. 237.)

retired for a while; and when he sent her word they were ready, she sent them to the Major's lodgings in the night time. None of them knew the Major, but they being set in an outer room to wait for his coming down, whenever the Major came into the room he knew Argyle, and getting him in his arms, said, "My dear Lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me." At which my lord seemed to be concerned, and said, "Pray, Sir, where did you know me?" "My lord," says he, "I knew you since that day that I took you prisoner in the Highlands, when you were Lord Lorn, and brought you to the Castle of Edinburgh.* But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you:" And so sent each of them to their several chambers, where they lurked a considerable while.

None knew Mr. Hope's lodgings but Major Holmes and Mr. Veitch. After some days, Mr. Veitch being acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, went to pay him a visit. When he saw him, he took him into his bed-chamber, and sitting down together, he asked him, what was become of my Lord Argyle. He replied, "How should I know any thing of that, my lord?" Says he, "I no sooner saw your face, but I was persuaded you had brought him to the city. For when I heard of his escape, and considered with myself he could not be so safe any where as in London, it was cast in my mind that you were the person that could safeliest conduct him thither." Upon which Mr. Veitch told him that he was in town, but his Lordship behoved to keep it secret; which he promised to do, and said he would serve him to his power.

After the hurry about his escape was over, Madam Smith brought out Mr. Hope and Mr. Veitch with him, to stay at their new house at Brentford, seven miles off the city; and not long after, several nobility, gentry, and rich merchants, some in the city of London, and some elsewhere, began to meet secretly, to see if they could fall upon any measures to prevent these nations, and the church of Christ therein, from sinking into popery and slavery, but all to little purpose, for it ended in that discovery that they called Monmouth's plot;† when several gentlemen of Scotland, and Mr. William Carstairs, were taken in London, and brought down to Edinburgh prisoners; some of them put to torture, and the great, learned and pious Jerviswood was cruelly put to death.‡

Mr. Hope kept himself retired still from all these meetings, yet he knew their measures, and they wanted not his advice; for he made himself known to none of these great persons at London by personal converse,* except only to Sir Arthur Forbes, the Earl of Granard, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with whom formerly he had a peculiar intimacy and friendship.

The Earl of Granard coming to London, and finding that Argyle was lurking in it, used all means to see him; and finding out his son, the Lord Lorn, in the city, intreated him to do him the favour to bring them together. He replied, "It was the thing he could not do himself, for he was as ignorant of his lodging as his lordship, but he would speak to the gentleman that brings him and his father together, and see what could be done." At length Mr. Veitch being spoken to, and telling Mr. Hope the matter, he was as desirous to meet with Granard as he was with him. Upon which my lord Lorn, and Mr. Veitch, under the name of Captain Forbes, resolved they should meet and dine together at the Dolphin in Lombard Street, being the ordinary place where his father and he used to meet. There they spent several hours together, discoursing upon the times, and what they thought proper for them to do to prevent the evils that threatened both church and state. So much for the first meeting.

They had only one other congress at the same place, though, in the interim, Captain Forbes went betwixt them with several messages, and was much caressed by the Earl of Granard to go along with him to Ireland, and he would prefer him to as profitable and honourable a post as possible, for which the captain heartily thanked his Lordship, but told him that in good manners he could not leave the Earl of Argyle.

At the second and last congress, which they had at the same place, they concluded to join with the Duke of Monmouth, and the honest nobility, gentry, and commons of England, that should appear for the protestant interest, &c. Argyle heading the same in Scotland; and the Earl of Granard in Ireland; and that he should, whenever Argyle appeared in the west of Scotland, send over out of Ireland five thousand trained soldiers to assist Argyle. Upon which Mr. Forbes did see the two Earls pass their parole, and change their walking canes upon that head. But when the time came, nothing of this was performed, and what was the obstruction he knows not.†

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* Major Holmes is described by Sprat as "an Englishman—a Major in the English army in Scotland." (Account of Conspir. 31, 110.) Argyle, when Lord Lorn, had distinguished himself by appearing in arms for the royal cause in 1653 and 1654, along with Glencairn and Middleton. (Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War, p. 158, 197, 199, 215. Edin. 1822. Baillie's Letters, ii. 377, 382, 394.) On this account he was favourably received at court on the Restoration; and the same cause had rendered him an object of jealousy to Cromwell's officers, and caused his being imprisoned on every new occasion. (Burnet, i. 106.) It would appear, that on some of these occasions, Holmes had commanded the party that apprehended him. When Argyle, in the end of 1682, escaped to Holland, his correspondence with his friends at home passed through the Major's hands, who being apprehended among the first, and examined, 29th June 1683, some letters in cyphers were found with him, which involved Mr. William Spence, and eventually Mr. William Carstairs, and occasioned their being tortured. He is mentioned by both in their depositions. Carstairs had been previously acquainted with him, and in one of the last letters which he ever wrote, calls him "honest and worthy Major Holmes." (Sprat's Account, p. 111, Copies of Inform. p. 172, Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 55. Wod. ii. 387, 388.)

† More commonly called the Rye-house Plot.

‡ For Baillie of Jerviswood's trial, see Wodrow, ii. 379, 387, 450. The depositions taken in Scotland in relation to the Rye-house plot, furnish the following particulars respecting Mr. Veitch during the time he was in London.—"Veatche stayed sometimes at Nicolese stablers hous at London wall; sometimes with one Widow Hardcastle in Moorfields." A letter having come from Argyle to Major Holmes, intimating that he would join with Monmouth and follow his directions, "this Mr. Veatch thought fitt to communicate" to the Duke of Monmouth, and obtained from Carstairs the key of the cypher, that he might hand it with the letter to Ferguson, for the purpose of showing it to the Duke. Veitch was also at more than one meeting with his countrymen, some of whom came to London in the beginning of April, and others only at the beginning of May 1683. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 34, 36.)

* See Gordon of Earlston's relation, in Sprat's Copies of Informations relating to the Conspiracy, p. 145.

† Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, was the son of Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes, who, after bearing arms on the continent, settled in Ireland, was created a baronet in 1628, and died in 1632. Sir Arthur was the 4th son of William Forbes of Corse and Oneil, and brother of Patrick, bishop of Aberdeen, and John, minister of Alford, who was banished to Holland for assisting at the General Assembly held in Aberdeen in 1605. (Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 76. Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, i. p. 378, 379. Life of Andrew Melville, ii. 292. 2d edit.) His son was active in transporting troops from Ireland to Scotland in 1648, to join the Duke of Hamilton in his expedition to England. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. App. 97.) He commanded a party of horse under Glencairn and Middleton in the Highlands of Scotland, when they appeared for Charles II. in the years 1653 and 1654, and distinguished himself in several encounters with the English. Being taken prisoner and confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, the Earl of Argyle, then Lord Lorn, at the time of his capitulation, exerted himself in procuring his liberation "for furthering his Majesty's service, and for personal respect to Sir Arthur." (Supplement to Dict. of Dec. vol. ii. 687, 688. Wodrow, ii. App. p. 65. Baillie's Letters, ii. 377, 382, 394. Lodge, i. 379, 380. Military Memoirs of the Civil War, p. 161. *et passim.*) In February, 1660, he was sent to Brussels by Sir Charles Coote (afterwards Earl of Montrath) "to assure the King of his duty, and to give him an account of the state of the kingdom." (Carte's Ormond, ii. 203. Brown's Miscellanea Aulica, p. 334.) His loyalty caused him to be employed and advanced after the Restoration. In 1663,

My Lord Argyle upon the prospect of the discovery went to Holland; * and Madam Smith, who had a hand in that, also persuaded her husband to go to Holland, and dwell there, from other motives; for he knew not that she had a hand in that plot: and then Argyle and they lived at Utrecht together. Mr. Veitch came from London down to the North to see his family and friends about fourteen days before it broke out,† and so escaped being taken with the Scotch gentry; and after he had wearied himself in hiding, sometimes in one place, and sometimes another, he was necessitated to steal over to Holland. His brother Mr. James and his wife being banished by the Duke of York, and coming to his house at Stantonhall, being afraid to stay there, went along with him.‡

Mr. Veitch met there with his old friends, Monmouth, Argyle, Earl of Melvil, Lord Polwart, Torwoodlee, James Stewart, and many others, who did, by the instigation of friends from both nations, not only before but especially after the death of King Charles, contrive Monmouth's coming to England, and Argyle's to Scotland, to oppose King James's carrying on his malicious designs of bringing the nations back again to the see of Rome. Both of them had great promises sent them of assistance, but it turned to nothing, as the public history tells. And no wonder, for the one part kept not their promises, and the other parties followed not the measures contrived and concerted at Amsterdam; to which meeting Mr. Veitch, with much persuasion, brought old President Stairs: and it cost him giving in bond for £1000 sterling to Madam Smith, who lent out £6000 or £7000 more, her husband being now dead, to my Lord Argyle and others, for the better carrying on that enterprise. Monmouth sent several of his friends incognito to several places in England to warn them to make them ready; and Argyle sent Torwoodlee to Murrayland to prepare them, and Mr. Veitch to Northumberland and the Scotch borders to give them notice. He had also a verbal commission, and a token for showing the verity of his commission from my Lord Gray to his chief steward in Northumberland, to instigate him to raise what forces of horse and foot he could upon his charges, that they might be ready to appear when they heard of Monmouth's landing in the South. Mr. Veitch also had a verbal commission from Argyle to procure money for buying of arms, colours, drums, horses, and taking on men, especially old Oliverian officers; somewhat of all which he did, and through his too much travelling through the country, and the zeal of severals in many places to rise, the matter was like to take wind, so that he was forced to retire up to the mountains in the borders near Reidsdale-head, and hide himself from his very friends, until the season of appearing came. For Colonel Strother in the English side getting some notice of him, sent an express to the Scotch council hereanent; and they sent an express to the Earl of Lothian who commanded the militia in Tiviotdale, and to Meldrum whose troop was lying there, to join with Strother in searching the suspected places of the border to find him, which they did. They come upon a hill called the Carter, where Mr. Veitch was lying in a hut among the rocks covered with heather-turfs as if they had been growing, which honest Mr. Thomas Steel had made up for himself, when he was forced to flee upon Aaron Smith's coming from London upon that errand;* which place he assigned unto him, and he was lying in it when these great persons were riding along that hill on every side of him; for no horse could come where he was. He was only afraid of their dogs, but providence ordered it well; for they missed their mark.

The news coming that Argyle was landed in the Highlands, he knew not how to get the truth of it, but sent one right for Mr. Steel, by honest Sanders Stevenson, his man, who came every night with milk, and bread, and cheese, to him. And they advising together how to get sure notice, thought it necessary to send one to Edinburgh, to a trusty friend there, to see if he could procure two printed passes, for at that time

he was sworn in a member of the Privy Council; in 1670, made Marshal of the army; in 1675, Viscount Granard; and in 1664, Earl of Granard. (Lodge, i. 381, 382.) Veitch is mistaken in calling him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: he never held that office, but he was on several occasions one of the two Lords Justices. (Lodge, *ut supra*.) Though loyal, he was decidedly attached to the protestant religion, and favourable to the presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland. It was through his influence that Charles II. granted them a sum of L.600 annually, which was intrusted to Granard, and doubled at the Revolution. (Memoirs of Ireland, p. 39, 40. Hist. Essay on the Loyalty of Presbyterians, p. 383—385. Wodrow, i. 270.) In the project of the Whig Council of 1679, he was one of three lords supposed to be firm protestants, from whom it was proposed to choose the Chief Governor of Ireland. (Carte's Ormond, p. 494, 495.) The author of the *Memoirs of Ireland* says, that on the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, some were apt to believe that Granard was in suspence whom to declare for, but "the unalterable steadiness" of the Lord Primate Boyle, who was one of the Lords Justices, "hindered the other from deserting." Hume says, that at that time "the whole power was in the hands of Talbot, the general, soon after created Earl of Tyrconnel." (Hist. vol. ix. 254. Lond. 1811.) Oates had marked Talbot for this employment, whence it came to be observed, "that if Oates was an *ill evidence*, he was certainly a *good prophet*." (Bennet's Memorial, p. 313.) At the Revolution the Earl of Granard adhered to James, and sat in his Privy Council and Parliament in 1689; but becoming satisfied of the duplicity of that Monarch and his intentions to establish popery, he left him and went over to William in 1690. (Plowden's Hist. of Ireland, i. 182, 189. Memoirs of Ireland, p. 39. Lady Russel's Letters, p. 214. Rawdon Papers, 326, 327.)

* "Lord Argyle, in September 1682, was pursued at London, where he was on his hiding, and did escape." (Law's Memorials, p. 236.) From Carstair's deposition, (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 34, 35.) and Gordon of Earlston's, (Sprat's Copies of Informations, p. 142.) it would appear that Argyle was in Holland in or about December 1682.

† The first information of the plot was given by Kealing on "the happy twelfth of June," 1683, says Sprat; and the conspirators met "on Monday June 18th, at Walcot's Lodgings, in Goodman's Fields, to consult, once for all, what should be done for their common safety." (Acco. of the Conspiracy, p. 89, 91. Copies of Informations, p. 1.) The discovery was announced on the 21st of June. (Wodrow, ii. 330.)

‡ See before, p. 428.—The following extract relates to a period soon after Veitch went to London with Argyle.—"My husband some weeks after sent me word what proffers he had for Carolina, and he thought I might make for going thither; which bred a new exercise to me. I thought in my old days I would have no heart for such a voyage and leave these covenanted lands, but at length I got submission to my God, and was content if he had more service for me and mine in another land." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. MS. p. 3.) Sprat represents the scheme of a plantation in Carolina, by Sir John Cochrane and his associates, as a mere disguise, under which they met to carry on their conspiracy against the government. (Acco. of the Conspiracy, p. 34, 87.) The extract from Mrs. Veitch's Memoirs is an addition to the evidence in support of the reality of the scheme produced by Wodrow, (ii. 236.) and furnished by the deposition of Commissary Monro. (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. p. 33.)

* Thomas Steil was Chamberlain of Jedburgh Forest to James, Marquis of Douglas. About the middle of February 1683, Aaron Smith being sent from the English Whigs to Sir John Cochran, and other friends in Scotland, came, the Thursday before Shrove Tuesday, to Newcastle, where Sheriff, the innkeeper with whom he lodged, obtained one Bell to be his guide to Jedburgh, to Steil who was his (Sheriff's) acquaintance. From Jedburgh he was conducted to Douglas by Andrew Oliphet, who was previously engaged, and now on his way to bring home Steil's wife from the latter place. Smith not finding a guide there, Mrs. Steil permitted Oliphet to go forward with him to Ochiltrie, where he left him. He passed by the name of Samuel Clerk, and said that he was on the Carolina business. (Sprat's Account, 183, 184, 185; Copies of Informations, 154, 155, 156.) On the discovery of the plot, and trial of those accused, Steil appears to have become alarmed, and provided the hut above mentioned for his concealment. Being at length apprehended, he, with Andrew Oliphet, was, on the 11th of December 1683, examined by the committee for public affairs. On the 20th of that month, on the petition of the Marquis asserting Steil's innocence, and urging the injury his Lorship's affairs would suffer by his detention, the Council liberated him, on a bond that he should compear, and not leave the kingdom without licence, under a penalty of two thousand merks. (Privy Council Records.)

none could travel without them; and filled up the names of two persons that he sent west, one toward Dumbarton, and another toward Irvine, to bring him a true account, which one of them did; but it was a sad account, viz. that Argyle and his party were broken at Muirdykes, and he himself taken near Paisley, which occasioned no small sorrow to Mr. Steel and Mr. Veitch, and to all their other friends, for they concluded now their case to be hopeless and helpless, there being no other mean in outward appearance now left; and, (which put on the copestone of all,) within a few days after, the news of Monmouth's being broken came down to Newcastle by post, and peremptory and strict orders to search for all suspected persons, and to apprehend and strictly examine all travellers by sea and land.

After the Earl of Argyle was apprehended at Paisley, he was carried to Edinburgh, and executed upon the old sentence, without any respect had to this invasion.* He was a person of great wit and policy, and true piety, so far as ever Mr. Veitch could discern, who was in his company from the time he carried him from his own house (being recommended to his care by the laird of Torwoodlee, who sent him to his house with his own servant and horses) until he sent him from Amsterdam, some weeks before he took shipping there for Scotland. For, as he hath formerly hinted, he bought horses at his own charge to carry Argyle and his servants to London; and furnished him money both by the way and afterward. When his son Charles, and black John Campbell came to London, having lost a little ship that was laden by sea, called the Anne of Argyle, they had nothing either to maintain them while they staid in the city or carry them home, but as Mr. Veitch gave them. Also when the Earl of Shaftesbury was necessitated to flee for Holland,† he sent Mr. Ferguson to fetch Mr. Veitch to him, and was earnestly solicitous that he should make himself ready against to-morrow's night to go along with him, and he would sufficiently recompense him for his pains. But my lord Argyle would by no means part with him, which made him beg my lord Shaftesbury's excuse, who was not well pleased. And it was a considerable loss to Mr. Veitch, for he that went with him in his room, besides all other things, got a hundred guineas for a few months service abroad, where he died. Likewise, he was at a loss by his absence from his people, and his meeting house being supplied by another in his room, who got the salary. And Argyle and the other Scotch gentry employed him to ride seven times between London and the borders of Scotland in nine months time, and he had nothing for it but seven pounds sterling, and spent other seven pounds of my own.‡

He would have him also to get straight to Holland with him, and his trunk was sent with my lord's down to the ship. But Mr. Veitch falling that night into an excessive fit of a cholic which kept him for many days, his trunk was sent back. Yet, as is formerly hinted, he followed him shortly to Holland, after he had visited his family and friends in the north; and waiting on him in that country, with the things he bought there to prepare him for his undertaking for Scotland, he spent £50 sterling of his own money. And, moreover, as has been hinted, upon his desire, when he parted from Amsterdam to execute his commission in Northumberland and the borders, he gave him not one sixpence of all the money and gold he had borrowed either to bear his charges, or buy the arms, and do the other things that he instructed him about, viz. giving to some old Oliverian officers fifteen, and some twenty guineas a-piece, to engage them and fit them for that service, some eleven pounds, some ten, some four. To many he gave pistols and swords, and money to buy furniture of that nature. He also provided colours, a pair of which he had kept till after the Revolution, and showed them to the Duke of Argyle, his son. The waiting upon Argyle also, so long together, occasioned him to lose £120 sterling of lent money, with the interest of it, to Mr. Horsley of Millburn Grange,* not having a security upon his estate for it, and the creditors upon his death running away with the executry, when Mr. Veitch was abroad; so that all the money from the very horses that he bought at first, and the other things narrated, was never paid to Mr. Veitch, nor any of his, to this day.

Besides all this, any body would think that Mr. Veitch deserved a considerable reward for venturing his life and fortune over again, being but lately relieved out of that danger, and leaving his wife big with child within a few weeks of her time, and a numerous family to subsist upon a very small farm that there he was redacted to, being exhausted and impoverished by his former imprisonment and other troubles, where his life was at the stake.

But though these things were represented to his son, the late Duke of Argyle, who gave Mr. Veitch many repeated promises to reimburse him, and an account only of his real outlayings there was left in his custody with a letter subjoined, which no doubt his executors found among his papers, yet never was there any thing done; and Mr. Veitch may say that some of his children, to whom he had been very kind, gave him frowns and summons upon false grounds, and reproaches behind his back, instead of thanks.

This I confess to the commendation of the suffering Earl, that, walking with him in Madam Smith's garden at Brentford, in an unexpected discourse, he acknowledged to Mr. Veitch his great kindness in venturing over again his all in the world, yea his life, to serve him, who was never acquainted with him formerly; and that he not only resolved to give him a free farm, worth about four hundred merks per annum, lying near Campbeltown, as he remembers, disponed to him and his posterity for ever, for that good service he had done him; and that it should be mentioned in the disposition, that his posterity might always show kindness to Mr. Veitch's posterity; and if Mr. Veitch had sought a bond of him, he, without doubt, had given him it. But he never dreamed of such a thing, thinking always they would live together afterwards, and the thing would be done.

The Duke of Monmouth was apprehended hiding himself among long braikers or ferns in the field, shortly after the defeat of his army; and public history gives an account of his execution. It was never heard (after Lauderdale had procured his being banished from the court when he came out of Scotland after Bothwell Bridge, without so much as coming to court, and going instantly to Holland) that ever he

* He was executed on the 30th of June 1686. (Wodrow, ii. 541.)

† "The Earl not long after chose to withdraw himself from further attacks by a retreat into Holland, where he arrived in November 1682. For security he applied to be made a burgher of Amsterdam, on which occasion it is said, that his *delenda est Carthago* was brought to his recollection. He died in that city of the gout in his stomach, on January 22, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age." A MS. of his on Toleration is said to be the basis of his friend Locke's Essay on that subject. (General Biography, article Cooper, A. Ashley.) Sprat says, Shaftesbury went down the river on the 19th of November. (Account of the Conspiracy, p. 49.)

‡ "Jerveswood desired me some tyme last winter, or tho beginning of the spring [1683, 1684] to acquent Torwoodlie, that Mr. William Vetch in Northumberland was too openly up and down, and desired that Torwoodly might acquent him soe much, that he keep himself more privat, else they might get a hite of him, for he heard or feared some designed it, which Torwoodly sometyme after told me he had immediately done upon the advertisement." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. App. 37. Tarras's Deposition.)

* See before, p. 451.

saw the king's face, except once before his majesty died;* when, being deeply impressed and troubled in his mind anent the Duke of York and his jesuitical cabal's plotting how to take the king off the stage, which made him resolutely and generously venture to come over to London incognito, he sent for the lord Allington, then governor of the Tower of London, being his great friend and favourite; telling him, that he must needs go to the king and acquaint him, that he is in town, and has a business of great importance to impart to him. Upon which his majesty sent him word with the bearer when and where to meet him. The matter was, that he was credibly informed that there was a design laying by the Duke of York and his cabal, to cut him off, and he could not but venture all that was dearest to him to come and acquaint him therewith. At which the King was a little struck and amazed, not so much from his not being apprehensive of the thing, as that it should have come the length of his ears when abroad, and that he should have showed so much kindness as to make such a dangerous adventure to inform him. So that after they had discoursed to the full, ere they parted, the king gave him as many jewels out of his cabinet as were valued at ten thousand pounds sterling, and a secret order to his cashier to pay to the lord Allington, for the use of a friend of his, ten thousand pounds sterling, as it is said: so he returned incognito again to Holland.

This alarm put the King upon a more serious inquiry anent this matter, and finding several things that increased his fears, he sent one of his domestic servants to the lord Allington to desire him to come at such an hour, which being late at night, he thought it would be the most quiet and unknown, and undiscovered. But it proved not so; and the reason that was frequently given for it was this, that the Duke of York had so awed, influenced, and bribed all that used about the king, even to the meanest station, that nothing could be done now by the king, never so secretly, but it came presently to York's ears, so that he was not only able to carry on the foresaid design, but to frustrate all opposition thereunto.

Now the king's business with Allington was this—to take his advice, he being a wise man, and one of his greatest confidants at that time, about what measures he should make use of to prevent the Duke of York and his cabals destroying of him; for he saw now it was inevitably a-coming. To which Allington replied, "Sir, you have brought it upon yourself, by your turning out Monmouth out of all his places, especially his command over the guards about your person, and suffering such to be put in who were York's creatures." "But what shall I do now?" said the king—"Sir," said he, "I neither can nor dare advise you in that matter; for if it be heard, as likely it will, it may hasten both our ruins." The king promised solemnly to keep it secret, and would not part with him till he told him, and that he would presently put them in execution; and whatever befel him he should never discover or wrong Allington; and they paroled upon it.

"Now," says he, "Sir, my advice is this, that seeing within a few weeks the appointed time will be that the Duke of York is obliged to go to Scotland, to hold the next session of his parliament, take care to give him his commission, and send him timeously away; and when he is there, send for Monmouth, restore him to all his places, and remove from the court all persons that are suspected to favour York's interest, as also, out of your guards, and double them. When this is once done, he being in Scotland, we will see then what is farther to be done."

This proved a costly advice to them both, for no doubt but there were some overhearing behind the curtain, who told all to York, as appears by the event. A little after, the king sends for his brother, telling him he must make ready to go down for Scotland, the time drawing near for his keeping the next session of their parliament, he would presently expede his commission, and upon such a day he must take journey. At which discourse the duke seemed to be much displeased, telling his majesty it was a thing he could not at all undertake at this juncture; for he having a great trade at Calais and other foreign places, and many years' accounts to clear with these foreign factors, wherein he and other great merchants in the city were concerned, being now upon their journey, he must needs stay to clear with them, and therefore desired earnestly to be excused. To which the king replied, "James, either you must go, or I must go." And speaking these words with a kind of question, the duke as briskly replied, "He would not go;" and so took his leave. Then going home, and calling his friends and cabal, he told them what passed; and that he perceived the king resolved to follow Allington's measures. After which, his cabal he trusted in resolved among themselves, that they would go to their houses, and put them in such a posture as that they might return within so many hours; no doubt, to such a secret place where they might sit without parting, until they had defeated the king's resolutions, and brought their purposes, if possible, to the intended issue. And if the information be true, which the event seems to make probable, they all unanimously resolved to begin with Allington, and see if they could take him off by poison; which they did by bribing his cook and master-household; which took place, and, if my memory fail not, says the relator, he either died on the Friday's night or morning.* For York had a spy to tell him so soon as ever his breath went out; and the cabal resolved, that if the business took, the Duke of York should be the first that should carry the news to the king, lamenting such a heavy loss, to blind the matter. And it is said that he made such haste, for fear any should be before him, that he ran to the court at the nighest, with one of his shoes down in the heel, and one of his stockings untied. Yet he was prevented, for one of my lord's servants had just come in before him, and told that his master was dead suddenly, and undoubtedly poisoned. York coming in in the mean time, not hearing this, made his lamentation that Allington, his friend, was dead; a very sad stroke to the court. "Ay," says the king, "and his servant

* Veitch appears to have forgotten Monmouth's reception at court after the Rychouse plot. Wellwood expressly says, that King Charles "brought him back to court after the ferment (about the plot) was a little abated;" and adds, "All the time Monmouth was absconding, and when there was a proclamation out for apprehending him, King Charles not only knew where he was, and sent him messages every day, but saw him several times in private." (Memoirs, p. 166, 167.) That Monmouth had an interview with the king a short time before the death of the latter, as stated by Veitch, is confirmed by the following passage in Carte. "Though the Duke of York was a principal means in bringing his Majesty to recal the Duke of Ormond, yet, within a month after the king had notified that resolution, the Duke of Monmouth was suffered to come over into England, and admitted to a private interview with his Majesty, who, to remove his royal highness from about him, determined to send him to hold a parliament in Scotland, on March 10th following." (Carte's Life of Ormond. ii. 539.) By comparing this with p. 536—538, it appears that this interview must have taken place in November or December, 1684. The king died on the 6th of February, 1685.

* "In 1682, William, lord Alington of Killard, in Ireland, was created lord Alington of Wymley, in Hertfordshire. He was constable of the Tower when the earl of Essex was there found murdered, and died of poison, as it is believed, two or three days before King Charles II." (New Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland, ii. 340.) He married lady Diana Russel, sister of William, lord Russel, and Widow of Sir Greyil Verney of Compton Verney, in the county of Warwick. (Russel's Life, p. 14.) Notwithstanding his connexion with the family of Russel, he appears to have been a steady adherent to the court. (A. Marvell's Works, ii. 559. Oldmixon's Crit. Hist. ii. 352. Statutes of the Realm, v. 900, 901.) Lady Russel often mentions her "sister Alington," and refers to lord Alington's death in two letters to Dr. Fitzwilliam. (Letters, p. 51, 99, 100.)

thinks he was poisoned: I wish you have not a hand in it, of which, if I were sure, you should presently go to the Tower; for I am like to be next." But the duke intreated his majesty to have no such thoughts, and, acknowledging his fault in refusing to go to Scotland at their last meeting, said, he was now resolved to comply with his majesty's commands, and take journey next week for Scotland, come of his business what would: and therefore desired his majesty to expede his commission next week, that he might not be hindered. Now these were the words that he and his cabal had concerted further to blind the king withal, that so they might better effectuate their next resolution.

The king believing him to speak seriously, and, that he might yet accomplish what Allington had advised him, when the duke was gone for Scotland, ordered his commission to be instantly drawn, that he might go down to hold the foresaid parliament. In the mean time, the duchess of Portsmouth, his present miss or whore, that the king of France had sent him, and who influenced him as she pleased to the French measures, not being pleased with the Duke of York's maltreating the king in refusing to go to Scotland, his cabal thought fit that the duke should go to her and acknowledge his rashness with the king, and beg that she would interpose for their amicable reconciliation, which she promised to do; and telling her that, he being to go away upon Monday or Tuesday next to obey his majesty's commands in Scotland, the best way and time to do it was to sup with her grace on Sabbath night, and she might invite any of the court there that she thought fit; to which she consented. When he came back, and told his cabal what was done, they said, "Then our business is like to do." So they ordered the duke to send a good quantity of all sorts of wines and good liquors, especially claret, which the king loved; that so she might be induced to entertain them liberally and long that night. And, the king being sotted with drink, it being usual, in such a case, to drink a good deal of coffee for a cure, they had liberally bribed his coffee-man to poison his coffee; and some of York's faction, in that case, when he was so drunk, was to advise the duchess to keep him all night, to save him the trouble of going to his own room. Likewise knowing that, in the morning, when he first awaked, he made use of much snuff, they hired the duchess's chambermaid to put in the poisoned snuff into his box, and take out what was in it before. And so nothing doubting but their design now would take place, they ordered a spy to give an account of his carriage when he awaked, timeously, before any of the court should know of it. When he awaked he cried out "he was deadly sick," and calling for his snuff-box, he took a deal of it; but still growing worse, he sent for his servants to put on his clothes, which when they were doing he staggered. So he got to the window, and leaned upon it, crying, "I'm gone, I'm poisoned; have me quickly into my chamber."

The duke getting notice, came running in haste, all undrest, to lament his brother's fate, saying, "Alas! Sir, what's the matter?" who answered, "O, you know too well," and was in great passion at him. In the mean time, he called for his closet-keeper to fetch him out an antidote against poison, that a German mountebank had given him and assured him it would instantly cure him whenever he suspected it; but it could not be found, neither his physicians, being, as it was thought, sent out of town. When he saw all these things fail him, being enraged at his brother, he made at him; but he having secured all the entries to the court, that the sentry should tell, if any courtiers or bishops, upon the news, should offer to come in to see how the king was. They were to tell them that he was gone to bed out of order, and had discharged all access to him that he might be quiet. And in the mean time the duke seeing him in such a rage, and that the poison was not like to do so quickly, set four ruffians upon him, at which he crying out so as he was heard, they presently choked him in his cravat, and so beat him in the head that he instantly died. It is said that his head swelled bigger than two heads; and also that his body stunk so with the poison and other things, that none could stay in the room. And it is said, that in the dead of the night they were forced to carry him out and bury him *incognito*.

However the room was kept quiet, that none had access to the supposed sick king, as if he had been lying still in bed. None was admitted to that room but those who were true friends to York, who made the people believe he was still alive, but dangerously ill. And when his council met, and had concerted what measures to follow upon the supposition of his death, (an embargo being laid upon all ships for that time, that none might carry abroad the rumour of his sickness,) then they gave out the news of his being just now dead toward the latter end of the week; and, as they had concerted in council, the duke of York was proclaimed king. One that was at court at this time, and was a friend of Monmouth's, brought him over this account, affirming it to be true.

The duke of York was no sooner proclaimed king, but he sent over instantly an express to the prince of Orange, his good-son, to apprehend the duke of Monmouth, and send him over prisoner to England. It was a strange providence that the duke, upon the prince's invitation some months before, had gone up to visit him, and was that night in his lodgings when the express came. The prince being surprised with the news at first, upon second thoughts managed the business very well. He dispatched the express, and when all his household was gone to bed, he put on his night-gown, and went up to the duke of Monmouth's bed-chamber; and letting him see the surprising news, both with respect to the king and himself, he advised him to get up and go away before day-break, to any place where he thought he might be most secure, for he had no mind to meddle with him. Which he did, and came to Rotterdam before five in the morning, to his friend and factor's house, Mr. Washington's, who kept the great brewery at the sign of the Peacock, and, sending for several of his friends who were there, told them the strange news, asking their advice what was best for him to do. They, being all struck with amazement, knew not what advice to give him. He told them that the Marquis de Grana, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, being his intimate acquaintance at the English court, had by a message invited him up to divert himself a while with him at Brussels. He thought now he was called to go there, since he was not admitted to stay where the prince of Orange had any power, lest it might beget a mistake between him and his father-in-law. His friends thought it a good providence that he should take the occasion, which he did; and going through several garrison towns which were in his way thither, with his camels, sumpters, and servants attending him, he was complimented in his passage by the magistrates and governors of these places.

But how strange is it to think, that some days ere he came there, there came a message and order from the king of Spain to the marquis, giving him an account that, if he heard by this time of the king of England's death, he should take care to apprehend the duke of Monmouth, if he were in his territories. They were both surprised at their meeting, and condoled one another's fate; the one that he had got such an order, that, cost him what it would, he would not execute; the other, that he should have come now to put him in such a lock. So in that very night he was forced to disguise himself, and one of his trustiest servants, in a common soldier's habit, and return again, sometimes by land and sometimes by water, until he landed at Dort, where two spies, Englishmen, following them to

the inn as suspected persons, the master going up stairs to a room, and his servant going into the cookery to see what meat was for eating, he heard them saying one to another in French, "That fellow that went up stairs looked very like the duke of Monmouth." Upon which the servant took up bread and drink, paying for it; and they went out by a back door, when they had done, and took a waggon, which brought them to Rotterdam; where they told their friends what was befallen them.

What is above said seems to make it very evident that the king's death was a fore-contrived thing. For if the king of Spain knew of it before his messenger was dispatched, as the story evinceth, so the popish princes in other countries could not but be acqnainted also, as well as the papists in England; for it seems to have been an universally laid thing, to hasten the duke of York to the crown of England for advancing the Catholic cause. After this, Monmouth was obliged to lurk sometimes in Rotterdam, sometimes elsewhere, until they had perfected that concert of Argyle's coming into Scotland and Monmouth's into England, where their friends in both nations promised to appear with them for retrieving, if possible, the protestant interest that was now perishing; and their last meeting for that effect was at Rotterdam.

Here also, it is to be remarked, that the duke of York, now king of England, pursued Washington, as his factor, for receiving the crown jewels that the king gave to Monmouth; but he not being able to make it good that Washington had received them, the pursuit fell, and came to nothing.

Mr. Veitch, drawing nigher Newcastle, was in such strait that he was forced to betake himself to a wood; these proclamations and penalties* putting his friends in such a fear, that they durst not harbour him in their houses. The harvest-nights growing cold, he got some straw to lie on under him, and a great covering above him all night; which was supposed by travellers, or any that saw it, to be the herd's, whose name was Thomas Wilson; and, when Mr. Veitch went from the place of the wood where he used to be, upon the noise of travellers, so that the lass that brought him his meat could not find him, she was appointed to cry "Tommy Wilson, Tommy;" upon the hearing of which he came and met her.

When that storm was a little calmed, he ventured in to Newcastle to see his wife and family; where he met with some of his Scotch relations, that were come to see them, and inquire what was become of him. Some other good people in town also were there. They spent together a part of the night in prayer and mourning over the sad case that now the nations and church were in.† The most part of their discourse was telling their fears and discouragements, and that they were never like to see good days again. After several had spoke to that purpose, Mrs. Veitch came to tell her thoughts,—'that, indeed, our night was dark, and all things looked with a black face, but yet she was persuaded that God would not leave his own work, but would raise up instruments from an airt that we did not expect, to build his house, to bring back the ark and the glory, and bring home his captives; and she was persuaded that she would see presbytery established, and her husband a settled minister, in the church of Scotland, ere she died.' Though they loved the thing, yet they little believed it in the time; but when it came to pass, they both thought and talked much of it.

Mr. Veitch, being wearied with such toil and confinement, went with one Caleb Wilkison, a Nottingham merchant and friend of his; who carried him to that part of Yorkshire lying between York and Hull, and left him as a friend of his to stay in a town called South Cave, with one Mr. John Chappelle, a merchant there; telling him quietly, that he was an honest man under hiding, where he was most kindly entertained. And there was in that town one Mr. Beak, their dissenting minister, that preached in Swanland Chapel,* but durst not at this time, the heat of Monmouth's business not being yet well cooled; but some weeks being elapsed he began to venture. In the mean time, when the Sabbath came, his landlord, Mr. Chappelle, read and spake his thoughts upon the Scripture, (which is usual in England,) and prayed in the forenoon. And he would have Mr. Veitch, who now went under the name of Mr. Robinson, to do the like in the afternoon; to which he was somewhat averse, but, being urged, did it. Next morning Mr. Chappelle comes to Mr. Robinson's bedside, and, after inquiring how he was this morning, he says, "Truly, Sir, I have been in a mistake about you; for I never took you to be a minister till yesterday, but now I am persuaded you are. and my friend did me an injury in not telling me." Mr. Robinson would have dissuaded him, but it would not do. He goes down to visit his minister, Mr. Beak, taking his guest along with him, and, taking him aside, tells him his thoughts concerning him. The minister was very kind, and they kept for several weeks a warm correspondence in private, till the ministers fell a preaching again in their meeting-houses; when Mr. Beak preaching in the forenoon, he and some others will have Mr. Robinson to preach in the afternoon.

Some of the people of Beverly being at that sermon, had influenced the leading dissenters to send a horse and a letter, inviting Mr. Robinson to come down and give them a sermon; which he was loath to do, but his landlord persuading him to it, did comply. Though there were many good people in it, and some of note, yet the mayor, aldermen, and Sir Ralph Wharton,† deputy-lieutenant, were all high tories. However, the good people would have him to preach to them in a by-place of the town, called Paradise, walled about. They went in all before day broke; but the country people, who came wandering in the day-time, seeking sermon, occasioned them to be discovered. The mayor and aldermen compassed the house, and the mayor coming in with a sergeant at his back, the people rising to give him way, ere he came near the minister, he cried, "Hold, hold! Sir, enough of that;" and stepped to the end of the table next him, to lay hold on the paper that one was writing the preaching upon; but, they struggling, he did not get it. In the mean time, all being on their feet round about him, and the mayor being sand-blind, so that he could not distinguish him from the rest, the minister was advised to turn about to the other end of the table, and go into another room on the same floor where the people were hearing. He put on his steel-grey riding coat, which was lying on the bedside, and sat down and heard the mayor abusing his neighbours for being there; telling

* See before, p. 455.

† Bennet, in his *Memorial*, (p. 289—291.) gives an account of some young men in Newcastle who were brought before Judge Jeffries in 1683, imprisoned for a year, and threatened with a trial for *high treason*, because they had subscribed a paper containing rules for the better ordering of a society for prayer and religious conference, which they had taken from a work of Isaac Ambrose.—Richard Gilpin, M. D. who was ejected from Graystock, in Cumberland, and had refused the bishopric of Carlisle, a person of great accomplishments, practised as a physician, and preached to the nonconformists, in Newcastle. (Palmer, i. 300.) Mrs. Veitch speaks of attending his ministry before the Revolution. (Memoir, p. 29.) Mr. Benjamin Bennet succeeded Dr. Gilpin as minister at Newcastle.

* Palmer (Memor. ii. 597.) mentions "Mr. James *Baycock*," (corrected "*Bayock*,") as many years a preacher at *South Cave*, where he trained up several persons for the ministry. This appears to be the person called *Beak* by Veitch, who always adapts his orthography of English names to the pronunciation. Swanland is in the immediate neighbourhood.

† Sir Ralph Wharton—commissioner of supply for the east riding of the county of York in 1679 and 1690. (Stat. of the Realm, v. 905; vi. 188.)

them that Monmouth was not as yet well cold in his grave, and they were beginning new plots against the government; and many other things to that purpose. To whom Mr. Benjamin Dalton, a rich man, and one in good esteem in the place, replied, "Mr. Mayor, if you understood yourself, and the station you occupy, you would not speak so rudely to us, and threaten us so hard with a prison; we know what you can do in law, and, if you go beyond it, we know how to be redressed." Upon which, one of the aldermen came in, and called him out to the door, and he, with the rest, chid him for his indiscretion, and told him only to take up their names, and let them go till the court-day, where they would be called to pay their fines. Mr. Robinson was afraid when he heard of sending all to prison, thinking then that he would be discovered; but when he heard of taking up names, he hoped that he might escape.

The mayor came back with his clerk, and stood in the great entry, and the clerk took all their names as they passed by. Mr. Chappelle, Mr. Robinson's landlord, was the mayor's cousin-german, and both were of one name. He thought fit to show himself to his cousin, the mayor, before his wife, and the minister, and the people that lived in that town should go out. When he came to him, he got up both his hands, and cried out, "O, cousin, are you here? I'm sure there is a deep plot on foot that you are come seven miles to carry on; but, however, you may go, for I cannot forget your name if I mind my own." "Nay," says he; "I have my wife, friends, and neighbours here, and I'll go fetch them all out together;" and, when he came back, he says to the minister, "Come you next after me, and let the rest follow." When he passes by, the clerk writes down his name by the mayor's order. In the mean time, the mayor takes Mr. Robinson by the sleeve, and says, "What is your name, Sir?" to which he replies, "Mr. Mayor, my name is William Robinson." "Where do you live?" This question being a little puzzling, he pulls at his landlord's coat, and he, understanding the strait he was in, turns about, and says to the clerk, "Write down, William Robinson of Gilbert-dykes;" and so they went out.

But Mr. Robinson would go to no house, but desired his landlord to show him the next way out to the Windmills, and send his horse after him. He lay long among the bushes waiting, and seeing several horsemen coming by, he skulked behind a hedge lest they should be enemies; but when they came nigh, seeing them friends, he asked, if they saw his boy and the horses coming. They said, "No;" but one of them caused his son give him his horse, and he went along with them, and the young man waited for the minister's horse. So he went to that man's house, which was but two miles off the town, where he dined; and, after preaching out his sermon to a number of people that followed on that way, he went home at night with his landlord Chappelle.

When the court-day came, the mayor sat to fine the people of the town, and Sir Ralph Wharton those of the country, who most part appeared, yet the preacher was not found; but they fined him, according to the law, in £20 Sterling, whose name and habitation was not yet known, whenever he should be found; and if he be not, to lay that fine upon the hearers proportionably next court-day. But some of them thinking that the minister might be that Robinson of Gilbert-dykes, they ordered their bailiffs to go to that place, which was ten miles off Beverly, and bring him, with all the other absents in the country, the next court-day, which was to sit at twelve of the clock. The bailiffs went to the place, and happened to find a poor old man of that name, who was a hedger and ditcher, whom when they would bring away, he appealed to the next justice of the peace, where he gave his affidavit that he had never been in Beverly all his life, and that he was no dissenter; which affidavit they presented to the court the next day; and when it was read they fell all a laughing, and the mayor cried out, "My cousin Chappelle has undoubtedly served us this trick."

It is remarkable here, that more than an hour before, King James's act of indemnity, and his act for liberty to all dissenters to license meeting-houses and ministers, where, and whom they pleased, and that only for paying sixpence to the next justice of the peace's clerk, were proclaimed at eleven of the clock at the market-cross in Beverly; yet the court that sat after twelve were going to exact the fines for the minister and people. But Mr. Dalton, with some of the leading dissenters, went up to the Court, protested and took instruments in the hands of the clerk, that now their proceedings were illegal, seeing the acts of indemnity and liberty were proclaimed before they sat down; and they were forced to dissolve the court, so that neither minister nor people paid fines.

Sir Ralph Wharton, meeting with Mr. Dalton, his physician, says, "How now, Dalton; you'll have a minister and a meeting-house, surely?" "Yes," says Mr. Dalton, "as soon as possible; and if we can, we will have Robinson of Gilbert-dykes to be our minister, and then ye shall see him, though before you could not find him."

It is to be remembered here, that Mr. Robinson, after that meeting was taken, within a few days went straight to York, and Mr. Beak, the honest minister of Swanland, was pleased to accompany him, being born in that city, where he met with another remarkable deliverance. For Mr. Beak informing several of the good people of that city what he was, they would needs have him to preach privately to them, the liberty not yet being come out.* He lying at the Black Greyhound, near the Minster of York, a little before the time that the messenger was to come about him to the other end of the city where he was to preach, he went over to the minster-yard to get himself trimmed, and passed by a company of fine genteel sparks, who looked very wistfully to him as he was going into the barber's shop, whom, by a good providence, he found not within, and so returned to his quarters, and went away with the messenger that came for him about day-going.

After the beginning of his sermon there came in a gentleman and his lady, with a great lantern before them, and sat down in the chairs hard by the preacher, that were set for them. After sermon was ended, he and some others staid to talk with the minister, to whom he said, "I perceive, Sir, you are a Scotch minister; was you this evening in the minster-yard? and saw you any sparks there standing?" "Yes, I did," said the minister. Says the gentleman, "One of them was a Scotchman, a Jesuit priest, who knew you, and thought to have resented some injury he says you did him. For as soon as he saw you, he made haste to get a warrant from the justice to apprehend you before you got out of the barber's shop, and missing you there, as I came through the minster-yard, he, with a great many officers, were searching all the suspected houses round about. Upon which, the master of the house where he was preaching said, he should lie with him all night; and Mr. Beak should go to the

* The king's Declaration for liberty of conscience in England was dated April 4, 1687. It suspended the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, acquitted the subjects from all penalties which they had incurred, or might hereafter be liable to, for nonconformity, and freely gave them "leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses, or places purposely hired or built for that use." —"We cannot but heartily wish," (says his Majesty) "as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholic church; yet we humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of long time been, our constant sense and opinion, (which upon divers occasions we have declared,) that conscience ought not to be constrained, or people forced in matters of mere religion." (Wodrow, ii. App. 193.)

quarters where they had lien together, which was his aunt's house, and should come by daybreaking in the morning with the horses to that place, and convey him safely out at the gates, which he could well do, being born in the city, and accompanied him a mile on his way. He went toward Newcastle, to hear of his wife and family, and presently returned to Nottingham, there being no safety for him there; for the indemnity and liberty forementioned was not proclaimed till he came to Nottingham.

This Scotchman, who was now turned to be a Jesuit priest, his name was Brown, born in Smailholm, near Kelso, who being new laureate, came to Mr. Veitch's house at Harnam Hall, in Northumberland, and lamenting his distressed case, would be content either to be a chaplain or schoolmaster, or any thing he would recommend him to, for his livelihood. Upon which Mr. Veitch recommended him to a gentleman in that country to teach his children. The gentleman being pious, and finding him extravagant, he turned him off; and the young man being at a new strait, came to Mr. Veitch to get a recommendation from him to the ministers of London of his acquaintance, that they might help him to some place or other. But he refused not only upon the account of his loose carriage here, but fearing he might be worse afterward; and also because some other yonng men that he had formerly recommended to these ministers in the city did neither answer his nor their expectation. However, this youth went to London, and falling in with a popish gentleman, attended his son abroad for several years, and returned to England, as it was reported, under the character of a popish priest; and haunting at York, (for it is like the popish gentleman was a Yorkshire one which made him do so,) there it was that he first saw Mr. Veitch and intended to give him the forementioned requital. But God, who had given him many former deliverances, added this also.

Within a few days after he came there, a messenger brought him a call from the people of Beverly to be their minister, which he complied with, though the people of Nottingham had an inclination to detain him. He sent back a letter with the messenger, telling them, that within eight or ten days he would wait upon them. After his entry, the meeting grew daily more numerous, which was occasioned by his going up to the wild places of Yorkshire, called the Wolds of Yorkshire, being invited upon week days to preach among them, and they licensing great leaths, or barns, for that purpose; so that they came down from these places in companies to Beverly on the Sabbath. They had made a stately meeting-house by throwing down all the divisions of four great rooms on one floor; and taking up the deals of the middle parts of the lofts above, and opening great windows to a yard of green ground, where hundreds of people may stand and hear. All sorts of people at first were anxious to hear; and it can be said of several of them that came from such motives, they got better ones there.

He was several times invited to preach at Hull, which is six miles off. The people declared that, to their knowledge, there never was such a reformation in these parts. For the justices of the peace, especially those that were popish, were mightily incensed against it, and used all means to break it, especially his preaching in the Wolds; where a popish justice of the peace, on a week day, came (having threatened before that he would do it) with a great company of hounds and hunting horses, and long whips; and called to the people that were standing without doors to hold out of their way, that they might see and hear that fellow, who came so boldly to debauch the country. But the people told them, that if they offered to do any thing indecent and disturbing, or contrary to law, they would resent it, upon which they retired. The minister had never more satisfaction in any part of his ministerial work than he had in that place.

Having preached for six or seven months there, and settled a meeting-house and a people, the like whereof was not formerly, and which continues unto this day, September 1688, he was strongly invited, by many letters, to return to his native land; they having accepted also of king James's liberty, though they did not so soon as in England. His wife was very forward for his returning, though the people of Beverly had sent for her, given her good offers, and used many arguments to persuade her and her husband to stay with them. But her heart was for her native country, and she longed to see that in the performance which she had promised herself formerly in her duties and wrestlings with God, and had expressed her assurance thereof.

After he had left Beverly, one of the pleasantest cities, with two great and famous churches in it, curious and plain fields about it, therefore called the Paradise of England; and having preached his farewell sermon, where there were many tears, he, with a kind of reluctancy, took his leave of that beloved and affectionate people.

In his way home he visited his friends at Darntoun, where he was persuaded to stay the next Sabbath. The few godly people that were there were earnestly desirous that he should stay a while with them, and that he should go out upon the week days and preach in the country about where he had been formerly acquainted, viz. at Matthew Scarfield's at Jolbee, about three miles south from Darnton, who was a very godly man; at Mr. Smithson's, who lived to the westward four or five miles; and at one Mr. Harrison's, who lived to the north-east several miles. Their importunity made him continue longer than he designed; and though the people in Darnton could not, when he came there, promise a minister above L.10 a-year, they not exceeding eighty hearers at first, yet in two months' time he brought them to about 400 or 500 out of the country round about, who did subscribe to give an honest minister L.60 Sterling *per annum*; so that they were necessitated to make up a new meeting-house; for the old place would not serve. And the people of Scotland being impatient for his coming, he left Mr. Long his successor to that people.

After all these things, he at length, all impediments being removed out of the way, returned with great joy and affection to his native land; the people in the parishes of Oxnam, Crailing, Eckford, Linton, Morebattle, and Hownam, having joined together to give him a call to preach to them, under the present liberty,* at Whittonhall, which was almost the centre of these parishes, the most of the hearers being within three miles of the meeting-house which they there erected. He entered it in April 1688, the call by that people being sent unto him many months before, which is here subjoined.

"We, the people of the presbyterian persuasion within the parishes of Hounam, Oxnam, Eckford,

* In the Proclamation of February 12, 1687, commonly called James's First Toleration for Scotland, his Majesty did, by his "sovereign authority, royal prerogative, and absolute power, allow and tolerate the moderate presbyterians to meet in their private houses, and there to hear all such ministers as either have, or are willing to, accept of our indulgence allenarly, and none other; nor are they to presume to build meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns." This liberty was granted them on condition of their taking an oath prescribed in the proclamation. Quakers were permitted to meet "in any place or places appointed for worship." This proclamation suspended, stopped, and disabled, all laws against Roman Catholics, who "shall in all things be as free, in all respects, as any of our Protestant subjects whatsoever, not only to exercise their religion, but to enjoy all offices, benefices," &c. (Wodrow, ii. App. No. 129.) The king's letter of March 31, called the Second Toleration, dispensed with the oath enjoined by the former. (Ibid. No. 132.) His proclamation of June 28, called the Third Toleration, was as ample as the English Toleration of April preceding, with this difference, that it denounced field-conventicles. (Ibid. No. 134.)

Morebattle, and places adjacent, having united ourselves in a society for carrying on the work of the gospel among us; and having duly and ripely considered the need we have of a faithful and able preacher to be settled among us, to the eternal welfare of our immortal souls,—have pitched upon you, Mr. William Veitch, Minister of the Gospel, and do unanimously, heartily, and earnestly, invite and call you to take the charge of us, by preaching the gospel, catechising, visiting our families, administrating the sacraments, and exercising discipline, and doing, by instructing, comforting, admonishing, and rebuking, whatever is incumbent to a faithful pastor. And we do, in the Lord's strength, promise to receive the word from your mouth, subject ourselves to the several parts of your ministry, to give you all due encouragement, and do whatever is incumbent for a dutiful people to their faithful pastor. In witness whereof we have subscribed thir presents, at Whitton, the second day of November, 1687."

This call was subscribed by above seventy masters of families in the forementioned parishes, some whereof were gentlemen of good quality.

He exercised his ministry there with great satisfaction; and the meeting increased daily, not only from the Scotch side, but also the English; his old friends and hearers in Coquet-water and Reedsdale frequenting that place, and inviting him over on week days to preach with them, which he willingly complied with. He preached also in these parishes mentioned on the week days, time about, both before and after the happy Revolution by the prince of Orange, (who landed at Torbay, with his fleet and army, the 4th of November, 1688;) and then in the churches about, as they were cleared from the prelatical clergy.

Upon this good news, and the prospect of a happy change, the outed presbyterian ministers of Scotland thought it expedient to meet at Edinburgh, and so wrote to all their brethren in the adjacent parts to meet at the Taylors' Hall, where they spent some time in praying together, that God would prosper the prince's undertaking, give him, and all that joined with him, counsel and direction how to manage so great and difficult an undertaking, and make them successful; so as it might resolve to God's glory, returning of the captivity of the church and people of God, the building of the old waste places, and the bringing back of the ark and the glory that had been so long at Kirjath-jearim, the fields of the wood, and settle it again in his sanctuary; and particularly that, at this juncture, he would point out to the godly ministry and people in Scotland what is their duty, and help them faithfully to perform it.

It fell out, very unexpectedly and surprisingly to Mr. Veitch, that the meeting of the ministers voted him, the next day after he came, to preach in the new meeting-house over against Libberton's Wynd head; a thing to which he was greatly averse. His reasons that he gave were—his being a stranger for twenty years and more in Scotland, and so very ill acquainted with the transactions of that time, which rendered him unfit at such a juncture to speak in public; as also that there were many old, grave, and wise men there to do it, and it might bring no small detriment to such a promising work of reformation as was now in prospect to set him or such as he was in such a public place. But these reasons were not heard, and it was left upon him, which was so perplexing to his mind that he knew not what to do, for when eight of the clock at night was come he could not find a text; but at length he fell upon 18th verse of the 119th psalm, (the words are, "Thou hast trode down all them that err from thy statutes, for their deceit is falsehood,") which took him up the whole night without going to bed in thinking upon it. And when he came up to the pulpit, his seeing of sixteen old ministers sitting in the loft before him, and the meeting so throng of all sorts of people, increased his fear and confusion. However, he delivered his thoughts upon the subject, with respect to the present circumstances of things and what was in view, with such plainness and freedom as greatly offended the prelates, who sent him a particular message the next day by one of their own gang and his acquaintance,—that for such bold and unbecoming reflections upon them and their government they were resolved to be even with him ere long; as also that he durst be so bold in such a public auditory to pray for the success of the Prince and Princess of Orange. All the answer he returned them by the messenger was, to bid them put on their spurs. Upon the other hand, he seemed to give offence to some of the godly party, by some free expressions that he had with respect to the future government, if presbytery should be erected.

A worthy gentleman both for learning and piety took him by after sermon in the street, and told him, he doubted not but he had offended several of the good people by some things he had said. He replied, he was sorry for it, but a little time would discover these things. About half a year after he came to him at the cross of Edinburgh, and taking him aside, he craved him pardon for what he had said upon that sermon, for all that was spoken in it was like to be too true.

When the presbyterian church was restored by law, Mr. Veitch had calls from several parishes, viz. one to Crailing, another to Melrose, and a third to Peebles, which he was persuaded by the Earl of Crawford, Lord Argyle, old Stairs, and James Stewart, advocate, to embrace, notwithstanding the old duke of Queensberry did vigorously and violently oppose it. But these four forementioned persons engaged to support him, telling that the duke and his iniquitous laws were now out of date, out of court, and under water; but, notwithstanding of his being overclouded for the present, he got up again, and maintained a vigorous plea against Mr. Veitch for seven sessions, both before the lords and the church; so that the gentlemen who promised to support him shrunk back as the duke increased in favour at court; and at length he overawed, I may say, the church to loose him from that charge. And he having a call to Edinburgh, another to Paisley, and a third to Dumfries, the assembly was influenced by Mr. Veitch's speech, (wherein he showed so great an aversion to Edinburgh) to vote him to Dumfries; after he had served the cure four complete years in Peebles, viz. from September 1690 to September 1694, at which time he was admitted to his ministry in Dumfries.

He left Peebles with great aversion, not only with respect to that parish, but also to the country round about. He did foresee that his removal from thence would be of ill consequence both to the parish and the country-side, and, therefore, upon a new call given him to that place, struggled hard to be back again, and lost it only by four votes. He never got the legal stipend of that place all the four years he was there; so that he lost, what by expense of law, and not getting the stipend which was legally due, above ten thousand merks, by the potency of his enemies, and the injustice of the bench, which the old Duke, and his son Lord William,* have to account for to the Great Judge; and, if Mr. Veitch be rightly informed, it did trouble the conscience of two of his greatest opposers on their death-bed.

As Mr. Veitch was greatly perplexed with the hard usage the assembly had given him in their illegal removing of him merely to please the duke, when they had many strong reasons to the contrary, and to send him to Dumfries, a place that he heard wanted not its own difficulties, he resolved to leave the nation, and so publicly refused to submit to the sentence of that judi-

* In 1693, Mr. Veitch lost an action before the Lords, against Lord William Douglas, the Duke's second son, for the reduction of a tack, which his predecessor, Hay, had granted for behoof of his family. (Fountainhall's Decis. i. 879.)

catory, and undertook to give in his reasons for so doing. The assembly being about to rise, referred him to the commission of the kirk to hear him, to whom he gave in a whole sheet of paper of reasons why he could not submit to the sentence, with a complaint of his hard usage and unbrotherly treatment. After the reading of which, he being put out, and the commission considering the matter, instead of giving him written answers which he required, they thought it better to appoint a committee to confer with him, to see if they could give him satisfaction; and they nominated Mr. Edward Jamieson, Mr. Gabriel Semple, and his brother Mr. John, with some others, to confer with him, and bring his answer to the commission.

In the mean time his old friends in England, hearing of these things, sent a gentleman to Peebles to bring him back to them, engaging to give him a fine house and yards to dwell in, to furnish him with plenty of fire, and £60 sterling per annum, well paid, beside other things which he knew they used to give; and the gentleman promised to give his personal bond for the making all of it good before he went out of Peebles, and would not return to England without Mr. Veitch's going along with him, which he did. They would have had Mr. Veitch engaging to be their pastor ere he came back to Scotland, after he had preached a Sabbath day with them; but he refused till once he should handsomely end with the commission of the kirk.

When he came back to the commission, they having heard of these things, desired the committee forementioned to deal earnestly with him not to leave the nation, but to stay and comply with the sentence, if possible, and that because, among other reasons, it would be a very ill precedent, it being in the entry of this new reformation and church establishment, and give others afterward occasion to refuse submission to the sentences of church judicatories; and they hoped that Mr. Veitch, upon that very account, would be cautious and wary to do any thing that might afterward be prejudicial to the church, and desired him to do them that favour to go and preach at Dumfries four or five Sabbaths, and acquaint himself with the people and the state of his affairs in that place, and see if he and they could comply together for his settlement, so as to prevent an early breach in the government, which would give much satisfaction to the commission. And indeed that had been in Mr. Veitch's thoughts before they proposed it, and was the knocking argument persuading him to obtemperate the sentence. And this was a great encouragement, that after several conferences with some leading persons in the town, wherein he told them, among other differences needless here to be mentioned, that except they would free him of the drawing of the tithes (with which he had got on the finger-ends at Peebles, and "burnt bairns fire dread") and take a tack thereof from him as long as he should continue minister of the place, he could not settle among them,—they at length, consulting among themselves, complied with this; and so he set them a tack of them so long as he was to continue their minister, at the rate that they often had told him the tithes were worth, viz. twenty-two hundred merks *per annum*, out of which he is obliged by charter from the king to pay the second minister 400 merks *per annum*. But the tacksmen considering among themselves that they had valued these tithes at too high a rate, (it is like to be a temptation to Mr. Veitch to embrace the call*) and that themselves would afterward be losers, got a bond from so many substantial persons in the town, every one of them to pay so much *per annum* as they conjectured would save them from being losers; and so both the tack and bond continue to this day, 1714.

* He means, that they had probably valued the tithes high, with the view of inducing him to accept of their call.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM VEITCH.

The Memoirs of Mr. Veitch reach to the year 1714; but as he has given only a general account of himself from the Revolution, it may not be improper to commence at that period the statement of the additional facts which have been collected relative to the latter part of his life.

Though the non-conformist ministers enjoyed considerable liberty in preaching during the last two years of the reign of James II., yet it behoved Mr. Veitch to act with great circumspection, as he was liable, if found on Scottish ground, to be seized in consequence of his banishment, and might be informed against as an accomplice of the Earl of Argyle. The Revolution relieved him from all apprehensions of danger; and, while it enlarged the sphere of his usefulness, added in no small degree to his labours. The people in that part of the country where he had opened a meeting-house, were generally disaffected to the episcopal clergy, and embraced the first opportunity, on the change of the government, or rather on the *inter-regnum*, to forsake the beneficed clergy, with their curates, and to flock to the tents of such presbyterian ministers as were within their reach. Although there were no tumultuous assemblies in the south, similar to what was called the *rabbling* in the west, yet many of the clergy, either apprehending something of this kind, or influenced by some other motive, deserted their churches; and others were soon after removed from theirs, for adhering to the old, or refusing to comply with the orders of the new government. In these circumstances, and when there were neither ministers nor constituted authorities to provide for vacant parishes, Mr. Veitch found himself, for a time, in the situation of the bishop of a diocese, and had to dispense

divine ordinances to a whole country-side. His activity at this time, together with the distinguished part which he had taken during the late period of misrule and oppression, led him to be particularly noticed and abused by the advocates of that party who sought to embroil the nation, and who, for several years, kept two presses constantly employed in London, which teemed with pamphlets, containing accounts of the hardships of the outed episcopal clergy, and satires on the presbyterian ministers and the proceedings of their church courts. The object of that party was, by means of their friends in England, to prevent the court from agreeing to the establishment of the presbyterian church; and, when they had failed in this, to obtain a legal and formal toleration of the episcopal church, under the wings of which they might carry on their plans for overturning the civil government and restoring the exiled family.

Speaking of the applications which the presbyterian ministers, who temporarily served the vacant churches, made for an allowance from the legal stipends, the author of one of the pamphlets above referred to, says: "Thus Mr. William Veitch had been a great sufferer, for why? he had been forced to appear actually in rebellion against King Charles II. at Pictland hills, for which he was not hanged indeed, but declared rebell and fugitive; but now that the fields were fair, and he had endured so much undeserved persecution, would he not be to blame if he had not studied his own interest? And, therefore, he petitioned for no less than five vacancies, viz. Creiland, Eckfurd, Yettam, Marbottle, and Oxnam. 'Tis true, the council were so hard-hearted as to grant him only three of them, viz. Creiland, Eckford, and Yettam. This was hard enough; but alas! (though he had confidently affirmed in his petition the contrary,) it was afterwards found that the minister of Creiland had not been deprived before Michaelmas 1689. So that Mr. Veitch could not get that benefice, which was certainly a very disappointing persecution to him."* Now, surely, "the labourer is worthy of his hire;" and it is not uncommon for a person to state a claim on different funds, while yet he expects from them only what he is entitled to in law or in equity. The privy council, by their act of the 24th December, 1689, had suspended the payment of stipends to such as "were not in the actual exercise of their ministerial function on the 13th day of April last."† And the parliament, on the 7th of June 1690, declared the churches of these persons to be vacant; "and that the presbyterian ministers, exercising their ministry within any of these parishes, (or where the last incumbent is dead) by the desire or consent of the parish, shall continue their possession, and have right to the benefices and stipends according to their entry in the year 1689, and in time coming, ay and while (until) the church as now established, take farther course therewith."‡ The parliament, in their act reversing Mr. Veitch's forfeiture, referred him to their committee for fines, to receive a remuneration for his bygone losses.‖

A well-known lampoon of that period has the following passage. "It is known in the shire of Teviotdale, that Mr. William Veitch murdered the bodies as well as the souls, of two or three persons with one sermon; for preaching in the town of Jedburgh to a great congregation, he said, 'There are two thousand of you here to-day, but I am sure fourscore of you will not be saved;' upon which, three of his ignorant hearers, being in despair, dispatched themselves soon after."§ Those who have read the preceding memoirs will not be inclined to think it likely that the author would preach in the manner which is here imputed to him; and his printed sermons are certainly of a very different complexion. This remark applies also to a ludicrous note ascribed to him in another part of the same publication.*

Mrs. Veitch gives the following account of her husband's call to Peebles.—"A friend of mine, being thirty miles off the place where I lived, wrote a letter desiring my husband to come and see her, for she was in a very sad case. He was unwilling to go, but I urged him sore to go; upon which he took horse, and, riding all night, when he came near Peebles, being weary he asked an herdman on the way, Who kept an inn at Peebles. He directed him to Provost Muir's; and when he came and sat down and refreshed himself a little, he and some other strangers began to discourse about Teviotdale. The provost hearing asked, if he knew one Mr. William Veitch that lived there: he said, he knew him. He asked, if he was at home; and he said, 'No, he is not at home.' My husband asked him, what they would do with him. 'They had a mind to call him for their minister; and they had written a letter, and hired a man, who was going to his house to desire him to come and preach to them on the sabbath day.' My husband told them, 'they needed not to trouble themselves; for they would not get him at home, nor yet to be their minister as he thought, for he had several calls in his own country.' The provost not knowing him, after some more discourse, asked at my husband, if he was the man they were seeking; he told them, he was the man; which made them both to wonder at that piece of providence. He took horse and rode ten miles farther west to see my friend, and they engaged him to come back that way to preach to them; which he did. After he came home, he told me. I was put to wonder: I was like Abraham's servant, who said, 'it is of the Lord, I can neither say good nor bad.' They drew up a call and sent to him to the synod, where they condescended unto it, and my husband embraced it. But out of this pleasant rose there sprang many a thorn; for both friends and foes were ready to reproach him, which was a trouble to my spirit, to see the people one day idolize him, and on another day reproach him, because he would not stay with them. I went to God with these words which David went with, 'Help, Lord, for I am become a reproach unto them. Let them curse, but bless thou, and let them know it is thy hand, and thou hast done it.' It was my desire to God that he would show the gospel a token for good to Peebles, that they that hated it might see it and be ashamed. But the cloud grew thicker and darker; for Queensberry and his chamberlain were great enemies. They came all that length as to print a number of lies against the presbytery and my husband, because they could not get in one Mr. Knox, who was a curate. The presbytery had placed him, according to the act of parliament, so that his enemies could find no blame in it. He had the call of the elders, heritors, and town council, and the generality of all the people; and he referred his cause to the general assembly, but though two assemblies sat, yet not one of them determined about him."†

In a publication against Mr. Veitch (which appears to be the one referred to in the preceding extract) the following reflections are made on the circumstances which led to his call to Peebles. "To shake himself loose of the calls which were referred to the synod of Kelso, he had prevailed with some of his friends to represent his call to Peebles as the effect of an immediate and extraordinary providence; which they did so flourish out in the several circumstances, that it might appear equivalent to a voice from heaven which he ought not to disobey. Whereas, it can be evinced by

* Account of the late Establishment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, anno 1690, p. 67. Lond. 1693.

† Collection of Papers, in Case of the Afflicted Clergy, p. 83. Lond. 1690.

‡ Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 134. ‖ Ibid. p. 199. App. 167.

§ Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence, p. 15.

* Ibid. p. 85.

† Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 48—54.

clear evidences, that it was a draught and design of men, carried on underhand for a considerable time."*

Mr. Veitch has stated that the Duke of Queensberry was the great opponent to his settlement;† but his Grace kept in the back ground. The opposition was managed by some of the smaller heritors in support of the alleged rights of Mr. Robert Knox. He, according to the statement of his friends, had officiated as assistant or curate to Mr. John Hay, who destined him for his successor. On the death of Hay, which happened about the time of the Revolution, application was made on behalf of Knox, to Queensberry, the patron, and a favourable answer having been received, "upon the 17th of November 1689, being the Lord's day, after sermon, the session being sitting, and the duke's letter read to them, the whole heritors, elders, and parishioners then present, did unanimously and cheerfully receive the said letter and nomination, and promised to Mr. Knox all the encouragement that could be expected from a dutiful people."‡ They acknowledge that he wanted the "formality of institution," but plead that the steps taken were sufficient to constitute a relation between him and the parish, "in regard there was no legal ecclesiastical judicatory then in being" to confirm it. That the parish were by no means so unanimous in their desire for Mr. Knox as his friends would represent them, appears from an attempt which was made to prevent him by force from entering the pulpit; and from the ease with which he complied with the first order of the presbytery to desist from the exercise of his ministry.‖ For, on the 24th of July 1690, on a complaint from the magistrates of Peebles, in the name of the parish, the presbytery found, that Mr. Robert Knox had "taken possess on of the kirk of Peebles without any legal or orderly establishment," desired him to forbear preaching there, and appointed one of their number to declare the church vacant; all which was peaceably done.§ In consequence of a petition from the parish, the presbytery, on the 7th of August, appointed Mr. Robert Elliot to moderate in a call at Peebles; and, on the 2d of September, the moderator reported, "that after sermon, the heritors, magistrates, and kirk session, and the heads of families, did subscribe a call to Mr. William Veitch." Upon this John Balfour of Kailzie renewed a protest which he had taken on the day of the moderation, "in the name of the Duke of Queensberry and several of the heritors," craving that, in respect of the interest of Mr. Robert Knox, nothing might be done in the affair until the next meeting of the general assembly. Being asked for his commission, it was found he had none; and the presbytery considering that Knox "had not the least shadow of a legal establishment as incumbent in Peebles; and that Mr. Veitch's call to the ministry in that place was due and legal; as also, considering the urgency of the plantation of so considerable a place of that country with an able minister of the gospel, and that, in the like cases, inferior judicatories have proceeded notwithstanding of appeals to their superiors, they being always liable to their censure,—resolved to go on in that affair, and to be answerable to the general assembly. The moderator reported that he had, according to appointment, written to Queensberry, who had returned this answer, that they should do in Mr. Veitch's affair as they should be answerable to God." Accordingly, the previous steps having been taken, Mr. Veitch was, on the 18th of September 1690, admitted with the usual solemnities.¶

In the preceding memoir we have met with no account of Mr. Veitch's ordination, at his first entrance to the ministry. It was natural for the presbytery to inquire into this before his admission at Peebles; and the following is the account of that matter in the minutes. Mr. Veitch, being desired to produce due testimonials of his ordination to the ministry, answered, "that the hazard and danger was such at the time of his ordination, that it was not thought fit by his ordainers to grant testificates, but promised to bring a testificate from a famous minister's hand, now in Scotland, who was one of that number that gave him ordination; upon which the presbytery, considering how well known he was in this country, and that he had been admitted and owned as a minister by the general meeting of this church, did rest satisfied."* I have no doubt that Mr. Henry Erskine is the person from whom he offered to procure a certificate. In a paper which he appears to have drawn up for the use of Wodrow, Mr. Veitch states that Mr. Erskine assisted at his ordination.† They were intimate friends; the former was frequently at Mr. Veitch's house in Northumberland; and on these occasions used to entertain him and his wife with anecdotes respecting the straits into which he was often brought with his numerous family, and the singular manner in which he was extricated from them. The following is one of these, as related in the paper referred to. "One evening he, his wife and children, went to bed with a light supper, which made the children cry, in the morning when they awaked, for meat. But there being none in the house, he bade them be still, and he would play them a-spring upon the citren (guitar.) He played and wept; and they and their mother wept; they being in one room, and he and his wife in bed in another. But, before he had done playing, one raps at the gate; and it proved to be a servant-man, sent from a worthy and charitable lady, with a horse-load of meal, cheese, and beef."‡

It is probable that Mr. Veitch's ordination took place in the year 1671, when he settled at Falalies.‖ He had preached in different parts of Northumberland as early as the end of the year 1668;§ and there is reason to conclude that he had received license to preach before he left Scotland, or during one of his secret journeys into it to see his family. Licenses and ordinations among the nonconformists, both in Scotland and England, were necessarily conducted with great secrecy at this period. Mr. Robert Trail, who had been chaplain to Scot of Scotstarvet, was ordained at London, in the year 1670, by presbyterian ministers.¶ Mr. Thomas Archer, who was executed at Edinburgh, received his license when he resided as chaplain in the family of Lady Riddel, and was ordained by Mr. Fleming and other Scottish ministers, in Holland.** William Macmillan of Caldow was licensed by the presbyterian ministers of the county of Down, in Ireland.†† Mr. Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine after the Revolution, a person of high respectability, and noticed when in Holland, by the Prince and Princess of Orange, was licensed at Edinburgh, and ordained by the presbyterian ministers of London, with a view of his going out as a chaplain of the East India

* Information for the Heritors, Elders, &c. of the parish of Peebles, against Mr. William Veitch, printed, in a collection of similar papers, about 1690, p. 68.

† See before, p. 461.

‡ Information, *ut supra*, p. 66. ‖ Ibid.

§ Records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

¶ Records, *ut supra*.

* Records, *ut supra*, September 17, 1690.

† Remarkable Providences concerning Mr. Harie Erskine, sent, an. 1718, by Mr. W. Veitch: Wodrow MSS. Advocates Library, Rob. III. 4, 17. Mr. Erskine became minister of Chirnside, in Berwickshire, after the Revolution. He was the father of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, two of the first ministers of the Secession.

‡ Remarkable Providences, *ut supra*.

‖ See before, p. 438.

§ See before, p. 437; compared with Mr. Veitch's notes in his family Bible.

¶ Wodrow, i. 442, App. 117. In one of Mr. Trail's notebooks, at the beginning of a sermon on Heb. xii. 29, is the following *notandum*:—"London, April 22, 1669. The first time of my preaching at London. On the Thursday before the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's supper in Mr. Blaikie's congregation." On another sermon is written: "Trial. Ap. 5, 1669."

** Wodrow, ii. 258, 553. †† Ibid. ii. 408.

Company to the coast of Coromandel, where he preached for several years at Fort St. George or Madras.* Mr. Alexander Shields, in the account which he gave of himself to the general meeting of the Society People, states, "he went to London with an intention to be amanuensis to Dr. Owen, or some other great doctor who was writing books for the press, and had a letter of recommendation to one Mr. Blakie, a Scottish minister, who having trysted to speak with him at a certain season, had several ministers convened, (unknown to Mr. Shields) who did press and enjoin him to take license. So he being carried to it in that sudden and surprising way, accepted of it from the hands of some Scottish ministers then at London, but without impositions or sinful restrictions."† In most of these instances, the facts as to license and ordination were brought out in examinations before the criminal courts.

Notwithstanding the vexation which he received from the family of Queensberry and their dependents, Mr. Veitch appears to have been happy at Peebles. His brethren in the presbytery and synod repeatedly testified their esteem for him. Within eight days after his admission, the presbytery elected him one of their commissioners to the first general assembly held after the Revolution; and he was chosen to represent them in the assembly which should have met on the 1st of November, 1691. On the 19th of April, 1693, the presbytery appointed him as "a correspondent from them, to join other correspondents from several presbyteries, who are to meet at Edinburgh about the public concerns of the church."‡ In the course of the following month he opened the provincial synod of Lothian and Tweedale with a sermon; and was appointed by them to preach before his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, High Commissioner, and the Estates of Parliament.‖

On the 10th of June, 1691, "two gentlemen, viz. Alexander Porterfield and Robert Pow," laid on the table of the presbytery of Peebles a call to Mr. Veitch from the parish of Paisley, with reasons for his transportation. They appear to have been very solicitous to obtain him as their minister; for Mr. Matthew Crawfurd, minister of Eastwood, attended the presbytery on one occasion, and John Crawfurd, bailie of Paisley, on another occasion, to prosecute the call. It was carried before the superior courts, and remained for a considerable time undecided.§

On the 9th of January, 1694, commissioners from the presbytery of Dumfries, and from the magistrates, town-council, and kirk-session of that town, presented a call to Mr. Veitch, which the presbytery of Peebles refused to read, as he was absent, but promised that it should be read next day; upon which the commissioners from Dumfries appealed to the general assembly, or the synod, whichever of them should first meet.¶ —At a public meeting held in the Old Church, on the 5th of February, 1694, the magistrates, town-council, and kirk-session of Edinburgh, elected and subscribed a call to Mr. William Veitch at Peebles, to be one of the ministers of that city, to which the presbytery gave their approbation and concurrence.** When this call was laid before the presbytery of Peebles, and presented to Mr. Veitch, "he would not so much as receive it into his hand, and desired that his refusal might be marked." The reasons of transportation having been transmitted to the magistrates of Peebles, they, in their answers, pleaded an act of assembly, in virtue of which "no inferior judicatory of the church can be judges of any such call as this," and protested that the presbytery should proceed no farther in the matter. The presbytery referred the whole affair to the judges competent; and the commissioners from Edinburgh appealed to the synod, or to the general assembly, provided it should meet first.*

Mr. Veitch attended the general assembly which sat down at Edinburgh on the 29th of March, 1694, and of which he was a member. Through the influence of the Duke of Queensberry, who was now re-admitted as an extraordinary lord of session, and in great favour with the government, a final decision had not yet been given on the objections to his settlement at Peebles. The assembly, at this meeting, took up that question, and, in their sixth session, passed an act, declaring his call and admission to be legal.† In the next session, they took into consideration the three calls from Paisley, Dumfries, and Edinburgh; and having preferred the call from Dumfries, appointed Mr. Veitch to remove to that town.‡ As he testified great backwardness to comply with this decision, some members were allowed to confer with him, "but without prejudice to the assembly's sentence;" and a petition from the parish of Paisley, requesting the assembly to reconsider their decision, or to refer the matter to the commission, was refused.‖

Mr. Veitch could not be more unwilling to go to Dumfries than his predecessor had been to leave it. In October 1690, the general assembly translated Mr. George Campbell from the ministry of that town, to be professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, —a situation which he was extremely averse to, but for which he was eminently qualified by the "learning and modesty" ascribed to him even by the avowed detractors of the presbyterian ministers of that period.§ It would appear that the parish had remained vacant, after his translation, for four years, owing partly to the scarcity of ministers, and partly to the interruptions suffered by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory during that interval. Mr. Veitch removed to Dumfries with his family in the month of September 1694.¶ "That very day four years after I came to Peebles," (says Mrs. Veitch) "that very same day I came out of it for Dumfries. I would not have wanted the experience of God's goodness, and free love to me and mine, and the church, for all the trouble I met with in it."**

In October 1695, Mr. Veitch concurred with the kirk-session and magistrates in giving a call to Mr. Robert Paton, minister of Caerlaverock, who was admitted as his colleague in the beginning of the following year.†† Mr. Veitch appears to have been much respected in Dumfries-shire, and to have enjoyed the confidence of his brethren as a man of business. He was frequently chosen moderator of the provincial synod. In the end of the year 1695 he was appointed by

* Wodrow, ii. 249, 250, 624, 625.

† Minutes of General Meeting of United Societies, p. 72, MS. in Advocates Library.

‡ Records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

‖ Two Sermons—by Mr. William Veitch. Edin. 1693.

§ Records of the Presbytery of Peebles, for June 10, July 1, and 13, 1691.

¶ Records of the Presbytery of Peebles.

** The call was subscribed by the provost, (Sir John Hall) the dean of guild, treasurer, and seventeen other members of council, and by Messrs. James Kirktoun, David Blaire, Jo. Law, J. Moncrieff, Ja. Webster, Jo. Hamiltoune, ministers, and upwards of twenty elders. (Records of Town-council of Edinburgh, 5th, 6th, and 9th of February, 1694.)

* Records of Presbytery of Peebles, for February 7, and 28, and March 21, 1694.

† Acts of General Assembly 1694, p. 27.

‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid. p. 28, 29.

§ Hist. Relation of General Assembly, 1690, p. 47. Second Vindication of the Church of Scotland. p. 175. Mr. Campbell had been ejected from Dumfries in 1672; (Wod. i. App. 74. ii. 613.) and died in July, 1701. (Rec. of Town Council of Edinburgh.)

¶ The parish of Peebles was declared vacant on the 19th of August, 1694. (Records of Presbytery.) On the 16th of September, Mr. Veitch baptized a child at Peebles. Mr. James Thomsone was admitted to the ministry of Peebles on the 25th of November, 1696. (Records of Kirk-session.)

** Memoir, p. 68.

†† Records of kirk-session of Dumfries, 11th and 17th October, 1695, and 13th February, 1696.

the presbytery "to wait on the Duke of Queensberry,* to solicit his favour with respect to the settlement of stipends, &c.; and reported a favourable and satisfying answer, not only in respect of this corner, but of the government in general." On the 10th of September, 1696, the "presbytery, considering that it is an ancient and laudable custom of this church, to send some of their number to the place where the parliament sits, to concur with such other ministers as may be commissionate from other presbyteries, in things which may be needful for the glory of God and the church's welfare, do hereby commissionate and appoint Mr. William Veitch to attend at Edinburgh for that effect during this session of parliament."† His name is on the list of the commission of the general assembly annually from 1694 to 1705.‡

A great many, both ministers and people, who were among the heartiest friends of the civil government and presbytery, disapproved of some things in the settlement of religion in Scotland at the Revolution, although they judged it their duty to join, both in Christian and ministerial communion, with the established church. Their dissatisfaction was increased by various measures which were subsequently adopted by the ecclesiastical judicatories, in concert with or under the influence of the court; particularly, the refusal to approve of the laudable steps of reformation in former times, and to condemn the deviations from them; the loose terms on which many of the episcopal clergy were received; the encroachments made by the court on the liberty of the church in the appointing of fasts and thanksgivings, and in the calling and dissolving of assemblies; and the imposition of different oaths on ministers and preachers, as qualifications for office.‖ These sentiments were entertained by several ministers in the synods of Dumfries and Galloway, within whose bounds there were also many people connected with the United Societies, who kept aloof from the Revolution church, and even disowned the civil government. In October 1693, Mr. Hepburn, minister of Urr, gave in a paper of public grievances to the synod; and he was subsequently prosecuted both before the synod and the general assembly, and even imprisoned for some time, for freedoms used by him from the pulpit in censuring the defections of the church, and for preaching and baptizing without the bounds of his own parish.§ He was ultimately deposed, as was also Mr. John Macmillan, minister of Balmaghie who subsequently joined the Cameronians, and organized them under the Reformed Presbytery. Mr. Veitch was engaged in the controversial warfare with Mr. Hepburn; but I have not seen his pamphlet.¶ In October 1703, a petition was laid before the synod of Dumfries, craving that steps might be taken for renewing the National Covenant. The synod approved of the zeal of the petitioners, and appointed some of their number to consult the commission, and advise with grave, godly, and experienced ministers; and that, in the mean time, all the brethren should instruct their flocks in the nature of the covenant. It was reported at next meeting, that the commission having risen suddenly, their advice had not been obtained, but it was the opinion of the grave and experienced ministers, that it was a very unfavourable juncture for that work. Another petition, presented by four ministers, for subscribing the directory and covenants, along with the confession of faith, was referred by the synod in October 1708, to the general assembly.** Similar proposals for renewing or subscribing the national covenants continued to be made at a still later period, in several presbyteries and synods, in the west and north of Scotland.* Even the statesmen, cautious as they were, had at one time nearly engaged themselves unwittingly in the promotion of that design. In the year 1696, on the alarm produced by the discovery of a plot for assassinating King William, and by a threatened invasion from France, the privy council of Scotland proposed the subscription of a bond of association by all well-affected subjects. Coming to the knowledge of this, the inhabitants of the western shires immediately drew up a bond, in which, to the engagement to defend the government, they added a clause respecting the defence of presbytery. This alarmed the managers. "I expunged these words, (says the Lord Justice Clerk,) and withal desired they might forbear to proceed hastily in the business."—"As to these associations in the country, (says the Earl of Argyle,) I think, suppose one here for renewing the covenant, it is most improper at this time. I acknowledge, I incline not the length, though I am presbyterian."†

Mr. Veitch's daughters having married into genteel and wealthy families, and his sons having been provided for, he felt himself placed in easy circumstances in his old age, and had it in his power to do favours to some persons from whom he had formerly experienced little kindness. Some time after he settled at Dumfries, he received a visit from his old acquaintance Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, who had apprehended him in Northumberland.‡ Sir Theophilus lamented to him, that he had lost not only what he had received for seizing him, and for his other services under the former government, but all his property besides. Mr. Veitch forgave him any injury which he had done him, and made the humbled knight a handsome present.‖ Oglethorp's statement of his case appears to have been correct. In 1681, the parliament had granted to him, colonel Maine, and captain Cornwall, "for their good, faithful, and acceptable services," the forfeited lands of Gordon and Earlston, Gordon of Craichlaw, and Ferguson of Kaitloch.§ Before 1685, Oglethorp had purchased the shares of his fellow-officers;¶ and accordingly would lose the money which he had advanced them, when the estates were restored to their original owners at the Revolution.**

Mr. Veitch appears to have been of a robust constitution; but his health began to fail in 1709, being the seventieth year of his age. In the beginning of the following year, "being under great indisposition of body," he engaged, with the consent of the session and presbytery, Mr. John Thomson, and afterwards successively Mr. John Veitch†† (probably a relation of his own) and Mr. Patrick Linn, probationers, as his assistants. The last named individual was or-

* James, the second duke, whose father died on the 28th of March, 1695.

† Records of the Presbytery of Dumfries.

‡ Acts of Assembly.

‖ See Memoirs of the Public Life of Mr. James Hogg, *passim*.

§ Records of the Synod of Dumfries for the years 1693—1705. Acts of General Assembly during the same period.

¶ An answer by Mr. Hepburn to a pamphlet of Mr. William Veitch is preserved in MS. in the Advocates Library.

** Records of Synod of Dumfries.

* Glass's Narrative of the Controversy about the National Covenants, p. 8. 109. Apology for the Church of Scotland, by J. W. against J. S. p. 46. Lawson's Letter, p. 28.

† Carstairs's State Papers, p. 287—289.

‡ See before, p. 440.

‖ Notices attached to genealogical tree of the family.

§ Act. Parl. Scot. vol. viii. p. 323, 492.

¶ Ibid. p. 586.

** Gordon of Craichlaw and Ferguson had previously compounded with him for a considerable sum; and, on their petition, the Scottish parliament recommended their case to the parliament and judicatures of England, to the end that "Colonel Ogelthorp may be obliged to refund the above-mentioned sum, paid upon a ground which is, by act of parliament, generally rescinded in favours of the subjects of this kingdom." (Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 191, 202.) The derangement of his affairs was probably one reason why these gentlemen were so long frustrated in their claims, as formerly stated. (See before, p. 440.) Sir Theophilus Oglethorp married Eleanora Wall, a granddaughter of the Marquis of Argyle. His three sons had commissions in the army during the reign of Queen Anne. (Thoresby's Leeds, by Whittaker, p. 253.)

†† Mr. John Veitch, minister of Whitsom, was a correspondent from Merse and Teviotdale to the synod of Dumfries, in April 1716.

dained as one of the ministers of Dumfries on the 19th of May, 1715; and on the same day Mr. Veitch demitted his charge on account of his age and infirmities; reserving, however, a right to preach occasionally.* After this he sat no more in the session, but still retained his seat in the presbytery and synod.

Some time previous to this, a disagreeable variance had arisen between him and his colleague, Mr. Paton, in which Mr. Linn came also to be involved. It originated in a dispute about the right to a burying-ground. After being settled by arbitration, it again broke out, in consequence (as Mr. Veitch alleges in his papers) of his colleagues refusing to employ him to preach, because he bowed in the pulpit, after divine service, to the English governor and officers, whereas Paton and Linn confined that mark of respect to the magistrates. It is pretty evident, from the manner in which he conducted himself in this quarrel, and especially at the last stage of it, that his temper and mental faculties had begun to suffer in no small degree from his advanced age. In the year 1719, he carried the cause by appeal from the synod to the general assembly. The assembly were sensible of the impropriety of their giving judgment on it; but they testified their respect for Mr. Veitch, by appointing their moderator to address the following letter to each of his colleagues.†

"Rev. and Dear Brother,—The very Rev. Mr. William Veitch having laid before the committee of bills, an appeal from your synod, was, from a regard to peace, and the earnest desire of that committee, prevailed upon to drop it, and rest satisfied with an overture that the general assembly should write unto you, which, according to their appointment, I do: signifying that our worthy brother having served in the work of the ministry for the space of fifty-two years, and during the worst of times; and when exposed to the greatest danger from the violence of persecution, did acquit himself therein with a distinguished zeal and faithfulness, and having demitted his charge by reason of infirmity and old age, with an express reservation of liberty to preach when he desired, the general assembly recommends unto you, to carry toward him with that endearing brotherly love and tenderness which his merit so justly challenges, and that, when his strength will permit, and he himself desires, and gives you timeous advertisement, ye may allow him to preach: and this we hope will be of use to maintain that Christian love and friendship, which on all occasions ought to take place among the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. And we question not but, as an evidence of your brotherly regard to him, all proper care will be taken by you to have a decent place of interment provided for him and his spouse. This, in name and at the appointment of the general assembly, is signed by, R. D. B., your affectionate brother and servant in the Lord,

(Signed) James Grierson, Mod." ‡

Mr. Veitch was able to travel to Edinburgh to attend that meeting of assembly, but he was not present at any subsequent meeting of his presbytery or synod. He died in the month of May, 1722, on the day after his wife; the former having completed his eighty-second, and the latter her eighty-fourth year.‖ They had been married fifty-eight years, and were both interred on the same day, in the Old Church of Dumfries, and in the burial-place which the kirk-session had allotted to them, according to the recommendation of the general assembly.*

The only printed work of Mr. Veitch which I have seen, consists of three sermons preached by him on public occasions.† They are pious and sensible discourses. He had ten children, four of whom died young. Elizabeth, his second daughter, was married to David Macculloch of Ardwall.‡ Sarah, his third daughter, became the wife of James Young of Guiliehill,‖ from whom Samuel Denholm Young, Esq. of Guiliehill, is descended. And Agnes, his fourth daughter, married Mr. John Somerville, minister of Caerlaverock. Mr. Charles Sheriff, the dumb miniature-painter, was her grandson; and the present representative of the family is W. Henderson Somerville, Esq. of Fingask and Whitecroft.§

Mr. Veitch's two eldest sons, William and Samuel, were sent to him when he was in Holland, and he left them behind him to prosecute their education at one of the Dutch universities. Their parents had destined them for the church, but the young men chose the army, and when the Prince of Orange came over to England in 1688, they held commissions under him.¶ Both of them served in Flanders during the war with France, which broke out after the Revolution. William was a lieutenant in Angus's or the Cameronian regiment, and was wounded in 1692, at the battle of Steinkirk, in which his colonel, the earl of Angus, along with many of his brave comrades, was killed. "On the day after the battle, he wrote to his father, that he was shot through the left cheek, an inch below the eye, and the ball falling into his mouth, he spat it out. The marks of the blood from the wound were upon his letter." **. Referring to the battle of Landen or Nerwinden, which was fought in 1693, Mrs. Veitch says: "Word came, that King William and the King of France were going to fight; and my two eldest sons being in the camp, when I heard that there were so many killed, I was in great fear. Near five weeks after, they sent a letter, telling that they were both living." †† On the termination of the war by the peace of Ryswick in 1697, William reached home, after escaping from the most imminent danger from shipwreck. His brother Samuel lay dangerously ill in Holland, but recovering soon after, joined the family at Dumfries.‡‡

At the time of their return, the attention of the people of Scotland was engrossed with the projected settlement of a colony in South America, under the direction of the Indian and African Company, which had been incorporated two years before by act of parliament.||| The scheme originated with William Paterson, a Scotsman possessed of true genius, united to great personal modesty and simplicity of character,

* Records of Presbytery of Dumfries for Jan. 3, 1710; and of Kirk-Session of Dumfries, Jan. 1, and Dec. 14, 1710; Oct. 1, 1713; and March 29, 1715.

† The letter was drawn up, at the appointment of Assembly, by four ministers, with the advice of the Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Pencaitland.

‡ Papers of Mr. Veitch, in possession of Mr. Short, town-clerk of Dumfries, and obligingly communicated by him.

‖ "Maij 1722. Mr. William Veitch, minister of the gospel, and Marion Fairley, his spouse." (Register of Burials in Dumfries, between 5th and 12th of May, 1722.)

* Narrative attached to a genealogical tree of the family; and Record of Kirk-session for Feb. 2, 1721.

† The title of the work is—"Two Sermons preached before his Majestie's High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament. By the appointment of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Upon Sabbath, the 7th of May, 1693. Unto which is subjoined, the Sermon preached at the opening up of the Synod, May 2, 1693, By Mr. William Vetch, Minister of Peebles. From Haggai ii. 4, and Col. iv. 17. Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid. Anno 1693." 12mo. Dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, High Commissioner.—A copy of this book is in the possession of Mr. William Steven, a young man who has already discovered a laudable, and not very common, curiosity to become acquainted with the history of the church of Scotland, of which he is a licentiate.

‡ In a genealogical tree of the family, it is stated that Ebenezer, son of Elizabeth Veitch, married a sister of Macdowal of Freuch, afterwards earl of Dumfries.

‖ "February 23, 1699. Baptised William, lawful son of James Young of Goolihill and Sarah Veitch, daughter of Mr. William Veitch." (Records of Kirk-Session of Dumfries.)

§ Notes on family Bible; and Genealogical Tree.

¶ Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 9, 32.

** Ibid. p. 55. †† Ibid. p. 61, 62. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 63.

||| Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 377.

who selected a spot on the Isthmus of Darièn, where the land separating the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean is narrowest, as the site of a colony of his countrymen, which promised, to his eager and discriminating eye, to become the emporium of the commerce of the world. All classes of the nation embarked eagerly in this scheme, some actuated by the hope of making a fortune, and others by the nobler wish of promoting the honour of their country and extending the gospel. Among others, William and Samuel Veitch offered their personal services, and obtained the rank of captain in the forces which the company were authorised by their charter to raise. Though William Veitch had, in addition to his rank in the army, received a commission to act as one of the council for governing the colony, and has taken the oath of office, he was prevented from going out with the first expedition.* But his brother Samuel went in the fleet, which consisted of three ships and two yachts, and sailed from Leith Roads about the 17th of July, 1698, having on board 1200 men, of whom 300 were gentlemen.† On the 3d of November they landed between Portobello and Carthagena, at a fine harbour, four miles from the Golden Island; and having taken possession of the country, to which they gave the name of New Caledonia, proceeded to lay the foundation of a fort and a town, called Fort St. Andrew and New Edinburgh.‡ They made it their earliest business to establish friendly treaties with the chiefs of the neighbouring native tribes;‖ and afterwards sent deputations to the Spanish authorities at Panama and Carthagena, to intimate their wish to live with them on terms of amity and reciprocal intercourse.§ The proclamation of the council, made at New Edinburgh, on the 28th of December, 1698, presents us with the singular and interesting fact, of the first colony established by any European people on liberal principles as to trade, policy, and religion. The following are extracts from it.

"We do hereby publish and declare, That all manner of persons of what nation or people soever, are and shall from hence-forward be equally free and alike capable of the said properties, privileges, protections, immunities, and rights of government granted unto us; and the merchants and merchants' ships of all nations, may freely come to and trade with us, without being liable in their persons, goods, or effects, to any manner of capture, confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition, for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of mark, or reprizals, declaration of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever.

"And we do hereby not only grant, concede, and declare a general and equal freedom of government and trade to those of all nations, who shall hereafter be of, or concerned with us; but also a full and free liberty of conscience in matters of religion, so as the same be not understood to allow, connive at, or indulge the blaspheming of God's holy name, or any of his divine attributes; or of the unhallowing or profaning the Sabbath day.

"And finally, as the best and surest means to render any government successful, durable, and happy, it shall (by the help of Almighty God) be ever our constant and chiefest care that all our further constitutions, laws, and ordinances, be consonant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture, right reason, and the examples of the wisest and justest nations, that from the righteousness thereof, we may reasonably hope for and expect the blessings of prosperity and increase." *

The founders of the colony may be thought to have have carried their ideas of liberty rather too far in some things, or, at least, not to have attended duly to what was expedient in the case of a new establishment, consisting of persons entirely unacquainted with one another, and strangers to the measures which were essential to their safety and subsistence in circumstances so peculiar and so unlike to those in which they had hitherto been placed. The council were authorised, or rather instructed, to *call a parliament*. The fifth article of the constitution runs in the following terms:—"That after their landing and settlement as aforesaid, they (the council) shall class and divide the whole freemen, inhabitants of the said colony, into districts, each district to contain at least fifty, and not exceeding sixty freemen, inhabitants, who shall elect yearly any one freeman, inhabitant, whom they shall think fit to represent them in a parliament or council-general of the said colony; which parliament shall be called or adjourned by the said council as they see cause, and being so constitute, may, with consent of the said council, make and enact such rules, ordinances, and constitutions, and impose such taxes, as they shall think fit and needful for the good establishment, improvement, and support of the said colony; providing always they lay no farther duties or impositions of trade than what is here under expressed." † The parliament actually met, and had at least two sessions. During the first session, on the 24th of April, 1699, it enacted thirty-four laws for the regulation of civil and criminal justice in the colony. Along with a desire to preserve a high tone of public morals, they discover great jealousy in guarding personal liberty. The violation of women, though belonging to an enemy, is made capital. The plundering of Indians is to be punished as theft. Ingratitude is stigmatized. "No man shall be confined or detained prisoner for above the space of three months, without being brought to a lawful trial." In all cases criminal, no judgment shall pass against any man "without the consent and concurrence of a jury of fifteen fit persons." The person of a freeman shall not be subject to any restraint whatever for debt, "unless there shall be

* In a scurrilous pamphlet, by one who had been a surgeon aboard the fleet in the first expedition, and who afterwards hired himself to the English as a writer against the Scots colony, Paterson and the counsellors are treated with the most ignorant and low abuse. "Veach, a man of no trade, but advanced to this post on the account his father was a godly minister, and a glorifier of God, I think, in the Grass-market. —— Veach, being sick of the voyage, stayed at home; and on this occasion William Paterson was assumed into the senate in Veach's place, after we had got so far as the Madera's on our voyage.—I had almost forgot to tell you of our clergy, with whom I ought, in good manners, to have begun. Two ministers, with a journeyman to take up the psalm, were commissioned by the General Assembly, with full instructions, I suppose, to dispose of the Bibles among the Indians.—English Bibles, 1500; periwigs, 4000, some long, some short. Campaigns. Spanish bobs, and natural ones," &c. (Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien, p. 22, 34—37.)

† Caledonia Papers, series i. art. 1. 3. 4: MSS. in Advocates Library, Jac. V. 2. 12. Carstairs, State Papers, p. 392. Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 69. The fleet was composed of the Caledonia, St. Andrew, and Unicorn, company's ships, and Dolphin and Endeavour, advice yachts or tenders.

‡ Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 17.

‖ Ibid. ser. ii. art. 39. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 249. History of Caledonia, by a Gentleman lately arrived, p. 21—34. Lond. 1699.

§ Letter from Council of Caledonia to the Governor of Santa Maria, Feb. 15, 1699: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 16. Address of Council of Caledonia to his Majesty: Collection of Addresses, &c. p. 75. Paterson's Letter to a Friend in Boston, Feb. 18, 1699: Enquiry into Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien, p. 74.

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 4.

† Ibid. ser. i. art. 4. After January 1, 1702, imports of European, Asian, or African goods, in ships of Scotland or the colony, shall pay 2 per cent. and in other ships 3 per cent. Imports of the growth and product of American plantations, of what nation soever, 1 per cent. Exports of growth of Asia, Africa, or America, in Scots or colonial vessels, shall pay 2 per cent. and in other vessels 4 per cent. After reserving 1-20th of the lands, and of precious metals, stones, and wood, pearl-fishing, and wrecks, "the company communicate to the colony, and its dependencies which it may plant, all their privileges secured by act of parliament." (Ibid.)

fraud or the design thereof, or wilful or apparent breach of trust, misapplication, or concealment, first proved upon him." *

On the subject of the parliament, Mackay, one of the counsellors, writes to the secretary of the directors, "We found the inconvenience of calling a parliament, and of telling the inhabitants that they were freemen so soon. They had not the true notion of liberty: the thoughts of it made them insolent, and ruined command. You know that it's expressly in the encouragements, that they are to serve three years, and at the three years' end to have a division of land." Mackay accordingly signified it as his opinion, that the parliament should not be convoked till the end of that period.† One great objection to that measure, and indeed the principal cause of the ruin of the colony, was the character of the greater part of the settlers. No care had been taken in their selection. The young men of birth, who formed too large a proportion of the colony, were unfit for commanding, and too proud to submit to authority. And, among the lower orders were many Highlanders and others who had taken part against the Revolution, and were induced to join the expedition by dissatisfaction with the government at home. The idle, the unprincipled, and profligate, were at no loss to find persons to recommend them among the numerous holders of shares in the company. Nor were the persons nominated as counsellors, and especially such of them as were naval officers, qualified for that situation. It was not until after a long struggle that Paterson prevailed on his colleagues to exercise the right vested in them, by assuming other individuals into the government along with them, of whom Samuel Veitch was one.‡ "There was not one of the old council fitted for government, and things were gone too far before the new took place." ‖

That the Spaniards would be jealous of a colony planted so near their possessions, and would do every thing in their power to weaken and extirpate it, was what the Scots were prepared for; but they did not expect the same treatment from the Dutch, whose Stadtholder they had lately made a king, or (which was still more galling) from their neighbours and brethren, the English. Sir Paul Rycaut, the English resident at Hamburgh, had opposed a treaty of commerce between that town and the Scottish company;§ and the governors of Jamaica and the other plantations of England in the West Indies and North America, now issued proclamations, prohibiting all intercourse with the colonists of New Caledonia and the furnishing of them with provisions or necessaries of any kind, and tending to excite the Spaniards against them as unauthorised intruders on their possessions.¶ To these discouragements, and the alarm of an attack from Panama, were added the difficulties which every infant colony must struggle with, and for which the most of the settlers, both of the better and poorer class, were ill prepared. A great part of the provisions which they had brought with them was found to be bad; it was necessary to put them on short allowance; the diseases to which Europeans are incident in a tropical climate made their appearance; a spirit of insubordination broke out; and a conspiracy, having for its object the seizing of one of the vessels and leaving the colony, and in which some of the counsellors were involved, was discovered.*

Soon after their arrival, Paterson had proposed sending captain Veitch home to represent their situation to the directors; but he was overruled, and a Mr. Hamilton was sent, which proved a great injury to the colony, as he was "accomptant-general, and the only person fit for that employment and for the management of the cargoes, at this time in disorder."† After the assumption of new counsellors in March following, the discontents were checked, and the council dispatched Mackay, one of their own number, to Britain, with an address to his Majesty, and a pressing request to the directors to send out with all expedition supplies of provision, ammunition, and men.‡ But no word arriving from home, and the internal state of the colony becoming worse, the council suffered themselves to be hurried into the dastardly resolution of evacuating the settlement, which was carried into effect on the 23d of June, 1699, within eight months from the time that they had taken possession of it.‖ This was a blow which almost proved fatal to the vigorous intellect of Paterson. When the minute of council agreeing to this step was brought to him to sign, he was on board the Unicorn, to which he had been conveyed some days before, in a high fever, brought on by vexation at the weakness of his colleagues, and grief at the sudden frustration of his sanguine hopes.§ The depression of his spirits continued after the fever had abated;¶ but having recovered the tone of his mind at New York, he sailed for Scotland to make his report to the company, and give them his best advice in the further prosecution of their undertaking. Samuel Veitch, who accompanied him from Darien, remained at New York, a circumstance which appears to have made an unfavourable impression on the minds of the directors.** His conduct, in subsequently declining to accompany his comrade Drummond, even after he had heard that his brother was on the passage to Darien, gives ground to believe that, though a brave and skilful officer, he was deficient in that political courage and resolution which were requisite for discharging the difficult trust committed to him.††

After hearing from the council of Caledonia, the directors lost no time in sending out the requisite supplies for their colony. They had previously sent dispatches and provisions by a brig which sailed from the Clyde on the 24th of February 1699, but which unfortunately never reached the place of its destination.‡‡

* Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 37. This curious document will be found at length in the Appendix.

† Ibid. ser. ii. art. 4. Mackay's letter was written in Scotland, and the parliament had been called soon after he left the colony.

‡ Paterson's Report to the Directors, on his return: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.

‖ Paterson to Shields, Edinb. Feb. 6, 1700: Ibid. ser. iii. art. 54.

§ Collection of Addresses, Memorials, &c. relating to the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, p. 4—32. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 242, 243.

¶ Collection, ut supra, p. 77—90. Act. Parl. Scot. x. 251.

* Letter from the Council of Caledonia to the Directors, April 21, 1699: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 13.

† Paterson's Report to the Directors, Dec. 19, 1699: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.

‡ Ibid. "Samuel Veach" signs the council's address, sent by Mackay, who left the colony "on the 10th or 11th of April." Collection of Addresses, &c. p. 76.

‖ Caled. Papers, ser. i. 71.

§ "Captain Thomas Drummond and captain Samuel Veitch had met with Pennycook and Campbell, and held their last council, (June 18,) and brought orders to Paterson to sign for their departure by Boston to Scotland." (Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.)

¶ "Sept. 29, 1699.—Meantime the grief has broke Mr. Paterson's heart and brain; and now's he's a child, they may do what they will for him. (Letter from J. Borland, Boston: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 19.)

** Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74. In this paper the Directors say, "Capt. Sam. Veitch having thought fit to stay behind at New York, and giving us but shuffling accounts of these matters, (the cargo) we wish that Capt. Drummond, who was the only other counsellor there, would give us the best light he can into that matter.

†† "Mr. Samuel Veatch acquainted me (says Paterson) that he would look after the effects put ashore—and that by that means he would be in readiness to go back to the colony when he should receive the company's orders." (Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 20.)

‡‡ Secret Committee of the Council General to the Council of Caledonia: Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 5. Borland's History of Darien, p. 22, 26.

On the arrival of Hamilton, Jamieson of the Olive-Branch, accompanied by another vessel, containing 300 recruits, well equipped with provisions, arms, and ammunition, was dispatched with all possible expedition.* He was followed by a larger fleet, consisting of four ships, and containing 1300 men, which sailed from the Isle of Bute on the 24th of September 1699, and reached Caledonia Bay on the 30th of November.† With this fleet William Veitch went out, in the Rising Sun, commanded by James Gibson, and in the double capacity of captain and a member of the council.‡ The directors also sent off individuals, by different conveyances, with bills of credit for the use of the colony.‖ But providence frowned on all their attempts. The recruits in the Olive-Branch and her consort, finding the settlement deserted, determined to repossess it, and await the arrival of the fleet which was to follow; but one of their vessels having been burnt in the harbour, they relinquished the attempt, and set sail for Jamaica.§ When the fleet arrived, those who were on board were thrown into the greatest perplexity. The prospect was indeed sufficiently discouraging to persons who expected to find a colony planted, and ready to receive them. The huts were burned down; the fort dismantled and dilapidated; the ground which had been cleared, was again overgrown with shrubs and weeds; and all the tools and instruments of husbandry were taken away.¶ A general demand to be immediately conducted home was raised in the ships, which was encouraged by Byres, one of the most forward and bustling members of the council; and it was with the utmost difficulty that captain Veitch prevailed on his colleagues to land the men.** In this he was greatly assisted by Thomas Drummond, an enterprising officer and one of the former counsellors, who, having learned at New York that supplies were on their way from Scotland, had returned to the colony in a sloop with provisions, and collected six or seven resolute fellows belonging to the Olive-Branch, who had determined to remain in the place, and live among the natives until the Rising Sun's party should arrive.††

As the Spaniards had openly testified their hostility to the colony by sending troops against the former settlers,‡‡ and were now busily employed in preparations for invading it, Drummond proposed to anticipate them by an immediate attack on Porto Bello, which they could easily reduce. This bold measure would have inspired the colonists with confidence in themselves, and supplied them with the resources which they were most in want of. It met with the approbation of Veitch, but was defeated by the timidity of some of his colleagues, and by the factious disposition of Byres, who delighted to thwart the views of Drummond, and who, taking advantage of certain words in the instructions of the directors, rendered ambiguous by the recent desertion of the settlement, succeeded in excluding him from the council.*

Two ministers, Messrs. James and Scot, had been sent out with the first expedition, one of whom died on the passage, and the other soon after his arrival at Darien. The council having written home to the directors, regretting the death of their ministers, and begging that others might be sent to supply their place, the commission of the general assembly, at the particular desire of the board of directors, missioned the well-known Mr. Alexander Shields, and three other ministers, who sailed in the last fleet.† They were instructed, on their arrival, with the advice and concurrence of the government, to set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving; to form themselves into a presbytery; to ordain elders and deacons; and to divide the colony into parishes, that so each minister might have a particular charge. After which it was recommended to them, "so soon as they should find the colony in case for it, to assemble the whole Christian inhabitants, and keep a day together for solemn prayer and fasting, and with the greatest solemnity and seriousness to avouch the Lord to be their God, and dedicate themselves and the land to the Lord." They were also particularly instructed to "labour among the natives, for their instruction and conversion, as they should have access."‡ The circumstances in which they found the colony, precluded them from thinking of carrying the most of these instructions into execution. Two of them, however, preached on land, and one of them on board the Rising Sun, every Sabbath; but the irreligion and licentiousness which prevailed among the colonists, in addition to the unfavourable aspect of their external affairs, oppressed their spirits, and paralysed their exertions. They undertook a journey into the interior, in company with lieutenant Turnbull, who had a slight knowledge of the Indian language, with a view of becoming acquainted with the natives; and having spent some nights with them in their cabins, brought back the first word to the colony of the approach of the Spaniards.‖

When apprised of all the circumstances, the directors felt indignant at the conduct of those, who, on such slight grounds, had left the settlement desolate, and "whose glory" (to use their own emphatic language) "it would have been to have perished there rather than to have abandoned it so shamefully." In their letters to the new counsellors and officers they implored them to keep the example of their predecessors before their eyes as a beacon, and to avoid those ruinous dissensions and disgraceful vices on which they had wrecked so hopeful an enterprise. They blame the old council for deserting the place, "without ever calling a parliament or general meeting of the colony, or consulting their inclinations in the least, but commanding them to a blind and implicit obedience; which is more than they ever can be answerable for. Wherefore (continue they) we desire you would constitute a parliament, whose advice you are to take in all important matters. And in the mean time you are to acquaint the officers and planters with the constitutions, and the few additional ones sent with Mr. Mackay, that all and every person in the colony may know their duty, ad-

* Sailed from Leith, May 12, 1699. Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 14.

† Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 30. The fleet consisted of the Rising Sun, Hope, Duke Hamilton, and Hope of Borrowstonness. Just as they were about to set sail, intelligence of the evacuation of the colony reached the Directors, who sent an express to stop them; but they, "for reasons best known to themselves," had sailed hastily, twenty-four hours before Mackay, one of the former counsellors, could reach Bute with additional instructions founded on his local knowledge. (Ibid. ser. i. art. 74.)

‡ Ibid. ser. i. art. 83. Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 71.

‖ Ibid. Short and Impartial View, p. 9—13.

§ Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74. Borland's History of Darien, p. 28.

¶ Borland, p. 29.

** Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 67.

†† Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 8. Borland, 25, 30, 34. The court of directors expressed their warmest approbation of "these gentlemen's frankness and merit, in having so just and tender a regard to the honour of their country, and the interest of our company and colony." (Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74.)

‡‡ Captain James Montgomery defeated a party of Spaniards within the territories of the Indian captain Pedro, on the 6th of February, 1699. Caled. Pap. ser. ii. art. 2.

* Queries by Drummond, in his accusation of Byres: Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 66. Borland, 44. The committee appointed by the board of directors to inquire into this affair decided against Byres, and appealed, among other proofs, to the letters of Shields. Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 44. He afterwards attempted, but without success, to vindicate his conduct, in "A Letter to a Friend in Edinburgh from Rotterdam—by James Byres;" printed anno 1702. Byres was a merchant. Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 42.

† Caled. Papers, ser. ii. art. 7, 31, 32. Letter, Robert Wylie to Mr. Shields: MSS. in Advocates Library, Rob. III. 3, 6, art. 145. Borland, 22, 34.

‡ Copy of the Commission to the Presbytery of Caledonia, in Borland, p. 34—37.

‖ Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 43. Borland, 38, 40, 41—49.

vantages, and privileges."* Alarmed at the accounts which they soon after received from Darien, the council-general of the company dispatched a proclamation, declaring that it shall be lawful to any person of whatever degree inhabiting the colony, not only to protest against, but to disobey and oppose, any resolution to desert the colony; "and that it shall be death either publicly or privately to move, deliberate, or reason upon" any such desertion or surrender, without special order from the council-general for that effect. And they order and require the council of Caledonia to proclaim this solemnly, as they shall be answerable.† But before these orders were issued, the event which the company dreaded so much had taken place.

Though the men were now busily employed in rebuilding the huts and repairing the fort, strenuous efforts to discourage the work continued to be made in the council, by the faction which sought the evacuation of the settlement. It was with difficulty that captain Veitch was allowed to protest against some of their resolutions ;‡ and for opposing them with warmth, captain Drummond was laid under arrest. Speaking of the latter, Mr. Shields says,—"Under God it is owing to him, and the prudence of captain Veitch, that we have staid here so long, which was no small difficulty to accomplish."‖ And in another letter, written a few days after, he says,—"If we had not met with him, (Drummond,) at our arrival, we had never settled in this place: Byres and Lindsay being averse from it, and designing to discourage it, from the very first: Gibson being indifferent, if he get his pipe and dram: only Veitch resolved to promote it, who was all along Drummond's friend, and concurred with his proposal to send men against the Spaniards at first, and took the patronizing of his cause as long as he could conveniently, but with such caution and prudence, as to avoid and prevent animosity and faction, (which he saw unavoidable,) threatening the speedier dissolution of this interest, if he should insist on the prosecution of that plea, and in opposition to that speat that was running against Drummond. But now Fanab† coming, who was Drummond's comrade and fellow-officer in Lorn's regiment in Flanders, he is set at liberty."§

In the mean time the Spanish troops from Panama and Santa Maria advanced by land against the colony, being conducted through the woods by Indians and Negroes. Captain Campbell of Fanab, at the head of 200 men, drove them back in a skirmish in which he was wounded; but a fleet of eleven ships, under the command of Don Juan Pimienta, the governor of Carthagena, having blockaded the harbour, and landed a reinforcement at some distance, they again advanced, and invested the fort.** Being cut off from water, reduced by sickness, and in despair of relief from home, the garrison were loud in their demands for a capitulation, to which the council were constrained to agree. Accordingly captain Veitch, being duly authorised by his colleagues, entered into a capitulation with the Spanish commander, to evacuate the settlement on honourable terms.* The inhabitants having gone on board, with all their goods and provisions, they weighed anchor on the 11th of April, 1600, and sailed for Jamaica, after having occupied Caledonia about four months and a half. During the siege "captain Veitch had the great burden of affairs lying on him, because captain Gibson tarried most part aboard his ship;" and the other counsellors either were dead, had left the colony, or refused to act.† Having sailed in the company's ship the Hope, Veitch died at sea, before the vessel was wrecked on the rocks of Colorades, on the western coast of Cuba. All parties agreed in paying an honourable tribute to the memory of captain William Veitch. "He was a sober, discreet, and prudent man, (says Borland) but broken with the many crosses and burdens he met with in his undertaking."‡ And Byres, whose measures he had all along resisted, says, "I know that captain Veitch was very faithful, and laid out all he received on the company's goods duly for the men's provisions."‖ The Rising Sun was wrecked on the bar of Carolina, and the captain, crew, and passengers, with the exception of sixteen persons who had previously landed, were lost.§

Thus unfortunately terminated the only attempt at colonization ever made by the nation of Scotland. Its failure produced a ferment at home, which it required all the arts and influence of the court to allay.¶ The scheme was ruined by the first desertion of the settlement, and that was owing chiefly to disunion and want of energy in the council. If the directors had taken care to put the government of the colony at first into good hands; if they had placed a man of capacity at their head for a limited time; if they had sent out advices and supplies early and frequently; and if England had acted with a moderate share of liberality, or foresight, it would not have been in the power of Spain to mar the success of the settlement. And if it had succeeded, who can estimate the extent of the changes which it would have produced on the state of the American continent, the British settlements, and the commerce of the world? In that case, the author of the scheme, instead of being regarded merely as an ingenious speculator, would have had his name enrolled among great men and the benefactors of their species. William Paterson possessed the patriotism and love of liberty which distinguished his friend and coadjutor, Andrew Fletcher of Salton, without the strong shade of national partiality which narrowed the views of that celebrated politician. He was defrauded of the honour due to him in the formation of the Bank of Eng-

* Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 74.

† The proclamation bears to have been "Given at the Company's house in Edinburgh, the 3d day of June, 1700." Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 69. "The unaccountable manner in which your predecessors left the settlement has been—detestable to this nation in general, and to our company in particular," say the directors to the council. Ibid. ser. i. art. 93. Owing to the "unaccountable conduct and intolerable insolence in their double capacities," of the commanders of the first ships, the directors had come to the resolution that none of the counsellors should have any other capacity. Ibid. ser. iii. art. 65.

‡ Ibid. ser. i. art. 66, 69, ii. 29.

‖ Letter about the beginning of March, 1700: Caled. Papers, ser, iii. art. 68.

§ Alexander Campbell of Fanab had been Lieut. Colonel, and Thomas Drummond, a Captain, in Argyle's regiment. (Act. Parl. Scot. xi. 174. App. 61.)

¶ Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 67.

** Ibid. ser. iii. 68. Borland, 59.

* The resolution to capitulate was agreed to on the 18th of March at a meeting of council in the fort, attended by the land and sea officers. (Caled. Papers, ser. i. art. 83.) The following is the commission to Veitch:—"We undersubscribing, counsellors of Caledonia, doe hereby empower you, Captain William Veitch, one of our number, to goe to the Spanish camp, and there with his Excellencie Don Juan Pimienta, general of the army and governor of Carthagena, to treat, capitulate, and agree upon what articles you shall find most convenient for our leaving our settlement here, and what you doe herein we obleige ourselves to perform. In testimony whereof," &c. March 21, 1700. (Ib. i. 97.) The articles of capitulation, which were subscribed on the 31st of March, are published by Borland. (Hist. p. 66—68.)

† Borland, 65.

‡ Ibid. 84. He came on board the Margaret of Dundee on the 8th of July; (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 50.) and probably died soon after. Lieutenant Turnbull, in his deposition given in to the Directors of the Company after his return to Scotland, "declares that when Captain William Veitch died on board of the Company's ship the Hope, he had two bags of money in his chest, belonging (as he believes upon credible grounds) to Archibald Stewart;" that the key was given him by the deceased; that he did not think himself at liberty to deliver it or the money up, except to Veitch's father or the Directors; but that Captain Colin Campbell, as eldest officer, requiring it "in a commanding manner," he was forced to yield, after taking a protest before witnesses. (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 43.)

‖ Byres's Letter to a Friend in Edinburgh, p. 93.

§ Borland, 79—81.

¶ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, ii. 244—6, 250.

land, by persons who were as inferior to him in genius as they were in generosity; but instead of wasting his time in declaiming against the ingratitude of mankind, he directed his great powers to the opening up of another channel for promoting their good. And when that also failed, he did not seek to abate his mortification, or to vindicate his fame, by throwing the blame of its miscarriage on the directors who had undertaken to manage it; but he went to these very individuals, and submitted to them a new plan of public utility less calculated to alarm men of timid minds; and in order the more effectually to secure its success, he proposed to admit to a large share of its advantages that very nation which had so ungenerously thwarted his favourite and most splendid scheme.* These are proofs of something which is greater than genius, and to which few men of genius, alas! now-a-days at least, have a title to lay claim.

The reader will excuse this digression. I have been drawn into it by the interesting nature of the subject, and by regret at the unsatisfactoriness of the accounts of it which are before the public. The modern accounts of the colony at Darien are chiefly borrowed from Sir John Dalrymple,† who, in his Memoirs, professes to have taken his facts from the unpublished papers of the company. But so far from having availed himself of these documents, he has given a very imperfect and inaccurate representation of what is contained in the printed narratives. All that he has done is to throw an air of romance over the story, and to tinge it with his own prejudices. He talks ridiculously of the first fleet sent out by the company, as sufficient "to have gone from the northmost part of Mexico to the southmost of Chili, and to have overturned the whole empire of Spain in the South Seas."‡ He represents the Spaniards in the new world, as showing kindness to the Scottish colonists after they left Darien: when it is well known that such of them as happened to be shipwrecked on their coasts, were treated with great barbarity, and detained for years in Spanish prisons.‖ He speaks of colonel Campbell of Finab having "dissipated the Spanish force with great slaughter," when there were only eight or nine of the Spaniards killed, and three taken prisoners, in the skirmish referred to; and he represents that officer as bravely conducting the defence of the fort, when he was in fact lying sick on board one of the vessels.§ His whole account of the conduct of the ministers sent out by the church of Scotland is pure rodomontade;¶ and had he looked into the papers of the company, he would have found all his statements on this head flatly contradicted. How could the ministers find, "when they arrived, the officers and gentlemen occupied in building houses for themselves with their own hands," when they all arrived at the same time? It is true that one of the ministers, in a printed history of the colony, states that they could not get huts erected for them during the whole of their stay, and were obliged to live on board the ships, which prevented them from a proper discharge of their duty; but there is no evidence whatever that they "complained grievously" that these were not "immediately built for their accommodation." So far were they from wishing to quit the settlement, and from fomenting discontent, that, as we have already seen, they supported those counsellors and officers who were most anxious to remain. If they complained of the licentiousness of many of the officers and gentlemen, this was no more than the court of directors did upon the best information. "It's a lasting disgrace (say they) to the memories of those officers who went in the first expedition, that even the meanest planters were scandalized at the licentiousness of their lives, many of them living very intemperately and viciously for many months at the public charge, whilst the most sober and industrious among them were vigilant in doing their duty.—Nor can we, upon serious reflection, wonder if an enterprise of this nature has misgiven in the hands of such as we have too much reason to believe neither feared God nor regarded man."* The directors found reason soon after to express an opinion not much more favourable of the successors of the first colonists.†

The same paper bears honourable testimony to the character of the ministers. In a letter to captain Thomas Drummond, Paterson says,—"I have wrote to Mr. Alexander Shields. Pray converse with him, and take his advice; for you will find him a man of courage and constancy, and that does not want experience of the world. I hope much from him and you."‡ "Pray remember me kindly to Mr. Shiels, (says one of the leading directors,) whose joining with captain Thomas Drummond's motion for attacking Portobell makes him so valued and beloved here that it will never be forgot."‖ Writing to the officers of the colony, the directors say, "You have the advantage of having good ministers to watch over you; and we hope you'll give them no occasion by any indecent behaviour, to repine at their having gone such a voyage, which we are assured nothing can make them do so much as the contempt of ordinances. We hope better things of you."§ To the council they write:—"We earnestly press and recommend you, to suppress riot and immoralities: but especially that you encourage virtue and discourage vice by the example of your own lives, and give all the necessary assistance to your ministers, in establishing discipline and good order among your people."¶ There are three letters by the directors to "the moderator and remanent members of the church of Caledonia," written in the most respectful and confidential strain. They tell them, that they were in hopes to hear from them; that they were sorry to learn that divisions had again broken out in Caledonia; that they had no doubt of the patience and constancy of the ministers; and trusted, they would urge and admonish all to unity, and in due time would prove the happy instruments of conveying the gospel to the natives of that country. "As for what concerns you in particular," continue they, "we shall not only perform our engagements, but contribute to make your present stations easy, by enjoining all under your charge to have a due regard to good discipline and order. We are heartily sorry for the death of Mr. Dalgliesh; and that amongst many other disappointments, you should be under such discouragements in the execution of your charge, from the cold indifference of some, and the vicious lives of others of your people. We have written fully to the council about this matter."** Mr.

* Carstairs, State Papers, p. 631, 645, 656. Paterson's Last Plan: Caled. Pap. ser. i. art. 77. Dalrymple, Mem. App. to P. iii. B. vi.

† This assertion is not intended to apply to Mr. Laing; though prepossessed with the idea that the Darien colony was of the same character as the South Sea and Mississippi schemes, he has not treated it with his usual research and penetration.

‡ Memoirs of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 133. 8vo.

‖ Carstairs, State Papers, p. 676. Scotland's Grievances relating to Darien, p. 8. Graham, one of the persons wrecked in captain Pinkerton's ship, depones that they were stripped—put in a dungeon—starved—made to work with slaves—put in irons at Havannah—sent in irons to Cadiz—sent in irons in a small boat to Seville—condemned as pirates—and kept in irons till liberated in Septemoer, 1700. (Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 48. comp. i. 85.) The treatment which the crew of the Little Hope met with, after the capitulation, was similar. (Act. Parl. Scot. xi. App. 114.)

§ Dalrymple's Mem. *ut supra*, p. 140. Carstairs, p. 612—615. Borland, 58.

¶ Dalrymple, p. 136—143.

* Directors to the Overseers and remanent Officers in the Colony, Feb. 10, 1700: Caled. Papers, ser. i. 75.

† Ibid. ser. i. art. 76.

‡ Ibid. ser. iii. art. 55. Comp. art. 53, 54.

‖ Letter from Sir Francis Scot of Thirlstane to captain Daniel Mackay, Edin. June 13, 1700: Caled. Pap. ser. iii. art. 51.

§ Ibid. ser. i. art. 75.

¶ Ibid. ser. i. art. 74. Comp. art. 72.

** Ibid. ser. i. art. 76. "In respect that the company

Shield's account of the situation of himself and his two brethren, is written with a feeling which is an internal evidence of its truth. "Our meetings amongst ourselves are in the woods; where the chattering of parrots, mourning of pelicans, and din of monkeys, is more pleasant than the hellish language of our countrymen in their hutts and tents of Kedar; and our converse with the Indians, though with dumb signs, is more satisfying than with the most part of our own people. Severals of them came to our meetings for worship, and we have exercised in their families, when travelling among them, where they behaved themselves very reverently; but we have neither language nor interpreter. But our people doe scandalize them both by stealing from them, and teaching them to swear and drink."*

Sir John Dalrymple inveighs against the ministers for interfering officiously in the settling of the terms of capitulation;† but he takes care not to state the facts, which are highly honourable to them. One of the articles proposed by Veitch was, "That the Indians who have been friendly to us, and conversed with us, since we came hither, shall not be molested on our account." To this the Spanish commander refused to accede; and some of the Indian chiefs who had been most friendly to the colony, were taken from the side of the Scottish ships and made prisoners. The ministers, pitying the poor natives, drew up a petition in their favour; and sent it to the Spanish fleet by Mr. Shields. When he was enforcing the petition, Pimienta, who was of an irascible temper, said to him in Latin, "Mind your own business;" to which Shields replied, "I shall mind it," and retired. The conduct of the council, in leaving their Indian allies exposed to the vengeance of the Spaniards, was much condemned by some of the colonists.‡

To return to Samuel Veitch—he joined the army in New England, and was advanced to the rank of colonel. He came to Scotland in the year 1706, on a visit to his parents, but soon returned to the New World.‖ In 1710, he was ordered to join the expedition under General Nicolson, which was sent against the French possessions in Nova Scotia, where they took the town and fort of Port-Royal,§ to which, in honour of the Queen, they gave the name of Annapolis.¶ Colonel Veitch was made governor of that place.* In the month of June next year he was recalled from Annapolis to Boston,† to take the command of two regiments of New England, which were to join the armament under Major-General Hill, and Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, intended for the reduction of Quebec and Placentia. The fleet consisted of ten ships of war, and above sixty transports, having on board 5000 troops from Flanders and Britain.‡ They sailed from Boston in the end of July, and entered the River of St. Lawrence; but encountered a severe storm, in which several of the transports, with the troops on board, were lost.‖ In consequence of this and the want of provisions to sustain the troops, if they should be locked up in Quebec by the frost during the winter, it was resolved by a council of war to abandon the enterprise and return home.§ Colonel Veitch enjoyed the confidence both of the general and admiral, the latter of whom speaks very highly of his skill, zeal, and activity in the expedition.¶ He returned to his government at Annapolis, and ultimately settled at New York, where he married a grand-daughter of the well-known Mr. John Livingston, by whom he had a daughter called Aleda, who married an American gentleman of the name of Pinknie, near Philadelphia.**

It only remains to say a few words respecting Ebenezer, Mr. Veitch's youngest son. He was trained for the ministry of the church, and appears to have been a young man of uncommon piety. After being licensed to preach, he was the first person who received the appointment to a lectureship in Edinburgh, on what was called M'Alla's mortification, which still subsists. David Mackall, or M'Alla, was a merchant who, in testimony of his gratitude for success in business, bequeathed in the year 1639, besides other legacies for pious uses, a sum of money, the interest of which was to be applied by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, as a salary to one who should preach every Sunday morning in the Tron church.†† A number of

(say the directors to the council of Caledonia) has an entire confidence in the zeal, capacity, and integrity of Mr. Alexander Shiels, our council-general do recommend to you, to—admit him to be present in your council, that when you find it necessary you may take his advice in any important affairs that may occur." (Ibid. ser. i. art. 94.)

* Alexander Shields to the Presbytery of St. Andrews, Caledonia Bay, Feb. 2, 1700. Christian Instructor, vol. xviii. p. 478.

† Memoirs, iii. 101.

‡ Borland, 67. Caled. Papers, ser. iii. art. 78. Mr. Shields died at Port Royal in Jamaica on the 14th of June, 1700, of a malignant fever. (Borland, 78.) Mr. Stobo, another of the ministers, settled in Carolina; (Ibid. 21—23.) and Mr. Borland returned to Scotland, where he wrote a narrative of the expedition.

‖ Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 114.

§ "When the Queen sent over my son, Samuel, and General Nicolson went over, to take in *Jamaica*, she gave him a commission to be governor there, if he took it in.—At length they yielded the place without much bloodshed." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 117.) Mrs. Veitch must have confounded Port Royal in North America with Port Royal in Jamaica, which last place would be impressed on her memory by the circumstance of her eldest son having died off it.

¶ "Minehead, Dec. 11. A vessel came in on the 9th, five weeks from Boston, gives an account that Colonel Nicholson had taken Port Royal in Acadia, belonging to the French, with the loss of ten men killed, and of a transport vessel wherein the captain and the men were drowned. He says that Colonel Nicholson was returned to Boston, before he left that port, having left Colonel *Vich* and Sir Charles Hobby with 500 English troops in garrison in the Fort, in which were 50 or 60 guns; the French governor with 200 men being made prisoners-of-war. He reports that Colonel Nicholson had sent 2 gentlemen to Quebeck, to inform the governor of that place, that, if according to his use, he should encourage the Indians barbarously to scalp the English prisoners, he would use the same severity upon the French inhabitants in Port Royal, who are about 500 in number." The capitulation was signed by Francis Nicholson, Esq. and M. de Subercase, on the 2d of October, 1710. (The Scots Courant, No. 823. Monday, 18th, to Wednesday, 20th December, 1710.)

* A Journal, or full account of the late Expedition to Canada. By Sir Hovenden Walker, Kt. P. 114, 142. Lond. 1720.

† Ibid. p. 68, 94.

‡ Ibid. p. 106—108. The Scots Courant, Nos. 868—897. "Boston, New England, July 24, 1711. On the 25th past arrived here Admiral Walker's squadron, with the land forces under Brigadier Hill. The New English forces, consisting of two regiments, those of Hampshire and Rhode Island, commanded by Colonel Walton, and the Massachuset's Bay, by the Hon^ble. Colonel Vetch, who commands both regiments, will be ready to embark the 25th instant, and will sail the first fair wind." (The Scots Courant, No. 941. Monday, September 24, 1711.)

‖ Seven transports, and victualler of New England, were wrecked, and 884 men lost. Walker's Journal, p. 128.

§ Scots Courant, Nos. 950—954. Walker's Journal, p. 26, 141, 302.

¶ Walker's Journal, p. 26, 93, 94. In p. 116, is a letter from colonel Veitch to the Admiral, stating his suspicions of a French pilot, and offering to proceed to Cape Breton, "in order to set the course of the fleet, when they come up, in case it be foggy."

** Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 115; and Genealogical Tree of the Family.

†† "Be it kend—me David Mackall, merchant burges of Edinburgh, for sa meickle as it has pleased God to bless me in my calling—whairupone—I vowed and promised to the Lord my God to dedicate some portioun of the meanes and substance bestowed upon me to pious uses. Thairfore, and in humble performance thereof, I, in the tenor heirof, give, dott, and dispone:—Item, thrie thousand and five hundred merkis money foresaid, to be employed upon land for annual rent to the behoove of ane sufficient and qualified minister or preatcher, to mak prayers and preatching every Sunday in the morning, in the south eist kirk that is building at Nuddries wynd heid, quhilk pretching and prayeries sall be doone everie Sunday in the morning, conforme to the Trew religioun establishit presentlie profest within this kingdome, without any alteration, additioun, or diminishing therfra in anie sort, bot onlie to be doone as it is now usit, without adding of any unnecessar ceremonie

years elapsed before that church was ready for public worship; and when it was opened the magistrates did not establish the lectureship, although they were in possession of the funds appropriated to its support, so that, at length, it came to be forgotten that any such bequest had been made. But the fact having been discovered in the year 1701, the town council appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and on their report agreed immediately to carry the will of the donor into effect, by applying the legal interest of a thousand pounds sterling to the support of a preacher.* Accordingly, on the 17th of June, 1702, they presented "Mr. Ebenezer Veitch, preacher of the gospel, to the office of performing preaching and prayers in the Tron church, at the time and in manner appointed by Mr. M'Alla's mortification;" and recommended to him further to preach one diet on the Lord's day, as he shall be employed by any of the ministers of the burgh.† Subsequently he engaged, at the desire of the town council and presbytery, "to visit the sick of the parish of the Tron kirk when called thereto, to ease the reverend Mr. George Meldrum of that part of his ministerial function;" he having been lately appointed professor of divinity in the university, on the death of Mr. George Campbell.‡

In May, 1703, he left Edinburgh, having received a call to be minister of Ayr;‖ and he soon after married Margaret, daughter of the venerable Mr. Patrick Warner, minister of Irvine,§ a young lady remarkable for personal beauty. Having gone to Edinburgh in December, 1706, to attend the commission of the general assembly, he obtained leave of absence for a few days to dispense the communion to his people. On his return to the capital he was seized with a dangerous sickness. For some time before this, his friends had observed that his thoughts turned much on death, and that when engaged in prayer, both in public and in his family, he appeared more like a person in heaven than on earth. His wife hurried from Ayr as soon as she received notice of his illness. Hearing him talk of his willingness and desire to die, she asked if he would not wish to live with her, and serve the church on earth, a little longer; to which he replied in the negative, recommended her to God, who had been all in all to him, and gave her a parting embrace. Then turning to the ministers who were present, he said, "Passengers for glory, how far think you am I from the new Jerusalem?" "Not far, Sir," replied one of them. "Then I'll climb till I be up among that innumerable company of angels and the spirits of just men made perfect." They removed his wife; but just as he was a-dying, she burst into the room and came to his bedside, when, waving his hand, he said, "I will not look back again," and expired.*

This Supplement to Mr. Veitch's Memoirs shall be closed with the following account of his children, copied from a writing, in his own hand, on the margin of his family Bible.†

"I was maryed at Lanark by Mr. Rot Birnie—‡ twenty-third day of Novr 1664.

"Mary, my first child, was born on Monday the 23 of Septr 1665, at the Hills of Dunsyre, and baptised at Lintoun, by Mr Rot Eliot.‖ She dyed March 9, 1666, and was buried at Dunsyre kirk.

"William, my 2d child, was born on Tuesday the 2d day of April, 1667, at the Hills of Dunsyre, bot not baptised untill the 16 day of August following, and that at Smalholm, by Mr Thomas Donaldsone.§ Witnesses were John Murray of Ashiesteel,¶ John Brown, merchant in Kelso, and Mr John Vetch, minister of Westruther.

"Samuel, my third child, born on Wednesday, at Edenburgh, being the ninth day of December, 1668, and baptised the thretteth by Mr John Blackadar, a Minister in Galaway; the laird of Westshiel,** Andrew Stevenson, and Mr William Livingstoun,†† merchants in Edr were witnesses.

"James, my fourth child, was born at Edenburgh, on Thursday March 9 day, 1671; baptised the 18 day, by Mr Thomas Hog.‡‡ He dyed at Arnistoun with the

thairto, that was laitlie lyk to be brocht in the kirk, and no utherwayes. And I mak and constitut the provost and bailies of the said burgh, present and to cum, patrones for presenting of the said minister to the said kirk, with consent of my aires and successors in all tyme cuming." (Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, Dec. 28, 1639. vol. xv. f. 109, 110.)

* Records of Town Council, Sept. 5, 1701. vol. xxxvi. p. 890—892. Maitland, who has given a short account of this benefaction, after saying that the council appropriated "the income of one thousand pounds of the said money" to the support of preaching in the Tron Church, adds, "but how the remaining part of the money is applied, is to me unknown." (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 166.) This was owing to his own carelessness. For in the minute just referred to, the interest of the money is calculated from the death of the donor down to the year 1701, and when this is added to the principal, the whole sum does not amount to quite 18,000 merks Scots or 1000*l.* Sterling; so that there was no surplus to be applied in any way, and the magistrates acted in every respect honourably in the trust.

† Records, *ut supra*, vol. xxxvii. p. 174.

‡ Ibid. Oct. 9, 1702. vol. xxxvii. p. 308.

‖ On the 12th of May, 1703, Mr. James Alstoun, preacher of the gospel, was chosen successor to him in the lectureship. (Records of Town Council, vol. xxxvii. p. 891.) The Town Council came to a resolution, on the 17th of November, 1703, that, instead of one, two persons should be appointed to this office, to lecture *per vices;* and that the annual rent should be divided between them. The reason assigned for this new arrangement is, that they had found by experience "the great good, blessing, and usefulness of the said morning lecture not only to the inhabitants of the citie, but to the preachers themselves, who have great opportunity to exercise and make known their gifts and qualifications for the ministrie, so that severals alreadie have been called from that charge and settled in considerable congregations: and that the said lecture became lyke a kind of seminerie to some part of the church." (Ibid. p. 686.)

§ On the 8th of January, 1692, the town council of Edinburgh subscribed a call to "Mr. Patrick Vernour, minister of Irvine," to be one of the ministers of this city. (Records of Town Council.) The names *Vernor* and *Warner* are used interchangeably in documents of that period.

* Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 111—114. Mrs. Ebenezer Veitch was afterwards married to Mr. Robert Wodrow, the historian. "This marriage was assented to by her father-in-law, Mr. William Veitch, whom she came to consult about its propriety all the way from Air to Dumfries, before it was solemnized." (Geneal. Tree of the Family.)

† This Bible is now in Dumfries, in the possession of Mrs. Nicholas Denholm, relict of the Reverend William Wightman, late minister of Dalton.

‡ Mr. Robert Birnie, minister at Lanark, was a nonconformist to prelacy. (Wodrow, i. App. 75.)

‖ Messrs. Robert Elliot, father and son, were, in 1672, indulged to Lintoun. Wodrow's list of nonconformists contains Mr. Robert Elliot at Linton, presbytery of Peebles, who survived the Revolution. (Ibid. i. App. 138, 72.)

§ Mr. Thomas Donaldsone was confined to his own parish of Smailholm. (Ibid. i. App. 73.)

¶ "The laird and lady Asbiesteil" were cited to appear before the privy council, along with several other gentlemen and ladies, for being present at a conventicle, in the parish of Galashiels, which was surprised by Claverhouse in 1679. (Wodrow, ii. 40.) "John Murray of Eshiesteill" was commissioner of excise for Selkirk, in 1661.—"Eshiesteill lyand in Etterick forest and shirreff-dome of Selkirk." (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 91; viii. 356.)

** "Sir William Denholm of Westshields was a religious gentleman, of excellent abilities, of a plentiful fortune, and got to heaven some years ago, after all his troubles." He was forfeited by the criminal court, along with Mr. Gilbert Elliot, July 16, 1685; (Wodrow, ii. 493; Fountainhall's Decis. i. 366;) was restored after the Revolution; and sat frequently in Parliament as member for Lanarkshire. (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. x. and xi. *passim.*)

†† Mr. William Livingston, son of Mr. John Livingston, minister at Ancrum, was imprisoned, Feb. 22, 1682, for "collecting and distributing money to rebels," (prisoners) and "for importing and vending several seditious books." He was liberated on caution. (Wodrow, ii. 256.) Dec. 13, 1700. The town council settled a pension of "200 merks yearly on ——— Veitch, relict of Mr. William Livingstoun, late clerk to the sessions of the good town." (Records of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. xxxvi. p. 704, 705.)

‡‡ Among the nonconformists were two ministers of the name of Thomas Hog; the one at Larbert and Dunipace, in the presbytery of Stirling, and the other at Kiltearn in Ross shire.

nurse April tenth, and was buried at the Temple the twelfth day, 1672.*

"John, my fifth child, was born on Friday, at Fallowlees, in the parish of Roadberrie in Northumberland, July 19, 1672, (having removed thither the Lambes preceding,) baptised by Mr Wychliffe † the thirty of that Moneth, befor thes witnesses George Harle and William Zealile. He dicd at Stanton hall about Mertimasse 1684, and was buried at Nether Witton, 4 miles from Morpeth.

"Elizabeth, my sixth child, was born at Harnam, in the parish of Bolam in Northumberland, the 20 day of May, 1674, and was baptised on the 31, being the Sabbath, in the meeting house
Mr George Horsley, witness, of Millburn Grange,‡ (his mother being name-mother,) and William Zealile. She was maryed to David McCulloch of Ardwell, the 7 day of June, 1710 years at Dumfries.

"Ebenezer, my seventh, born at Harnam the 16 day of March, 1676, being thursday, hora 4 post merid. and baptised in the Meeting hous ther by Mr John Owen,‖ the 26 day. He was educate at Edr and Saint Andrewes philosophy colledges, and at Edr Divinity colledge under the learned Mr. George Campbell, professor thereoff. He passed his tryalls befoir that presbitery with great approbation, and was settled as lecturer on Sabbath Morning, in the trone church, betwixt 8 and 9 in the Morning, upon Mr M'Ala's mortification, new found out, tho' done 60 years befoir, and continued there from till Whitsunday 1703. he was called to the Ministry in the towne of Air, and ordained May 13 that year. He died at Edr the 13 day of decr 1706, a member of the commission, and his uncle Mr John Vetch, minister of Westruther, died at Dalkeith, going home from the Commission, decr 1703.

"Sarah, my eight child and third daughter, was born at Stantoun hall in the parish of Longhorslie in Northumberland, on Wednesday, betwixt 3 and 4 in the Morning, the 7th day of Novr 1677, having removed from Harnam thither the first day of May preceding, and was baptised the 5 day of decr in my own hous, by Mr. Edn Ord, sometyme minister at Noram* in Northumberland, old Mr Fennick of Stantoun,† with his lady, (who was name-mother) and his youngest son, Mr Thomas, being witnesses.

"Agnes, my ninth child and fourth daughter, was born at Stantonhall the 20 day of January, 1680, being tuesday, about 10 o'clock; she was baptised the 29 of April (my shaking ague hindering till then) by my brother, Mr Vetch, minister of Westruther in Scotland; the Laird and Lady witnesses.‡ She was maryed to Mr John Somervel, minister of Carlaverock, the 16 day of April 1701.—She bore unto him 6 children, one son and 5 daughters, and died of the 7th child, not brought to bed, (the two youngest daughters died before herself) the 14 of Agust, 1712; and when midwives, chirurgeons, and doctors could doe no good, after several dayes unsuccessful pains, she said, 'Now I see God calls me to die and leave this world and all my relations, which I am most willing to doe.' Then taking her leave, with the greatest composure and deliberation, of her parents, children, and servants, and of her husband, who had been fetching more help, leaving her blessing to every one that was there, and to those that were absent far and near, like one that had left all to God [goe?] to her heavenly husband, with her eyes lifted up to heaven, she cryed, 'O, my beloved, be thou as a roe and as a young hart upon the mountains of division,' &c. Then she begged that we wold, (if we had any moyen with God) pray that he wold mitigate her torment out through her voyage, and land her in her wished port; and her pain was abated or prayer was done, so she went off with great quietness, closing her eyes with her own hand a little after.

"Janet, my tenth child and fifth daughter, was born upon Sunday the 30 of January, 1682, and baptised there also, at Stantonhall in England, by her uncle Master John Vetch, Minister of Westruther,‖ in the Mers, who came there to doe it on purpose; her father was at London. She died on Sabbath the 26 day of March, 1693, near eight o'clock at night, at Peebles, in Tweedale, Scotland, and was buried there the day following." §

(Wodrow, i. App. 72, 73.) There is a printed Memoir of the last-mentioned person.

* It should be 1671. See before p. 438. "Having born four children ere I came out of Scotland, two of them died in the land, the other two I brought with me." (Mrs. Veitch's Mem. p. 3.)

† Ralph Wiclif, ejected from Whatton in Northumberland, was, at the Restoration, a member of Mr. Ralph Ward's congregation at Hartbourne, and was "afterwards ordained a minister by the presbytery at Morpeth." When Mr. Ward was removed, a part of his congregation adhered to Mr. Wicklif, who continued among them; but he complains that there was "such a fickleness and itching humour in some old professors, that if a stranger, (a young raw Scotchman,) should come and say he was a minister, away some of them would run, by his door, perhaps three, four, or five miles, notwithstanding the hazard he had run by his entertaining them in dangerous times." (Palmer, ii. 270.) "Nether Witton chapel," where Veitch's child was buried, was attached to "Hartbourn vicarage." (Hutchinson's Northumberland: State of Churches, p. 44.)

† See before, p. 451.

‖ Mr. John Owen, ejected from Stannerton, Northumberland, preached frequently in his own house, and in those of the neighbouring gentlemen, for which he was fined and imprisoned. He was induced to accept of a settlement at Hounam in Scotland, procured for him by the Duke of Lauderdale. (Palmer, ii. 270.)

* "Norham vic. Mr. Edward Ord." (Palmer, ii. 266.)

† See Surtees's Durham, App. clii.

‡ Mr. and Mrs. Fenwick of Stanton, most probably.'

‖ "Mr. Veech, minister of Westruthers, wrotte for me ane descriptione of Berwick shyre in the Merse, two sheet and a halfe." (Sibbald's Repertory of Manuscripts, MS. p. 26. Adv. Library.) This is inserted in Sibbald's MS. Collections, from p. 198 to p. 215. "That parish (says the author, in his account of Westruther,) of old had great woods with wild beasts, fra quhilk the dwellings and hills were designed; as Woolstruther, Roecleugh, Hindside, Hartlaw, and Harelaw." (W. 5, 17. p. 203. Adv. Library.) It was stated before, (see p. 428, note,) that his brother, Mr. James Veitch, was appointed to answer the arguments against hearing the indulged ministers. In the Advocates Library is a MS. entitled "Ane Sober Inquirie into the lawfulnes of the presbyterian ministers their acceptance of a libertie to preach the gospel upon the indulgence, and the people's duty to hear them. By Mr. James Veitch, minister at Mauchlin." 41 pages in fours. (Rob. III. 5, 9. art. 16.)

§ "1693. March 27. Jennet Veitch." (Register of Burials in the Parish of Peebles.)

END OF THE MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM VEITCH.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING SUPPRESSED AT PENTLAND:

WRITTEN BY

COLONEL JAMES WALLACE:

WITH

NOTICES OF THE WRITER.

NOTICES

OF

COLONEL JAMES WALLACE.

Colonel Wallace is called "James Wallace of Achens," or "Auchanes," in the record of his trial after the battle of Pentland.* Auchans, the family seat of his ancestors, is situated within the parish of Dundonald, in Ayrshire. "Opposite to the village and castle, (of Dundonald) is a very beautiful bank of wood, upwards, in most places, of 100 feet in height, and extending near a mile to the north-west. In a grand curvature of this bank, and on a gentle eminence, stands the house of Auchans, for a long period the residence of the Wallaces of Dundonald. About 1640 this estate came into the possession of Sir William Cochrane of Lowdon (Cowdon) knight, who was afterward created earl of Dundonald. At the Auchans are the remains of a small orchard which was once in high reputation. The pear, known in Scotland by the name of Auchans, derived that name from this place."†

The Wallaces of Dundonald were a branch of the ancient family of Craigie. William Wallace, second son of Hugh Wallace of Craigie, was, in 1525, tutor of Craigie; and in 1526, had a charter under the great seal of the lands of Dundonald. His oldest son, William, having succeeded to the estate of Craigie, his second son John, styled also of Inchgotry, got a charter of the lands of Dundonald in 1543, and married Lady Margaret Kennedy, relict of William, Lord Herries. John Wallace, grandson of William Wallace, tutor of Craigie, is the first who was styled of *Auchans* and Dundonald; and, as appears from charters granted in 1573 and 1574, he married Janet Stuart, daughter of Sir John Stuart of Minto. In 1599 John Wallace of Craigie obtained a charter of the lands of Dundonald.‡ Yet subsequently to that period we find John Wallace of Dundonald mentioned in the records.‖ Whether the family retained their former style after the loss of their estate, or whether a part of the estate still remained in their possession, does not appear.

James Wallace, the writer of the following narrative, appears to have early adopted the military profession, and having distinguished himself in the parliamentary army during the civil war, was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.§ He belonged to the Marquis of Argyle's regiment, which was sent to Ireland in 1642, and was recalled in 1645, to oppose the victorious progress of Montrose.* He was taken prisoner at the battle of Kilsyth.† When Charles II. came to Scotland in 1650, the Parliament ordered two regiments of Life Guards to be embodied, one of horse and the other of foot, to be composed of "the choicest of the army, and fittest for that trust." Lord Lorn was appointed Colonel, and Wallace Lieutenant-Colonel, of the foot regiment of guards.‡ Wallace was present at the battle of Dunbar, so disastrous to the Scots, and was taken prisoner on that occasion.‖ In a petition read in Parliament on the 30th of December that year, Lord Lorn says, "In respect my Lieutenant-Colonel has, in God's good providence, returned to his charge, whose fidelity in this cause is well known both in Ireland and in this kingdom, and that his losses are very many and great, I do humbly desire that your Majesty, and this high Court of Parliament, may be pleased in a particular manner to take notice of him, that he may not only have a company appointed him, but likewise something may be done for his satisfaction of his former losses." Upon this petition the committee of bills reported "that Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace may be referred to the Committee of Estates, that he may be assigned to some part of the excise, or maintenance, forth of the shire of Ayr, or any other of the shires in the south;" and the house referred the petition, and the several members thereof, to the consideration of the Committee of Estates, "that such course may be taken thereanent as they shall think fitting."§

* Wodrow, i. app. p. 91, 93, 109.

† Statistical Account of Scotland, (Parish of Dundonald,) vol. vii. p. 620.

‡ Notes communicated by John Riddell, Esq.

‖ "*May* 5, 1601.—Joannes Wallace, senior, de Dundonald haeres masculus tallie et provisionis Roberti Wallace de Collane." (Inq. Retorn. Perth, 73.) In 1640 the lands of Dundonald became the property of Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon. (Act. Parl. Scot. v. 656: comp. v. 28.) The lands of Auchans and Dundonald were acquired from the Earl of Dundonald in 1724, by Robert Wallace of Holmston, W. S. who sold them in 1726 to the Earl of Eglinton.

§ Burnet's Own Times, i. 341. Edin. 1753.

* Carte's Ormond, i. 310. Baillie's Letters, ii. 274.

† "Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace" is mentioned among the prisoners. (Monteith's Hist. of the Troubles, 218.) He is called "Colonel Wallace" in the Memoirs of Montrose, p. 171. Edin. 1819.

‡ Sir James Balfour's Annals, iv. 84, 85. Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 568.—"At his Majesty's command, Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon King at Arms, set down the devices upon the ensigns and colours of his Majesty's foot regiment of Life Guards. Those of the Lieutenant-Colonel were azure, an unicorn, arg.; and on the other side "in grate gold letters," these words, "Covenant for Religione, King, and Kingdomes."—(Balfour's Annals, vol. iv. p. 85.)—When Wallace afterwards appeared at Pentland, it could scarcely be said that he deserted his standard, or changed his *device*.

‖ Among the prisoners mentioned in Cromwell's despatch are, "Lieutenant-General Sir James Lomsden—Lieutenant-Colonel Wallis—Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Forbis," &c.—(Letter from the Lord General Cromwell to the Parliament of England, concerning his proceedings with their army in Scotland, and the late victory God hath given them over the Scottish army there. Printed at Corcke, in the yeare of our Lord God 1650.)

§ Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 568. On the 10th of June 1651, the committee recommend that certain sums be given "from the contributions through the country," to Colonel William Lumsden, and some other officers taken at Dunbar, "on account of their sufferings and deservings." But Wallace is not among them.—

It is probable that he lived retired after the Restoration, until the year 1666, when his attachment to the Presbyterian religion, and the liberties of his country, induced him to take part with those who had recourse to arms in defence of that cause. On joining them he was unanimously chosen as the person best qualified to take the command, although his modesty has made him pass over this circumstance in his narrative.*

In the appearance which he made at this time, and in accepting the dangerous post to which he was chosen, Wallace could be actuated only by the most disinterested motives. He had no private quarrel to revenge; he had given no personal offence to the government; and, as he was not involved in the circumstances which led to the first rising, he had no cause to be alarmed for his own safety. The prospects, when he first engaged in the design, were far from being flattering, especially to one of his knowledge and experience in military affairs, and he had it in his power to retire, as others did, after he reached the west, and saw the real state of those who were in arms. Nor was his conduct, during the short time that he commanded, discreditable to his military talents; especially when we take into consideration the small number of men which he had under him, the miserable manner in which the most of them were equipped, and the want of inferior officers to conduct them. "Wallace himself was a gentleman godly and resolute; but such an undertaking was for a man of miracles."† By the line of march which he chose, he gave an opportunity to the friends of the cause, in the most populous counties, if they had been disposed, to join its standard. He prevented General Dalziel from obtaining that advantage which he sought, for attacking him during his march.‡ If the government had been disposed to suppress the insurrection without bloodshed, he gave them an opportunity of accomplishing this by the moderate letter which he sent to the General of the royal forces. The ground which he chose on Rullion Green, and the disposition which he made of his men, was the very best, when he had to oppose an enemy three times the number of his own troops. By fighting at the time he did, instead of delaying, as he knew he could easily do, he provided for the better escape of his men, in the event of their being worsted; and, indeed, the loss actually sustained was less than it would in all probability have been, if, without engaging, he had disbanded his army during the night. The battle of Pentland-hills was a well-fought field, not a disgraceful rout, like that which afterwards happened, under a very different leader, at Bothwell-bridge.

On the loss of the battle, Colonel Wallace left the field in company with Mr. John Welsh, and taking a north-westerly direction along the hills, escaped the pursuit of the enemy. After riding to a sufficient distance, they turned their horses adrift, and slept during the remainder of the night in a barn. Having concealed himself for some time, Wallace at last got safely out of the kingdom.‖ The battle of Pentland was fought on the 28th of November, and on the 4th of December, the Privy Council issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from harbouring or corresponding with Colonel Wallace, or any of those who had been in arms with him, under pain of being treated as accessary to the late rebellion. And, on the 15th of August, Wallace, and six others who had absconded, were found guilty and condemned to be executed as traitors, when they shall be apprehended, and all their lands and goods to be forfeited to his Majesty's use.§ This sentence was ratified by Parliament in 1669,* and was rescinded at the Revolution.†

For several years Colonel Wallace was obliged to wander from one part of the continent to another for the sake of security. For the same reason he assumed the name of Forbes.‡ In the year 1670 he was on the borders of Germany.‖ When he thought the search after him had relaxed, he took up his residence at Rotterdam; but he was not allowed to remain there undisturbed. On the 27th of June 1676, Charles II. wrote to the States General, requiring them, agreeably to an article in a treaty between the two countries, to cause Wallace, with Mr. Robert Macward and Mr. John Brown, ministers, to remove from their territories, as persons guilty of lese-majesty against the King of Great Britain.§ Mr. Brown, in a paper of information which he gave in to the States General, after referring to the refusal of the States to comply with a similar demand in 1670,¶ mentions that the present application had been instigated by one Henry Wilkie, whom the King had placed at the head of the Scottish factory at Campvere, who was displeased because many of his countrymen, with the view of enjoying the ministry of Messrs. Macward and Brown, had repaired to Rotterdam, and brought their shipping there, in preference to Campvere, by which means his salary was impaired. Mr. Brown denies, that either he or his colleague was ever convicted of treason, and begges the States to require, from Sir William Temple, the English ambassador, a copy of the sentence pronounced against them; as this would show that the article in the treaty did not apply to them, and might be the means also of freeing Wallace from a prosecution, which had commenced principally on their account. "But (continues he) it may be hinted to Sir William Temple, that James Forbes, *alias* Wallace, is a brave and skilful soldier, and may create more trouble to the King at home and Scotland, if he be forced to remove hence, than he can do by remaining here in the Netherlands, and discharging the office of an elder in the Scottish church at Rotterdam."** The States General were satisfied that they were not bound by the treaty to remove the ministers; and they instructed Lord Beuningen, their ambassador at the court of England, to represent to his Majesty, that they hoped he would not require them to put away persons who had complied with the sentence of banishment pronounced against them; and to wave, in the best and discreetest manner, the forementioned matter, as being in the highest degree prejudicial to their country.†† But instead of the affair being dropped, other letters were sent from England repeating the demand in stronger language, and Sir William Temple left Nimeguen, where he was employed in the negociations for a peace then going on, and came to the Hague, for the express purpose of urging a categorical and speedy answer.‡‡

(MS. Register of the Committee of Estates, January—March, 1651, p. 54.)

* Kirkton, 236. Wodrow, i. 247; app. p. 107.

† Ibid. 245.

‡ Council's letter, apud Wodrow, i. 247.

‖ Kirkton, 244, 245. Wodrow, i. 252.

§ Wodrow, i. app. book ii. Nos. 8 and 15.

* Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 562. See before, p. 445.

† Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 165.

‡ Wodrow, i. 434. Mr. John Carstairs, in a letter to Mr. Macward, August 16, 1675, says "I salute worthie Mr. Forbese." And in another letter to the same,—February 16, 1676, he says, "I kindly salute—Mr. Forbese." (Wodrow MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. lix, art. 36 and 47.)

‖ "Where did ye see James Wallace last?" *Ans.* "Towards the borders of Germany some years ago." (Examination of Mr. James Mitchel before the Commissioner and Council, February 1674, in Naphtali, p. 374. Edin. 1761.)

§ Macward MSS. in Advocates Library: Jac. V. i. 10, no. 72.

¶ This demand related to Messrs. Robert Trail, elder, John Neave, and Robert Macward. (Ibid. no. 70: comp. Sir William Temple's Letters, ii. 226, 235, 237.)

** Informatio de statu et conditione Joannis Brown: MSS. *ut supra*, no. 64.

†† Extract from the Register of States General, apud Wodrow, i. 434, 435.

‡‡ MSS. *ut supra*, nos. 75 and 77. Besides the above-mentioned affair, it was one object of the ambassador's visit to the Hague to have a private interview with the Prince of Orange, and to obtain a pledge from him that he was friendly to a general peace, and averse to the Dutch concluding a separate treaty

Upon this the States General, to prevent a quarrel with Great Britain, judged it prudent to yield; but they failed not to represent their sense of the injustice of the claim made upon them. In their letter of the 22d of January 1677, they say:—"We are willing to testify how sensible we are of the honour of your friendship and good will, and that we prefer it to all other considerations, assuring your majesty that we will not fail to cause the said Macward, Brown, and Wallis, to depart, within the time mentioned in the treaties, from the bounds of this country. We find ourselves, however, obliged to represent to your Majesty, that we believe you will agree with us that the obligation of the treaties is reciprocal; and that, according to the laws of this country, we cannot by our letters declare any person fugitive or a rebel, unless he has been recognised as such by sentence or judgment of the ordinary criminal court of justice, and that your Majesty could not pay any regard to any letters of ours making a similar declaration, unless accompanied by such sentence or judgment. And as thus we cannot require of your Majesty to remove any one from your kingdoms as a rebel or fugitive on a simple declaration made by our letters, so we assure ourselves, Sir, that your Majesty will not in future require us by simple letters to remove any person from our territories, before he be declared a fugitive or rebel, according to the ordinary forms of the laws and customs of your Majesty."*

The following is the resolution to which the States General came, as translated from an authenticated copy of the original in Dutch. "By the resumpt delivered on the report of M. M. van Heuckelom and others, their High Mightinesses' commissioners for foreign affairs, having, in compliance with, and for giving effect to that Resolution Commissorial of the 16th instant, examined and discussed the memorial of Sir Temple, baronet, envoy extraordinary of his Majesty the king of Great Britain, requesting their H. M. would be pleased to ordain their said commissioners to enter into a conference with him; as also a missive of the king of Great Britain, dated at Whitehall the 29th of December last, *stilo Angliae*, respecting his Majesty's former letters of the 27th June and 18th of November before, concerning three Scotsmen, James Walles, Robert Macward, and John Brown; and having conferred with the said Amb. Ext., Temple, regarding the contents of it, and having also seen the *retroacta*, and exhibited and heard read a draught of a missive, drawn out and committed to paper by the commissioners of their H. M. for an answer to the missives of his Majesty of Great Britain of the 27th of June, 18th November, and 29th December last, respecting the foresaid Scotsmen: It is found good hereby to declare, that although the foresaid three Scotsmen—have not only not behaved and comported themselves otherwise than as became good and faithful citizens of these states, but have also given many indubitable proofs of their zeal and affection for the advancement of the truth, which their H. M. have seen with pleasure, and could have wished that they could have continued to live here in peace and security;—considering the risk they run, however, and considering with what pressing earnestness his Majesty has repeatedly insisted, by three several missives, and verbally through his envoy extraordinary, and with great reason apprehending a breach between his M. and these States, as Sir Temple has expressed himself on the subject in terms that cannot be mistaken, they feel themselves necessitated, in order to obviate so great an evil at this conjuncture, to cause the foresaid three Scotsmen—withdraw from this country; and that consequently notice shall be given to the foresaid James Walles, Robert Macward, and John Brown, in order that they may be able to avail themselves of the good intentions of their H. M. in having their property properly disposed of before the 5th of March next;—and for this end, an extract of this resolution of their H. M. shall be sent to the counsellours of the States of Holland and Westfriesland, in order that due notification may be given, and the foresaid James Walles, &c. may regulate their proceedings accordingly. They shall also find enclosed, for their behoof, separate instruments *ad omnes populos*, word for word with the following, which shall be sent to the foresaid commissioners of the Council of the H. and M. the States of Holland, to be put into the hands of the foresaid James Walles, &c. The instrument or testimonial referred to in the preceding decree runs in the following terms:—"The States General of the United Netherlands, to all and every one who shall see or read these presents, health. Be it known and certified that James Wallace, gentleman, our subject, and for many years inhabitant of this state, lived among us highly esteemed for his probity, submission to the laws, and integrity of manners. And therefore we have resolved affectionately to request, and hereby do most earnestly request, the Emperor of the Romans, and all Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, States, Magistrates, or whomsoever else our friends, and all that shall see these presents, that they receive the said James Wallace in a friendly manner, whensoever he may come to them or resolve to remain with them, and assist him with their council, help, and aid; testifying that for any obliging, humane, or kindly offices done to him, we shall be ready and forward to return the favour to them and their subjects whensoever an opportunity offers. For the greater confirmation whereof, we have caused these presents to be sealed with our seal of office, and signed by the president of our assembly, and have ordered them to be countersigned by our first secretary, in our assembly, the sixth day of the month of February, in the year one thousand, six hundred, and seventy-seven."*

With what reluctance the States took this step appears from the report which Sir William Temple made to his court. "The business of the three Scotch ministers* (says he) hath been the hardest piece of negociation that I have ever yet entered upon here, both from the particular interests of the towns and provinces of Holland, and the general esteem they have of Mackaird being a very quiet and pious man; but chiefly from the firm persuasion they have of not being obliged to it by any bare letter of his Majesty, without any sentence having passed against them, by which they are adjudged rebels and fugitives. And, on the contrary, after a sentence of banishment against Mackaird and Brown, which, they say, is by all writers esteemed wholly to extinquish their subjection, and consequently his Majesty's right of declaring them rebels after they are banished and become subjects to another state. But I have found the king's honour so far engaged in this matter, by three several letters which must have been public, that I have left no sort of arguments unessayed with the prince, the pensioner, and deputies both of the provinces and towns, to procure his Majesty's satisfaction, and make it pass for a thing so necessary to despatch, that it hath taken up two long debates in the States of Holland these two days past, though their meeting was intended but for five days, and for no other business but the levies of monies necessary for the campaign."‡

with France. (Sir William Temple's Letters, vol. iii. p. 258, 278.)

* Au Roy de la Grande Bretagne. MSS. *ut supra*, no. 78.

* Extract uijt het Register der Resolutien vande Ho. Mo. heeren Staten General der Vereenighde Nederlanden. Sabbathi den 6. Februarii 1677. (Signed) J. De Mauregnault, Rt. (and below) H. Fagel.—(MSS. *ut supra*, no. 81.)

† Wallace is here spoken of as a minister, though it is evident from the correspondence, that both parties were quite aware of his real profession.

‡ Sir William Temple's Letters, vol. iii. p. 291, 292: comp. 248, 268, 311.

Mr. Brown was allowed to remain in the country, on the attestation of a physician that his health would be endangered by his removal.* It is not improbable that Mr. Macward also remained, in the way of keeping himself concealed for a short time; but Wallace was obliged to remove, and took up his residence either on the borders of France, or of the Spanish Netherlands. During this seclusion he addressed the following pious and well-written letter to "the Lady Caldwell."

"ELECT LADY, AND MY WORTHIE AND DEAR SISTER,

"Your's is come to my hand in most acceptable tyme. It seems that all that devils or men these many years have done (and that has not been lytle) against yow, to dant your courage, or to make yow in the avoweing of your master and his persecuted interests to loore your sailes, hes prevailed so lytle, that your fayth and courage is upon the groweing hand, ane evidence indeed as to your persecuters of perdition, bot to yow of salvation and that of God. It seems when you at first by choyce tooke Christ by the hand to be your Lord and portion, that yow wist what yow did; and that, notwithstandeing of all the hardnesses yow have met with in bydeing by him, your heart seems to cleave the faster to him. This sayes yow have been admitted unto much of his company and fellowship. My sowle blesses God on your behalf, who hath so caryed to yow that I think yow may take those words amongst others spoken to yow, 'Yow have continued with me in my aflictions: I apoynt unto you a kingdom.' It seems suffering for Christ, loseing any thing for him, is to yow your glory, is to yow your gayn. More and more of this spirit maye yow enjoye, that yow may be among the few (as it was said of Caleb and Joshua) that follow him fullie, among the overcomers, those noble overcomers mentioned, Revel. ii. and iii. among those to whom only (as pickt out and chosen for that end) he is sayeing, 'Yow are my witnesses.' Lady, and my dear sister, I am of your judgement; and I blesse his name that ever he counted me worthie to appear in that roll. It is now a good many years since the master was pleased to even me to this, and to call me forth to appear for him; and it is trew those fortie years bygone, (as to what I have mett with from the world) I have been as the people in the wildernes; yet I maye saye it, to this howre, I neuer repented my ingadgments to him, or any of my owneings of him; yea these rebutes, to say so, I gott from men wer to me my joye and crowne, because I know it was for his sake I was so dealt with; and this, it being for his sake, I was ready in that case (as Christ sayes) when men had taken me upon the one cheek, for his sake, to turn to them the other. Never was I admitted to more neernes, never was my table better covered, than since I left Rotterdam. Let us take courage, and goe on as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, endureing hardnes. O for more fayth! O for more fayth among his people! As to this people, there is nothing to be seen in their waye that is promiseing of any good; bot, on the contrar, O! I feare the Lord hes given them up unto their own hearts' lusts. They doe indeed walke in their owne counsels. That same spirit of persecution, and these same principles, that are among yow are heir; bot as God is faythfull, they shall be all brocken to pieces, and turned backe with shame, that hate Zion. Wayt but a lytle; they are diggeing the pit for themselves. The Lord hath founded Zion, and the poore of the people shall trust in it. Let us mynd one another. My love to all friends whom you knowe I love in the Lord. God's grace be with yow, and his blessing upon your lytle ones, whom he hath been a father to. In him I rest.

Your's as formerly, JA. WALLACE."*

The good lady to whom this letter was addressed was the widow of William Mure of Caldwell,† an intimate friend of Wallace, and a defender of the same cause, who died at Rotterdam on the 9th of February 1670. A collection of his dying sayings has been preserved by one of his friends, who apologizes for not having done justice to the speaker, by setting his words down with "that order, liveliness, and elegance of phrase wherein he had a peculiar happiness." Referring to the cause of his banishment, he said, "I am in perfect peace and quiet of mind. There is no inconsistency between obeying of God and man. Help, O Lord! we can have no liberty but what is clogged (as we apprehend) with great slavery. If we cannot get living in the world like men, let us be helped to die like men, in the avowing of the truth of our God. I desired help and liberty to the kingdom, that subjects might have leave to live without the daily hazard of their lives. I desired ever to be on truth's side. It is very sad that the rule of conscience should be the will of men. We refer, O Lord, the pleading of our right to thee. If we, or other poor people, that own a principle of subjection to magistrates according to truth, and binding to obedience in all things that can be called for from us in the Lord, have committed any wrong, or given such ground of offence that thereby the authority of magistrates seems to be much demolished and blasted, we seek pardon; if, I say, we have given any such ground of offence, whereof we are not yet convinced, though we do confess we be much unfitted many times to express the truth of matters, so as might take off the mutual jealousies that are crept in upon the spirits of all flesh."‡

Colonel Wallace ventured back to Holland and died at Rotterdam in the year 1678, "lamented of all the serious English and Dutch of his acquaintance, who were many;" and, in particular, the members of the congregation of which he was a ruling elder, bemoaned "his death, and their loss, as of a father." To the last he testified his attachment to the public cause which he had owned, and his satisfaction in reflecting

* MSS. *ut supra*, art. 65, 83.—Mr. John Brown, in his Testament, April 2, 1676, bequeathed 100 guineas to the poor of the Scots congregation. In a codicil dated 11th September, the same year, he appointed the above sum to be put into the hands of *Mr. Wallace*, to be given out by him to such as he knoweth indigent and honest.—"For a token to Mr. Macward, I leave the Complutensian Bible, six volumes, and the half of the remanent gold which I have, —— *the other half to Mr. Wallace.*"—Mr. Brown, having survived Colonel Wallace, has drawn his pen through the words in Italics. (Macward MSS. Jac. V. i. 10, art. 90.)

* This letter is addressed on the back, "For the Lady Caldwell, at Glasgow." (MSS. in Advocates Library, Jac. V. 2, 26, art. 19.)

† William Mure of Caldwell succeeded his brother James in 1654, and married Barbara, daughter of Sir William Cunninghame of Cunninghamhead. (Inq. Retor. Renfrew, 144. Crawford's Renfrew, 307.) In 1666 he came out at the head of a company with the intention of joining Colonel Wallace, but was unable to effect his purpose, as will be found stated in the subsequent Narrative. Having made his escape into Holland, he was forfeited in absence, and his estate given to General Dalziel. (Wodrow, i. app. nos. xvi. xviii.) An ioquest *de possess. quing.* of the lands of Caldwall was granted in favour of Dalziel, September 3, 1675. (Decret. Conc. Secr. comp. Inq. de Poss. Quinq. no. 4.) Mrs. Mure having neglected to take infeftment before the forfeiture, was deprived of the liferent provided for her by her marriage-settlement; in consequence of which, she was reduced to the necessity of supporting herself with the labour of her own hands. Having returned to Scotland after her husband's death, she was imprisoned, along with one of her daughters, on suspicion of having had a conventicle in her house, and treated with great inhumanity. (Wodrow, ii. 285, 286.)

John Caldwell of Caldwell appeared along with Mure, and shared the same fate. In the indictment he is styled John Caldwell of Caldwell, younger; and, by the witnesses, Goodman of Caldwell, younger. (Wodrow, i. app. 109, 110.) His father was the representative of an ancient but decayed family, and he himself appears to have been the last of the line. (Crawford's Renfrew, 44. Wodrow, i. 268; ii. 423, 424, 478: comp. Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 317.)

‡ Account of the dying expressions of the Laird of Caldwell MSS. *ut supra*, art. 23.

on what he had hazarded and suffered in its defence.* He left behind him a son; and it appears that the sentence of forfeiture against him had not been carried into execution during his life-time.†

It has been asserted by some writers that the rising suppressed at Pentland was premeditated, and the result of a plan concerted with the Whigs of England and the Republicans of Holland. That the people, goaded by oppression, had talked among themselves of resisting the impositions and pillages to which they were exposed, it is natural to suppose; and it appears also, that some of the better classes had held consultations on the propriety or practicability of redressing the wrongs of their injured country. It has been mentioned in a preceding part of this work, that a plan was formed, in July 1666, for seizing on the principal forts in the kingdom, but that the plot had miscarried.‡ By subsequent inquiries I have ascertained that the persons embarked in this scheme had carried on a correspondence with the government of the United Provinces, then at war with Great Britain, and received promises of assistance from that quarter. This appears from the following extract from the register of the secret resolutions of the States General, dated July 15, 1666. "It was notified in the assembly, that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion in the dominions of the king of Great Britain, who had resolved, without delay, to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from constraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and to do their utmost to get possession of some one or more towns or fortresses lying in the foresaid King of Great Britain's dominions. Their High Mightinesses therefore feel themselves here called upon to give assurance, that how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and munition of war expedited to such town." Among the articles to be sent are the following: For the foot, 3000 muskets, 1000 match-locks, 1500 pikes, with side-arms for the musketeers and pike-men, and ten brass field-pieces: For the cavalry, 2000 brace of pistols, all with snaplocks, and 1000 horsemen's carabines. Besides the supplies in arms and ammunition, a subsidy of 150,000 *gulden* was promised. The extract is signed by the president, Van Vrijbern: and the pensionary, De Witt, intimates formally, that "no time shall be lost in getting every thing ready in conformity with the resolution of the States General, when wanted."* There are letters from Macward to Brown, written, as late as September and October that year, in a concealed style, but evidently referring to the above-mentioned transaction.† They speak of a Mr. Wallace; but as the other names are obviously fictitious, this affords no ground for supposing that the colonel was the person referred to. Who were the leading men in Scotland, in whose names this correspondence with Holland was carried on, or by what means they expeeted to get possession of the forts alluded to, I have not been able to discover.

It does not seem, however, that there was any connexion between that plot and the rising in Galloway, which appears to have originated solely in the accidental scuffle between a small party of soldiers and some countrymen, to which it has been usually ascribed. The privy council were unable, by all their inquiries, aided by the utmost severities of the torture, to elicit or extort the slightest evidence of previous concert among those who betook themselves to arms, or of any correspondence between them and foreigners; and being at last convinced that the insurrection was unconcerted, they resolved on abandoning, or at least mitigating that system of arbitrary and intolerable oppression, which had driven the people to extremities. Bishop Burnet represents "some fiery ministers," whom he names as the "chief incendiaries."‡ The following statement by one of those whom he accuses, which bears internal marks of candour, goes to show that the ministers, instead of inflaming, endeavoured to restrain the spirit of the people. It will serve also as a proper introduction to the subsequent Narrative, by supplying a new and summary account of what took place in Galloway and at Dumfries, before colonel Wallace joined the party.

"The soldiers drove the ministers out of Galloway and Niddisdale, where the meetings were most frequent. So, many of them came privately to Edinburgh and lurked there, and preached more privately. At which time soldiers did sadly distress the country, where the meetings had been, and those that went not to church, by fining, imprisoning, driving of their cattle, which did much exasperate the people; so that some of them were busy to traffic through their own country, and the west, and other places, for some appearance for their own relief and deliverance from the persecution. Several, both gentlemen and others, did regret the same; and after going to and from for advice and assistance, and consulting about the same, and seeking the Lord therein, some were for appearing in an hostile way, and some not; and so it was put off from one time to another. At last I was advised by some friends to go privately into Galloway or the borders of it, to be informed of their case and what they designed to do, and to report at Edinburgh. I went accordingly, and met with several of their leading men, who were longing for an opportunity of appearing together for their defence. I told them, it was not rashly to be done, but well advised with others in other places. So we sent to the west and elsewhere for counsel in the matter, and to come back within ten days. In the mean time excellent Monrieff, a laird in Galloway, the greatest Christian that I knew in his station, going to Edinburgh, came to me where I was privately. I desired him to tarry for the next meeting, and told him when and where it was, which he did. So we, going to the place of meeting at the time appointed, and being met together, they told us, that Barscobe and some others of the people were fallen foul with some of the soldiers quartered in the country, and had hurt some and secured several of them; the report of which going to

* See Macward's letter to Blackadder, December $\frac{1}{15}$, 1678, giving an account of Wallace's death, in the Appendix.

† "Anent a petition presented by Sir William Ker, derecter of his Majesties chancellarie, shewing that the petitioner being ingadged as cautioner for the deceast Earle of Louthane, his father, for severale debts and soumes of money, and particularly for the soume of four thousand merks and annualrents due to Wallace, sone to Collonel Wallace who commanded at Pentland, 1664; and albeit that there was a proces of forfaulture intented before the justice court against him for his accession to the said rebellion, yet the samen having lyen so long over, he hath now made a conveyance of the foresaid soume to some confident for his own behoofe, who threatens to imprison and apprehend the petitioner, unles he make present payment of the foresaid soumes, thinking thereby to frustrat his Majestie and his donator of any benefite they may have by the said forfaulture; and which, with their joyneing with other small creditors of the petitioners, does incapacitat the petitioner from attending his office; and therefor humbly supplicateing that the council would appoint the advocat to insist in the forsaid process of forfaulture; and in the mean time, to grant to the petitioner the councills protection for such a considerable time as the councill shall think fitt. The Lords of his Majesties privy [council] haveing heard and considered the foresaid petition, doe hereby grant licence to the petitioner to goe about his affaires untill the first day of November next, discharging messengers at armes, officers within burghs, and others, to put any letters of caption, or acts of warding, in execution against the petitioner, for any civill cause or debt during the said space, but prejudice of execution for his Majesties dues, or upon bonds granted for the same." (Decret. Secret. Concil. Sept. 3, 1680.)

‡ See before, p. 433, note.

* Extract uit het Register der Secrete Resolutien van Ho. en Mo. Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden.—(Macward Papers. Jac. V. i. 10, art. 42.)

† Ibid. Jac. V. i. 11, art. 8 and 9.

‡ History of his Own Times, i. 341.

other places of the country, the people did the like with their soldiers. The first occasion of this outfall as I learned was, that they were offering to torture at the fire some honest men that did not comply with them; and Barscobe said soberly to them, 'Why do you use the honest man so?' and looked about a little. Whereupon some of the soldiers offered to them violence. Upon which a woman cried to Barscobe, 'Turn, what are you doing?' And when he looked and saw what they were doing against them, he drew a pistol, wherein there was only tobacco-stapples, and shot at one of them; at which the soldier fell, but I do not remember that he was killed. So it began, and they secured the rest there and elsewhere. Monrieff and I were grieved with this accident, and knew not what advice to give them in the case. Some knew not what to say, but the most forward said, there had been talking enough upon that affair, that it was fit to take that opportunity to appear, which if they did not, Sir James Turner, that was at Dumfries, would come with all his men and destroy the country; and that it was best to prevent that by marching to Dumfries and securing of him. I was truly Laban in the case; but I told, if they were so resolved, I should go straight to the west to acquaint friends there; which I did, riding all night to get soon there. So they went for Dumfries, and chused one Mr. Gray for their head, and they came and took Sir James Turner prisoner, and set him upon a low beast, without his best raiment, and carried him through the town in a despicable manner, where the providence of God was to be seen of that sudden change. There he had been reigning like a king, and lifted up in pride, with insolency and cruelty over the poor people, and so they carried him alongst with them to the west. He told them, if that rising was general they would carry it; if it were but in that corner they could not do it. The old Register, Primrose, (I heard,) said, that the party that had been so favourable to spare Sir James Turner, would not do the business; they had not a spirit. And a worthy knowing minister spoke to the same purpose to me after the defeat. I replied to him, they had a spirit for that for which they were raised up, to give an innocent testimony for the Lord and his oppressed work and people, which had not been given before; neither did the king and the court know the case of the country, and the temper of the people. For they were made to believe, that if a few gentlemen were kept in security, and a few ministers, he would have perfect peace. So that appearance, with the meetings that followed, occasioned the relaxation and liberty which was given by the Indulgence. This was observable of that rising, that several of those who did encourage it in discoursing, and seemed to be frank for it, yet drew back when it came to be made effectual. And if those gentlemen and ministers in the west had risen, when they were there that came from Galloway, it might have done the business; for to speak *humanitus*, after the manner of men, five hundred more men might have obtained a victory; there was such a general dissatisfaction with the alteration of the church government, and the persecution it occasioned. They had many thousand well-wishers at Pentland, that, if they had thought they could have carried with their assistance, would have been there; and so the Commissioner then observed, that, if they had prevailed but a little, they would have got many thousands to join with them. Yea, a great man (I heard) said to that purpose, who proved a great adversary afterward when he became greater."*

One reason why the insurgents were not more numerous was, that the government had previously imprisoned on suspicion the principal gentlemen, especially in the western shires, who were known to be warm friends to presbytery, and even some individuals of a different description, who happened to be dissatisfied with the measures of the administration. Among these were Major-General Montgomery, brother to the Earl of Eglinton; Sir Hew Campbell of Cesnock; Major-General Holborn of Menstrie; Colonel Robert Halket, brother to Sir James Halket of Pitferran; Sir John Cheisly of Carswell; Sir James Stewart, late Provost of Edinburgh; James Dunlop of that ilk; William Ralston of that ilk; and Sir George Munro, "who had taken both the oath of supremacy and declaration."† To these may be added the persons mentioned in the following extract, from a paper which appears to have been drawn up by Sir William Cunningham of Cunninghamhead.

"In the foresaid year 1666 no less was the illegal procedure against several honourable gentlemen, taken up at their own houses, where they were living peaceably, by parties of soldiers haling them to prisons as malefactors; such as were the late Sir William Cunninghame of Cunninghame-head, father to the present Sir William; the late Mr. George Maxwell, father to the present Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, and one of the Senators of the College of Justice; and the late Sir William Muire of Rowallane, grandfather to the present Countess of Glasgow, and several others.—Though never any accusation was brought against them, yet Cunninghamehead, Pollock, and Rowallane, were three years and some odd months detained prisoners in the castle of Stirling, to the prejudice both of their health and estates. Yet could they never learn, even when they were dismissed, the reason why they were imprisoned, neither can it be alledged that they had access to the insurrection that unhappily fell out that year, they being imprisoned some months before there was any such appearance; and it is to be observed, that many, if not all, of these gentlemen were so loyally and zealously affected for the royal family, that during the time of the usurpation, their estates were sequestrated, and they obliged to retire for the safety of their persons."‡

* Life of Gabriel Sempil, written by himself, MS. p. 38—43. Mr. Gabriel Sempil was the second son of Bryce Sempil of Cathcart, and brother of Sir William Sempil. (Douglas. Bar. p. 468.) Both his father and brother were great loyalists, and the latter was with Montrose at Philiphaugh. "Within a short time after, he fell in a great consumption, whereof he died; but before his death he took a great remorse for his malignancy and following that way, and testified the same to all his acquaintances that came to visit him in his sickness." Mr. Gabriel Sempil was minister at Kirkpatrick-Durham in Galloway at the Restoration, and after the Revolution at Jedburgh. He married, 1st, Alison, daughter of Sir Walter Riddell of that ilk; and, 2dly, Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Car of Etal, in Northumberland. His death happened on the 8th of August 1706, in the 75th year of his age.—(Life of Mr. Gabriel Sempil, MS.)—Sir Robert Carr of Etal is the gentleman mentioned by Mr. Veitch, under the name of "Ittall."—(See before, p. 451.)—The Earl of Errol is now the representative of that family.—(Douglas, Peerage, i. 554, 556.)

† Account of Affairs in Scotland, from 1659 to 1675. MS. in the Library of the College of Edinburgh, p. 185. Wodrow, i. 224.

‡ Account of the sufferings of the Lady Caldwell, of the Highland Host, &c. by Sir W. C. of C. MSS. in Advocates Library, No. xxxiii. Jac. V. i. 25, art. 57.

END OF NOTICES OF COLONEL WALLACE.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

RISING AT PENTLAND.

BY COLONEL WALLACE.

[Colonel Wallace's Narrative is introduced by the following sentence in the manuscript in which it has been preserved. "Immediately after the action (of seizing Sir James Turner) they sent two gentlemen to Edinburgh, to give friends account thereof, who met with some honest men, and gave them the foresaid account of the business; and, what followed, see by this account written by him that commanded in chief, Wallace, who was at this meeting and went from Edinburgh to the west, where he met the rest."]

After several men's minds were inquired what was fitting to be done, it was resolved, (because that night was far spent) that to-morrow morning we should all meet at Mr. Robertson's chamber at seven o'clock. In the mean time it was seriously recommended to every man to be serious with God about this particular, that God might direct and determine us herein. Being met to-morrow, without any farther, every man's judgment was asked what should be our carriage in this case, and what every man in particular was clear to do for himself. All was clear that it was our duty to own our brethren in Galloway, yea, and to go to them, and to take share with them in what should be their lot, according to their capacity: and this every man spoke freely, to the great encouragement of one another; only Kaitloch,* he spoke so low, that few heard what he said; but it is said, that what he said was something of his unclearness to join, as the matter was stated. After prayer again, we parted, presently to make off the town. That day, being Friday, Mr. Robison and I went towards Libberton, where he assured me there were forty well-mounted good fellows, upon some few hours warning, ready to go alongst. But when we had stayed till to-morrow at night, our party came but to seven or eight. Always, that night, being Saturday, or Sabbath morning, (being to act something by the way, if some man's promises held) we went away straight to Linton Bridges. Before we came that length, Mr. Robertson and I parted that day, he went away towards Lesmahagow and these parts, and one or two with him, and I went in by Dunsire,† and the rest with me. We rested a while at Dunsire, and prayed, and after a while we got a guide and made towards the place where Mr. Robertson had appointed to meet me; but we found him in his sister's, where we stayed that night; only Mr. Robertson left us that night, and went to try the business above mentioned, desiring us to stay until he either came or sent to us. That same night being Sabbath night, at eight o'clock, came sure intelligence that Wicketshaw* was marched away that same night, with a considerable number of Carluke parish, towards the Galloway people, and that several other particular persons were gone with them. There we waited till Monday morning at day light, and then getting a guide, we make away straight to Mauchline, and by the way sent the guide to Robert Lockhart's house,† to inquire of Mr. Robertson where he was, where we got notice where he was, but that he was going away to the party. We thought strange he should have left us in such a condition. While we were coming towards the place, we met one who told us he feared they were gone; and when we came to the house they were gone: but about that house I saw two men, one whereof I perceived was Andrew Gray. He was in so uncouth a posture, with such a beggar like habit, and looking with such an abashed countenance, I was astonished and could not speak for a long time. Always he forbids me to be afraid; he tells me the Lord had favoured them with good success in the attempt upon Dumfries, and that, howbeit, after the business was done, many came and owned it, that never appeared before, when it was most to be hazarded upon; yet all or most of these gentlemen and countrymen had left it, and gone to their houses, as if there had been no more ado; whereupon he had left them to look to his own safety, being in a very insecure condition then, having been the chief actor in the business.‡ Upon this first

* William Ferguson of Kaitloch, or Caitloch, printed by mistake, *Kaittoch*, in p. 431.

† See before, p. 431.

* "*December 26th* 1663.—Willielmus Lockhart de Wicketschaw, haeres Wilielmi Lockhart de Wicketschaw, patris." (Ret. Inq. Gen. 4752; comp. Kirkton, 234.)

† Kirkton calls him "Captain Robert Lockhart." (Hist. p. 234. Robert Lockhart of Birkhill, and Robert Lockhart of Bankhead, were forfeited for being in arms at Bothwel. The latter begged mercy, and offering to take the test, appears to have obtained a remission for life. (Wodrow, ii. 159, 323, 324. Act. Parl. Scot. ix. 165. Inq. Retorn. Lanark, 430.)

‡ Kirkton, in his account of the seizing of Sir James Turner, says, "He who was chief in the party that took him was one Andrew Gray, ane Edinburgh merchant, who immediately deserted them, as did many more." (Hist. p. 232.) We have already met with him at Newcastle, where he was "in straits," and indebted to Veitch for relief. (See before, p. 436.) This is not very consistent with the story of his having retired with the money and baggage which he had taken from Sir James Turner, as told by Andrew Symson of Kirkinner. (Description of Galloway, 184.) Indeed, Blackader tells us that there

account he gave us, we were uncouthly commoved. But when I began to gather my thoughts, I persuaded myself that Andrew had taken the pett; and that when going to their houses after the service, was that they might settle their affairs before they should go forth again. Upon this I concluded Andrew had taken his leave, or came away very briskly; but that they would not appear again was not rational, especially severals having been gone and going to them whose standing we were no less concerned in than theirs. Upon this a grieved and discontented man, I parted with Andrew Gray, fearing what ill he might and would do.

Away we came to a town within two miles of Evandale, where we stayed that night. To-morrow morning after several children being baptized, and after meeting with Andrew Rob of Wailslie,* whom we found not clear enough to join, though his health would, which he pretended, but slenderly, to be the lett. He told us likewise that Blackwood would not be sudden, and that he would expect to hear from us ere he moved. Here came likewise one Mr. Archibald Young, from his brother the chamberlain,† offering by commission from his brother, that if we would certify where he might meet us, and satisfy him in this point, who commanded in chief, he would come himself and bring the whole parish of Evandale; but we knew well enough what we might expect from him. After this we go straight towards Mauchline, overtaking by the way severals from Clydesdale, and captain Arnot, whom we had been necessitated to part with the day before, by occasion of his horse running away after he had fallen off him. By the way we got notice of the party's being at Ayr. That night being Tuesday, we stayed at Mauchline, where our dear friend John Ross (who is now in glory) gave us notice that there was so much hazard from Drumlanrick and others, in and about Cumnock, as might cause us not to be secure. That same day had colonel Montgomery ‡ and Gadgirth gone towards Eglington, where they expected Dayell should have been. This was the countenance we were to expect from them. As we marched through the country towards Ayr upon the Wednesday, the ministers were living securely in their own houses, no more moved than if they had not been concerned. Now when it was so with these, what could be supposed would be the carriage of the country?

When we came to Ayr the party was at a rendezvous beyond the Bridge of Doon. In our going out to the party, there was a desire had come from some friends in Cunninghame, that a party might be presently sent to them, for bringing up of some that were ready to come, yet durst not adventure to meet without this party. Captain Arnot was presently sent away with a matter of 30 or 40 horse, and to meet us the morrow at Ochiltree, or where else we should leave him word. After this we go straight to the party, and after saluting them, the party marched off towards Ochiltree; but because it was far in the day, we were necessitated to quarter between Gadgirth and Ochiltree. By this time we got sure intelligence that the General's forces were come to Glasgow, and so found ourselves concerned to look to our guards. To-morrow morning, being Thursday, we marched away to the rendezvous place, on the road to Ochiltree, where Mr. Sempel preached while the party convened. After that we marched in towards Ochiltree, having left the great part of the horse in the country to the west hand of Ochiltree, and nearest the bridge of Barskimen, the only passage of the water at the time: the rest of the horse we sent to the east of Ochiltree, to guard on that hand: the foot we kept in the town. The officers were quartered in the laird's house, where we had but very cold welcome; but I hope whatever incivility we had from the lady, she had none from us. She saw us at our first entry, and said, we have a good cause, and she loved our cause and our persons, but she did not see our call.*

That night we were alarmed from our guard at Barskimin, that the enemy was come with a party to Mauchline. We sent away and strengthened the guard both by foot and horse at the bridge, and caused them to send off this same John Ross towards Mauchline, to see what certainty there was therein. John Ross returns us word that it was only Mr. John Guthrie † with some Tarbolton folks, and a brother of Gadgirth's with them, one Robert Chalmers.‡ For intel-

was little to seize, and that Sir James's trunks "were much emptied, having sent the money he had exacted in oppression to Glasgow before, (as I have heard say) in some loads." (Crichton's Blackader, p. 139.)

* Mr. John Dickson, urging Mr. Macward to use his influence in favour of field meetings, and pointing out the proper persons to whom he should write, mentions "for Clidsdale, Andrew Robe in Walesly, very streight." (Wodrow MSS. lix. Jac. V. i. 26, art. 108.) "Mr. John Rob, son to Andrew Rob in Walsley," in the parish of Evandale, was imprisoned in 1683, and his name is in the fugitive roll of 1684. (Wodrow, ii. 307, app. 110.)

† "*December* 4, 1684. James Young of Linbank, Duke Hamilton's bailie in Strathaven," being brought before the privy council, from Edinburgh prison, was "examined on his libel for reset, contributing money, &c.; and it being restricted to an arbitrary punishment, he adjected sundry alleviating qualities to his confession; but the clerk not having minuted them as frivolous, he refused to sign his oath and deposition." On the 10th of December, he and eight other Clydesdale gentlemen petitioned for license "to transport themselves and their families to the plantations of East New Jersey." This the Lords thought reasonable; "but the High-treasurer stopt it, in regard his Majesty might get L.10,000 sterling by their fines, for their bygone delinquencies, and then would dispose of their bodies by sending them to the plantations thereafter." (Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 317, 319.) He was afterwards fined in 10,000 merks. —(Wodrow, ii. 428: comp. 306. Inq. Retor. Lanark, 216.)

‡ This was Major General Robert Montgomery, according to Kirkton. (Hist. 235.) He was the fifth son to Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglinton, and fought in the parliamentary army during the civil war. (Douglas, Peer. i. 508. Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 243, 557, 587.) In a petition presented to the Privy Council, January 22, 1667, he says, that he had "remained (excepting a little time) now by the space of two years and four months, in the Castle of Stirling." (Wodrow, i. 280.) It is possible that he might be out of confinement when Wallace went to the west country. But it is more probable that the person referred to in the text was the Major General's brother, Colonel James Montgomery of Coilsfield, whose eldest daughter, Margaret, was married to John Chalmers of Gadgirth in Ayrshire. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, by Robertson, p. 258.)

* Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree's lady was Margaret, second daughter of Sir William Strickland of Boynton in Yorkshire. (Playfair's Brit. Family Antiq. vol. vi. p. 327. Douglas, Peer. i. 474.) The Strickland family were favourable to ejected ministers. (Kennet's Chronicle, p. 899.) Walter Strickland, (Lady Cochrane's uncle) who had been agent of the Parliament of England at the Hague, was no friend of the Presbyterians, as appears from the following extract of a letter of his, dated June 6th 1650: "One piece of the cure (viz. of the dangers that threaten your New State) must be *phlebotomy*, but then you must begin before decumbency, and then it will be facile to prevent danger, &c. They are here most of all afraid of your High Court of Justice, which they doubt may much discourage their party. But whosoever that court condemns, let them be as already dead, &c. But let them be most free in cutting the *Vena Cephalica* (that is, the Presbyterian party) for the *Basilica* (or Royal party) will be latent. The *Median* (or Levellers) wou'd be spaired as much as may be, that the body be not too much emaciated. Besides, the blood is most corrupt in the *Cephalicks* (or Presbyterians) and is the very *causa continens* of our disease. You need not fear to take freely of this vein, &c."—(Presbyterian Loyalty, 306, 307.)

† He was brother to Mr. William Guthrie, minister of Fenwick. Having been seized with a violent fit of the gravel, through cold and fatigue, he was obliged to be carried off from the army at Bathgate, and was not present at Pentland. Notwithstanding this, he was tried and forfeited, August 16, 1667. (Wodrow, i. 248; app. 110, 111.) It appears that he was dead before November 1, 1676; for on that day the privy council send "Mary Haldane, relict of Mr. John Guthrie, minister at Tarbolton," and another minister's widow, to prison, "until they shall find caution, under a thousand merks each, to remove from the town of Edinburgh, and six miles round it." (Ib. p. 427.)

‡ He was forfeited, but obtained a remission. (Wodrow, i. 268; app. 113.)

ligence they could only give us, that there was a strong report the Duke's troop was come to Kilmarnock; but they hoped that night we should get the certainty of it, because they had caused John Ross, with three more, to go towards Kilmarnoch, to get certain intelligence. That night, after prayer to God for direction what to do next, it was concluded that we should march eastward. For there was no staying where we were, and there was no expectation of any farther help from the south and southwest hand; Carrick having sent none, for ought I know, except some odd one or other; as for Cunninghame and Renfrew, we had ground to expect any they would send would come to us, with captain Arnot and others we had sent to advertise them and bring them up. Besides this, there was an earnest invitation sent us from Clydesdale, in particular from Blackwood, to come thither; promising us, besides what we might expect in the country, himself and one hundred men with him. Now, we knew the enemy would bestir themselves to meet with us before our friends should come at us, and labour to take us at the weakest, for they wanted not intelligence that same night we came to Ochiltree, by the laird of Barskimen, who had gone towards them from Ochiltree, as we were certainly informed.*

Upon the morrow, being Friday, we marched towards Cumnock, but before we came that length, John Millar in Glasgow, who had been one of those sent off for intelligence, came and told us that John Ross† and the rest of that party were taken prisoners by the Duke's troop, and that he himself had hardly escaped, having lost his horse and arms. This day the enemy's whole body came to Kilmarnock. From Cumnock we marched the same night to the Moorkirk, in a most violent rainy night, and a piece of miserable way, two hours within night, and what accommodation in that condition we could have there, is known to any who knows that place. The poor foot were forced all night, as wet as if they had been drenched in water, to lie in the kirk, without victuals or much fire. That night came the goodman (*alias* Mr. Andrew M'Cormack) to me, about 10 o'clock at night, from his quarters, two miles, to acquaint me that Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart had come to that place, and had been earnestly dealing with him and Mr. Brysone, (*alias* Mr. Gabriel Semple) to follow the business no farther, for there was no ground to expect any help either from Clidesdale or any where else, that might give us any ground to follow it farther; and therefore their advice was, that we would, the fairest way and the handsomest we could, dismiss the people, and let every one see to himself, while (until) the Lord gave some better opportunity. This was so pressed by them, that the goodman was constrained to come away to me, and these with me, the same night. This was the comfort we had from him and Robert Lockhart, under that sad condition of a foul night and ill quarter we were in. Always that same night, I sent away Murreif‡ and the goodman to Mr. John Guthrie, who was at Mr. John Reid's house, a mile off, to acquaint him therewith. To-morrow morning when we met, hearing that captain Arnot was coming up with two hundred men out of Cuninghame, and that there were a hundred more coming out of Galloway, after prayer, it was concluded to march towards Douglas, and, by the way or there, spend some considerable time together upon Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart's proposal. So we marched towards Douglas, having sent back a party for intelligence, and to wait upon captain Arnot's upcoming, who came up; but his two hundred was not forty more nor he carried with him. We came to Douglas on Saturday at night, (Nov. 24) and ordered the whole troops to come in, after they had suppered themselves and their horses, to the town, and bring some forage with them; and the troops to lie together, at such a place appointed for rendezvous, while (until) day;—the whole foot being in the kirk. We were advertised by friends that we would be alarmed that night, so therefore we strengthened ourselves beyond our ordinary guards.

When these things were done, we met all together, and after most serious incalling of the name of God, the matter as spoken by Mr. Robertson and Robert Lockhart, both the thing itself and all the arguments they did urge it by, were held forth; and after a long time's speaking to the full upon the business, first the ministers' own voices were desired, and after them every particular gentleman's own mind was asked. Without one contrary voice all resolved on this, that the coming forth to own that people in Galloway, they were clear, was of the Lord, and in that they had done nothing but followed his call. Second, many friends had promised, yea, not only solemnly promised, but most effectually laboured with others, to come forth. "If these now shall leave us, betwixt them and their master be it; but as for me (said every one) while the Lord himself that bade me come, bid me likewise go, I will not go. Our master whom we serve (we know well, if ever there was a handful about whom he exercised a providence, it is about us) he needs no men, or if he will make use of men, we will not want; and who knows but the service he will have is but of so many whom he has particularly designed? And before we should now so shamefully and cowardly turn our back on him, and steal away from his cause," (they knew that it was but death, if not worse, any life they could have else,) "we should follow on till he should do his service by us, and though we should all die at the end of it, we think the giving of a testimony enough for all." So there was no more of that. Only there was two things proposed: The one was, the renewing of the covenant, which was to have been to-morrow, being the Lord's day, at some kirk by the way towards Lanark: but hearing that the general's forces were come to Straven, we thought it not safe nor convenient: The other was what course should be taken with Sir James Turner. Though there was no quarters given him, yet because of some words by the gentlemen that took him, and because of his being now, after so long

* "Since I wrote this, I have information that the Council of Scotland have sent 2000 foot and 500 horse to quell the rebels; expecting a conjunction of more forces from the Duke of Hamilton, my Lords Anandil, Dumlarick, [Drumlanrick] and others, assuring us they would be able to master them presently."—(Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, Whitehall, November 26, 1666; in Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 429.)

† John Ross was executed at Edinburgh, December 7, 1666. He is one of seven who sign a declaration and testimony, preserved in the Wodrow MSS. No. lx. art. 43, which differs in the arrangement from that which is published in Naphtali, though the tenour of the two papers is the same.

‡ John Maxwell, younger of Murreif (Monreith) was forfeited for being in arms at Pentland. (Wodrow, i. app. 109, 111.) His father, William Maxwell of Monreith, was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Wigton, January 23, 1667, a short time after the suppression of the rising. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 544.) It is doubtful whether Wodrow had the father or the son in his eye, when he gives an account of a narrow escape which "Maxwell of Monerief" made in 1668, by concealing himself in a meal-tub, on which one of the soldiers rapped with his hand as he passed it, swearing in jest, that the Whig might be there. (Wodrow, i. 292.) Mr. Sempil informs us that he went to Ireland, some time after the battle of Pentland, with the lairds of Monereif and Sundewal, whom he styles "two as serious, tender, and public-spirited Christians," as he ever knew. At Dublin Monreith contracted a tympany, of which he died at Benbarb or Armagh. (Sempil's Life, MS. p. 49.) Mrs. Goodall mentions an escape which he made in her house at Armagh. "The officers are sent for my husband, and coming in to our house to the fire-side (where my husband was sitting with Mr. Maxwell, the laird of Moncrief [Monreith] in Galloway, who was but newly come to visit us) say to him, 'Mr. Goodall, you are the King's prisoner.' My husband went hastily with them, and whispered into my ear, 'My dear, dispatch Mr. Maxwell out of our house, lest he be sent for next.' So my husband was imprisoned, and Mr. Maxwell got safely escaped into the country." (MS. Memoir, *ut supra*, p. 10.) John Maxwell of Monreith, *younger*, is the person referred to, both by Mr. Sempil and Mrs. Goodall. (Comp. Inq. Retor. Wigton, 164, 165.)

a time, spared;—for these reasons, this motion of pistoling him was slighted, alas! it is to be feared too much.

As we marched the morrow morning towards Lesmahago, being the Sabbath day, (25th) Knockbreck's two sons * came to us, with some few others. These were the hundred men we had heard were coming from Galloway, for we saw no other. We marched close by Robert Lockhart's house, where Mr. Robertson was with Mr. Robert Lockhart. None of them came out (though it was but three or four paces from the house) to countenance us so much; yet some of our company, in the bycoming, spoke with them, such as Mr. Brysson, Sundaywell, and old worthy Robert Bruce of Skellietoun;† who most freely and faithfully acquitted themselves to them, in particular to Mr. Robertson. That day we perfected the modelling of our forces, wherein we found great want of officers, there not being, to the few number we had, half of the officers requisite, not above four or five that ever had been soldiers before.‡ After this we marched towards Lanark, crossing the water hard by the town.

After our settling the guards, quartering the rest, having given intimation that to-morrow morning (God willing) we intended to renew the covenant, and desiring that every one of them would seriously mind that work that night, and come hither again about day-light for that end, we dismissed them to their quarters and several posts. That night the officers and ministers met, and after incalling on he Lord, hearing there were some arms and ammunition to be found in the town, we caused make search, but found few or none. The morrow morning (26th)we drew together in the rendezvous-place at the head of the town. While we are together, news comes that the enemy are within two miles. Some were against meddling with the renewing of the covenant, the enemy being so near; but the devil prevailed not herein, though gladly would he, that that had not been done. Having sent one with a matter of ten or twelve horse over the water to discover the enemy, and having a settled guard upon the water-side, and upon the boat, we went about it. The foot were drawn up about the tolbooth stairs, where Mr. Guthrie did stand: the horse at the head of the town, where Mr. Brysson and Mr. Crookshanks were actors. It was done with as much joy and cheerfulness as may be supposed in such a condition. They prefaced with speaking on some place of Scripture.‖ . . . . . There were but very few others than ourselves at the doing of it: none, that I know of, of any place or quality in that town or about it being with us. That morning immediately before, came Mr. Thomas Scott, minister of Hawick,* and Major Gilgour, who joined with us in the work.

Immediately after that we had drawn up the whole body, it was resolved (because of our friends hereabout that were to come to us that day, and because of many more expected from West Calder, Shotts, Bathgate, and other parts farther off) that we should march towards Bathgate. After we had marched away, a party commanded by Captain Arnot was sent to wait a considerable time on the water-side and to keep out scouts to watch the enemy's motions; and, after a while's stay, to break the boat and come away, he and the other party that watched in the time of renewing the covenant. Severals did indeed come in that day, more than had three days before. That day the laird of Blackwood came thither. He was most kindly embraced by severals who supposed he had come to join, and had brought his folks with him; but he told, he was come thither, sent by my Lord Duke Hamilton, to see if possible effusion of blood might be shunned, and what we would be at. This, I heard, he spoke of to some. He pretended to no written commission but only verbal; neither did he apply himself to any amongst us who were at that time specially concerned to be spoken to; only, by way of regret to Mr. Brysson and some few others of his acquaintance, he did express himself how grieved the Duke was for the condition of things as they stood; and what it was we would be at before we laid down arms. These things, Mr. Brysson and others said, he had been very overly speaking of; but he never desired a meeting of those whom it most concerned, and of whom he might receive his answer. But how he came and how he went I know not, nor any else, for ought I know. That day he leaves us, having never tabled formally any such thing. This, as it was great simplicity in us to suffer any man come from an enemy to return at his pleasure, so is not his carriage handsome; for to indifferent persons he may be justly looked upon as one abusing the credit he had with us, to the emboldening him to come in amongst us, to see our condition and strength, and to make an account hereof to the enemy; for he left us without good night, and went back to the enemy.

While near night-falling, a strong body of the enemy's horse dogged our rear: but night falling on they fell back. When we came to Bathgate, two hours within night, we can have no accommodation, nay, no cover from an extraordinary rain. We went into a house, such as it was, and after prayer did consider what we should do next: back we might not go, the enemy being in our rear. After much debate, it was thought fit that we should march to-morrow early on the way towards Edinburgh; being confident that, before we could come that length, we would hear from our friends at Edinburgh; as likewise our friends in West Calder and Shotts, or thereabouts, would come to us that way, and meet us to-morrow. But within a very little after the meeting is dissolved, we get an alarm from some of our guards; and though it was a dreadfully dark (though but a little past the height of the moon,) and foul night, yet after that long wearisome march that day before, we were necessitated to

* John and Robert Gordon, sons of Alexander Gordon of Knockbreck, were executed at Edinburgh. (Wodrow, i. 257.) Their names are subscribed to the testimony formerly mentioned. (See before, p. 487.) The sufferings of their father, both before and after they took up arms, are noticed by Wodrow. (i. 257, 265, 425.)

† Skellietoun is perhaps in Lesmahago parish, where there is a Skelliehill. (Fug. Roll. Wodrow, ii. 107.) In 1662, William Bruce of Skellietoun, elder and younger, were fined between them in L.600. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 423.) "Robert Bruce in Hamiltone, one shaken with indulged counsels, though a serious Christian," is mentioned in a letter of Dickson to Macward. (Wodrow MSS. No. lix. Jac. V. i. 26, art. 108.)

‡ The following persons acted as officers under Colonel Wallace: Major Joseph Learmont; Andrew Arnot, John Paton, John M'Lellan of Barscob, John Maxwell, younger of Monreith, and Robert M'Lellan of Balmagachan, captains; Robert Gordon, younger of Knockbreck, a cornet of horse; and Mr. George Cruickshanks, who had a "command." (Wodrow, i. app. 99, 109; Samson's Riddle, 37, 38.) It is highly probable that Major John M'Culloch, who was executed for being at Pentland, (Wodrow, i. app. 92,) was also one of the officers. He was Root-master (Master of Horse) for Wigton and Kirkcudbright in 1645. (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 194.) "Major M'Cullo of Barholme" was fined L.800, by Middleton's act, in 1662. (Ib. vii. 428.) The sufferings of his family are noticed by Wodrow. (Vol. i. p. 257, 425: comp. Inq. Retor. Kirkcudbright, 384.)

‖ "After they had sent out their scouts, the foot gathered together upon the High Street, and Mr. John Guthrie, standing upon the tolbooth stairs, preached to them, and thereafter read the covenant, to which they all engaged, solemnly, with uplifted hands, and great affection. The horse convened at the town-head, where Mr. Gabriel Semple and Mr. John Cruikshanks preached, and then read and renewed the covenant in like manner. Mr. Semple, in his sermon, cited and applied Prov. xxiv. 11, 12, which much affected the people, and, it may be, persuaded some to join them." (Kirkton, 238.)

* He was employed in preaching in Northumberland, along with Welsh, Semple, &c in the year 1677; (Wodrow, i. 436;) and on the 28th of August 1678, he was moderator of a presbyterial meeting at Edinburgh, which dealt with Mr. Richard Cameron about his forwardness, especially in his opposition to the indulged ministers, and in exhorting the people to desert them. (MSS. in Advocates Library. Jac. V. 1, 10, art. 100.) He married Marion Livingston. (Inq. Retor. Gen. 7970.)

draw forth, and calling in the guards, to march at twelve o'clock at night, in one of the darkest nights (I am persuaded) that ever any in that company saw. Except we had been tied together, it was impossible to keep together; and every little burn was a river. We came near the new bridge* about fair daylight; (27th) but O, what a sad sight was it to see the condition we were in, so scattered and utterly undone, what with one thing and what with another! Yet within an hour or two, far beyond our expectation, most part were gathered together; howbeit, many got never up. All this time we never heard less or more from our friends in Edinburgh, which we thought more than wonderful; neither came there any further help to us from the west, whence we expected it. When we drew up on the east side of the new bridge, except some of the chief officers, there was not a captain present with the horse, save one; and, in the mean time cometh an alarm that the enemy was hard at hand, marching unto the same bridge. Judge any man of the posture we were in, having no officers to command the few we had together. Always, a party is sent off presently to make good the bridge; and the body is marched off to take up some fit ground or other to fight on.

While we were marching to a little height above the bridge, Blackwood cometh and assures us, that it was but a false alarm, and that the general was not nearer than Calder, if there. After, the party was sent away to Colington, for to Edinburgh (not hearing any thing from there) we thought it not safe, especially hearing that severals in the country were in arms against us; for they had caused the word to go that there were 40 ships from Holland come to Dunbar, and that we were upon our march thither to join with them. We heard likewise in the country, that Edinburgh and Leith were all in arms.† Now, having no intelligence from our friends, we resolved to march towards Colington bridge. The party being gone, Blackwood then desires to speak with the commanders and others. All that he had to say was, in short to see if he could persuade us to lay down arms upon an act of indemnity which the duke (said he) would labour to procure. He had no written commission from any: what he spoke to this purpose he spoke it not only as sent from the duke, but it was his own judgment we should accept of the offer, and that it would be our best; for in all probability we would not be able to stand before them, both in respect of the number of their men, and of their appointment every way. He spoke something likewise of our sending on to deal for a cessation for some few days, until matters were understood. We asked, if he had any such motion from them to us: he answered, not. After some freedom used to himself, to take good heed in his carriage in that matter, as being no small concernment to him so to do, being looked upon by us as a real friend and servant to that interest we were here for, to see well that he walked straghtly in his dealings both with us and them—after this, without any thing done, we parted with him, seeing no ground whereupon we could do any thing.

We sent away some few horsemen to bring in some victuals, in case the quarters at night had not been well provided. Now, having had such a weary journey from Lanark, and from Bathgate, having gotten so little rest and refreshment—for these reasons we resolved, Colington being the most secure place, to let the horse go out a mile with bilgets, to refresh themselves and horses; and return before night fall, bringing some forage with them. Accordingly we did, having provided the best way we could for the foot within the town, and furnished such as wanted with what we sent for from the country. Guards being set, the officers went to their quarters. We were not well there when Blackwood* comes again, and the laird of Barskiming with him. It was thought very strange how he or any man had passed the guards, but men not knowing discipline are not to be looked upon as others. Besides the renewing the same things he spoke of before, Blackwood added that, in reference to what he had been speaking of our seeking a cessation for some time, that the general had parolled to him, that, till his coming back to-morrow morning early, that he might bring our answer, the general should not encroach upon us, nor wrong us; and that, upon the general's doing this, he himself had taken upon him, in our names, to parole the like for us, that we should not encroach upon him, nor wrong him, while that time; which (as he thought) would be about eight or nine hours in the morning. Barskiming indeed added, that we should not enlarge our quarters: but Blackwood himself flouted at that. All that we said to Blackwood that night was, as to his parolling in our name; we did not understand this way of his; howbeit, it was very like there would none of us wrong other that time, being both dark and foul; and if he stayed that night he might see it. He seemed to be feared for our going to Edinburgh or Leith, from which we heard nothing from our friends; only in the country we heard they were all in arms; and that considerable persons were gone from the country to join with Dalyell: that the ports were all shut.

Upon Wednesday morning, (28th) about daylight, Blackwood calls to be gone; now Barskiming had slipped away very early, and stayed not upon him, yet I am confident Blackwood knew of his going. Now, because of the condition we were in, being not above 800 or 900 men, and these most part without arms, and now being out of expectation of any supplies, except what little help Major Gilgour had told us of, we might expect from Tiviotdale, which was both very uncertain and inconsiderable; and considering the miserable condition of the weather we had gotten all that eight days before, and the sore marches night and day in our seeking to call out and gather together our friends; and what influence these things had upon our spirits to discourage and break us, besides the influence they had on our bodies—for these reasons we were to have sent one of our number with Blackwood to the general Dalyell, by whom we might represent our grievances and the grounds of our thus appearing in arms; but because we had none, whom we might spare, fit for the employment, but one, whom Blackwood told us, not being a law-biding man, would not be acceptable, for this cause we forbare, and resolved (Blackwood being come to us without any formal commission, only pretending he was sent to us to speak what I told you before) to write back to Dalyell with him, though he had not written at all to us. Accordingly the letter is drawn to this purpose; that, because of intolerable insolencies of the prelates and their insupportable op-

* "They came forward through Bathgate, east through Broxburn, and along the New Bridge, and thence towards Collington." (Life of Alexander Reid, p. 16, 17.)

† November 23, 1666, the town council of Edinburgh caused make a proclamation for preventing and discovering the joining with those now in rebellion. Their treasurer is appointed to pay "six horse hire that went to Lithgow with ammunition. The privy council's order for taking notice of such as pass at Leith sent down to the bailies thereof." (Record of Town Council.)

* William Lawrie married Mariot Weir, heiress of Blackwood, and was tutor of Blackwood during the minority of his son and grandson. (Douglas, Bar. 155. Inq. de Tutela, 1056.) He was imprisoned immediately after the battle of Pentland, probably on account of the intercourse he had held with the insurgents; and after a gradual relaxation, was liberated from confinement on the 9th of October, 1667, on enacting himself to keep the peace under pain of 5000 merks. (Decreta Secr. Conc. March 7 and 21, Aug. 1, and Oct. 9, 1667.) He was one of the witnesses against Colonel Wallace. (Wad. i. ap. 107.) In 1683 he was brought to trial for intercourse with the rebels at Bothwell Bridge, and condemned to be executed; a sentence which excited great alarm, but which was not carried into execution. (Fount. Dec. i. 213—215. Wod. ii. 293—295. Act. Parl. Scot. viii. app. 33—35.)

pressions, all ways of remonstrating or petitioning being taken from us, we were necessitated to draw together, that jointly we might the more securely petition his Majesty and council for redress; but in respect that his excellency was not there, by whom we intended to present our supplication, to interpose for a favourable hearing thereof, and that we knew not when the council-day would be, we did desire of his excellency not only to be acquainted with the diet, but that we might have a blank-pass to a person whom we might send with our petition; and we had desired the same gentleman who had come to us from his excellency, might have the answer, who would be careful of its coming to our hands. In the close there was mention of one of our soldiers killed in our quarters, notwithstanding the parole mentioned by Blackwood. The letter was subscribed by Wallace, and sent away by Blackwood, who promised with all speed to have the return at us very soon; and because he was uncertain where he might find us, we bade him hasten back to his own house, and he should know where to find us. Away he goes hopeful to bring us up this pass.

We marched away strait to Inglistown Bridge, in about the point of Pentland Hills, and sent off, as before, some for bringing in provisions by the way. Some we sent to Tiviotdale to signify our being here, and our expecting them. Now Major Gilgour and Mr. John Scott had left us that night we came from Bathgate, upon what account they knew best themselves; always, it had been better for us, and (I fear) for themselves both, and others of that kind, that they had not come at all to us, than to come and leave us in the condition we were in.

Being necessitated at such a place, because several both horse and foot were straggling, to draw up, we were not well together when there is a report of a body marching towards us, through a glen that comes from Calder through Pentland Hills towards Pennicuick.* Because it was hard by us, we went but two or three paces farther up on the brae, when we discover them within a quarter of a mile of us. Now there was a great glen betwixt us, so as neither of us could have access to other. There we stood brandishing our swords. Now their foot was not come up, only were coming. A party of their horse (I think to the number of fifty or thereabout) seeing they could not come at us here, they take away westward. A party of ours, much to the same number, were commanded to march the same way. Both parties marches thus along the side of their own hill, towards an even place of ground, to which both of them came. They were not long asunder, when once they were there. After they had discharged their fire, they closed, and for a considerable time stand dealing with swords; at last the enemy runs; and, if they had not retired by a way that there was no dealing with them, alongst the side of a steep hill, it is like there had not many of them gone home. In this first assault fell, with the first fire, Mr. John Crookshank and Mr. Andrew M'Cormick, two main instruments of the attempt, two Ireland ministers.† Now this party behoved to be chosen men, for they were well appointed, and indeed made an uncouth attempt; (being in the reverence of our whole horse, though none meddled with them but the first party) and this they did their alone, neither was there any of their own near them to second them. They being beaten back thus with some loss of men on both hands, there was a party of our foot commanded toward that place where they and the rest of their horse stood, being no ways accessible for horse to do them any hurt. Upon the foot's approach they were forced to quit that side of the glen that lay on the west hand, and to go over to the east side of the glen, where they stayed till their foot came up. In this condition we stood foreagainst other: neither of us could well come at other where we stood. When their foot came up, their whole horse and foot came down off the hill towards a moor beneath us on our right hand; and there they drew up in battle array, thinking to provoke us to quit our ground, and to fight them on even ground. We perceiving how numerous they were, being at least (whatever they were more) in all three times our number, resolved we would not quit our ground. There we stood only fronting other.

After this, we perceive a party of their horses on their right hand advancing towards us. After some mutual communion what was fit to be done, whether to fight them, if put to it, that same night, because, if we delayed that night, (as we readily might, if we had pleased) we might expect, whatever we might be fewer, the enemy would be no fewer; after prayer it was resolved, that, if the Lord in providence did order so as we were put to it, we should put ourselves in his hand, and quit ourselves of our duty; resolving, in his strength, never to break till he that brought us together break us, and though we should serve for no more but to give a testimony, and it were by leaving our corpse there, to adventure it. The party that we had seen advancing to us before prayer, came up so near that we found ourselves called to give them a meeting, and so a party of near as many were sent down from our left hand to meet them; and, in respect, there had come a few of their foot upon the flanks of their party, a few of our foot were sent off with ours to rencounter them. The two parties meets, and after fire given on both sides, they fall to it with swords. Whilst the two troops are dealing it thus betwixt them, our foot party makes theirs run. Immediately their horse runs likewise. So soon as the enemy see their horse put to flight, immediately there is another party commanded off their right hand, and quickly advances towards the relief of their own men. Upon this, another party is sent down from our left hand to meet them. After these two fresh bodies had grasped awhile together, the enemy runs, and, in the view of all, this party of ours did so hotly pursue them that they chased them far away by their body. Upon this, advances the rest of their horse that were on their right hand, and forcing back our party, a party of our horse on the right hand were sent off. Now their whole body of horse on their left hand were unbroken; and upon these two parties being engaged, their whole left hand of horses advances. Now we had no more but a matter of fourscore horse to meet with their whole left hand. Always, all marches up towards other, but being oppressed with multitude we were beaten back; and the enemy coming in so full a body, and so fresh a charge, that having us once running, they carried it so strongly home, that they put us in such confusion that there was no rallying, but every man runs for his own safety. If the Lord had not in providence so ordered that we had greatly the advantage of the ground, being at a pretty height above them, and that it was growing dark, and close upon the edge of Pentland-hills whither we fled, in all probability there had been a greater destruction than there was. There was not above a hundred killed and taken prisoners by the enemy: what assistance the country made that night to the enemy is well known.*

Although this poor handful, thus defeat, had trav-

* "*Whitehall, December* 1, 1666. My Lord, since my last my Lord of Lauderdail hath received two expresses from Scotland, the effect of which were, that his Majesty's forces under General *Diel* were preparing themselves to attack the enemy, and doubted not of being quickly masters of them." (Lord Arlington to the Duke of Ormond, in Brown's Miscell. Aulica, p. 429, 430.)

† See before, p. 434.—"Andrew M'Cormick at Macheraly," was one of the Irish ministers with whom Mr. John Livingston was acquainted in 1656. (Life of Mr. John Livingston, p. 42. Ed. 1727.)

* "Whitehall, 4th December, 66. My Lord, yesterday morning his Majesty received a particular account from Scot-

elled much to gather their friends, and to give opportunity to the lovers of the truth to show themselves in defence thereof, yet none came from any other place that was any thing remote from them. Only some were making ready to their assistance, none of which appeared, save Moore, laird of Caldwell,* who had gathered forty or fifty horse, and the Sabbath night before the defeat he began to march, following Wallace to have joined with him, and came as far as Glasford parish; but could not win forward to their friends, the enemy being fallen in between them. Yet had they marched to Bothwell Bridge, and not to Glasford, they might have come at them; but they had no intelligence, so having attempted (but in vain) to cross Clyde, it being great with the rains that had fallen, they returned home again. In this troop was

Maxwell of Blackston, son to the laird of Newark;

Ker of Kersland, John Cuninghame of Bedland,† Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, misister of Dundonald, deposed by the bishop, and Mr. John Carstairs, minister of Glasgow, of whom before, who had been lurking all this time till now, that these gentlemen urged him (and that partly against his will) to rise alongst with them. These were the most noted persons, with others, making up a troop, commanded by the laird of Caldwell. After the defeat, Blackston,‡ persuaded thereto, came to the council and declared his own and the other gentlemen's rebellion, (as they called it) manifesting all he knew of the other gentlemen's carriage in that business; he was imprisoned a while, and thereafter set at liberty. Caldwell, Kersland, ‖ and Bedland, were sought for, and their houses barbarously rifled and plundered by the soldiers, themselves fled off the kingdom, and were forfeited of life and estate at Lammas next. Their rents were uplifted by two ruffians appointed by Dalziel and Drummond, who trusted his Majesty would not deny them their estates for their good service; but they were both disappointed; and these their chamberlains, were forced to make their accounts to the Exchequer, who appointed the laird of Housle* to uplift these rents, and to make account to the said lords of Exchequer.

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land of his forces having beaten and routed the rebels near Edinborgh, killing and taking near 500 of them, their chief also slain in the action, the sum of which will come to your hands by the inclosed. His Majesty bids me tell your Grace he hath written unto Scotland to have severe punishment inflicted upon the offenders, and strict inquiry to be made into the contrivance of their design, and the correspondence they might have had with other parts, and accordingly recommends to your Grace the having special care taken to seize all persons that may have fled from their party into Ireland, or held correspondence with them." (Arlington's Letters to Ormond, *ut supra*, p. 430.)

* See before, p. 482.

† The family of Bedland was a branch of the Cunninghames of Craigends, and more remotely of the noble house of Glencairn. Mr. John Cunninghame of Bedland was served heir to his father, March 18, 1664. (Inq. Retor. Ayr, 537.) Being forfeited for accession to the rebellion in 1666, he was transferred from one prison to another during many years, and after different petitions was at last liberated on a declaration, that he had "resolved, by his future deportment and behaviour, to witness the deep sense he hath of his gracious Majesty's great clemency;" he having found caution under 5000 merks to reenter into prison when required. (Decret. Sec. Concil. May 2, 1677. Act. Sec. Concil. Aug. 2, 1677.) "Mr. John Cuninghame, sometime of Bedland," is mentioned among those engaged in the rebellion at Bothwell, in the proclamation against the rebels, June 26. 1679; (Wodrow, ii. 93, app. 27;) and several persons are afterwards proceeded against for conversing or corresponding with him. (Ibid. p. 281, 298, 426.)

‡ John Maxwell of Blackston was the third son of Sir Patrick Maxwell of Newark and Blackston, and his only daughter married Alexander Napier, a grandson of the celebrated inventor of the logarithms. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 90, 119, 377.) Notwithstanding his turning informer against his associates, he did not escape trouble. On the 25th of March, 1667, he was, after several months' imprisonment, removed, on his petition, from the tolbooth to the castle of Edinburgh, "if the Lord Lyon can accommodate him." (Decr. Sec. Concil.) And on the 21st of November that year, he was ordered to be set at liberty on his giving bond to keep the peace under £.1000 Scots. (Wodrow, i. 280.) He is said to have died at sea on his way to Carolina. (Ibid. p. 248.)

‖ Captain Thomas Crawfurd of Jordanhill (who surprised the castle of Dumbarton in 1571) married Janet, heiress of Robert Ker of Kersland, the representative of a very ancient family in Ayrshire. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 71.) His eldest son, Daniel, succeeded to the title and estate of Kersland, and was succeeded by his son Hugh. (Inq. Retor. Renfrew, 68, 209; Ayr, 179, 238.) Hugh was alive in 1644, (Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 133,) and was either the father, or (which is more probable) the grandfather of "Robert Ker of Kersland, younger," who was at the battle of Pentland. In a list of the rents of certain forfeited estates made in 1669, Kersland is valued—"Victual 119 bolls, deducing to *Old Kersland* 60 bolls." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. folio No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 78.) Robert Ker of Kersland, younger was a commissioner of supply in 1661. (Ibid. vii. 92.) His estate was given to Lieutenant-General Drummond, after his forfeiture, which was ratified by Parliament in 1669, and rescinded by it in 1690. (Wodrow, i. 268; app. No. xvi. Samson's Riddle, 139, 144. Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 562; ix. 199.) His escape to Holland, his apprehension on his return to Scotland, his second escape after a long imprisonment, and his death at Utrecht Nov. 14, 1680, are recorded by Wodrow. (i. 423—425.) There is preserved a draught of a petition to the Privy Council, in which the petitioner, after mentioning that he had been confined for five years in different prisons, says, "in the very coldest of this season, and in such a time when some of them were wrestling under heavy and sad sickness, others enduring pains of the stone-gravel so excessive as cannot be expressed, were my thus pained children extruded out of the castle with all the rest, except one daughter, who, with myself and tender wife, and one servant, were thrust up to another room, that is known to be intolerable for smoke and cold." The petition concludes with a request for "a change of imprisonment to Edinburgh castle," with the view of having an operation performed on the child afflicted with the stone. The name of the petitioner has been carefully deleted, but on a narrow inspection appears to be "Robert Ker of Kersland," prisoner in the "castle of Stirling." The date, which has been altered, was originally 1675. In a note on the back of the petition, in a different hand-writing, and apparently Kersland's, the petitioner signifies that, after the draught was made, he hesitated as to its being his duty to present it, "being diffident of treating or tampering with these so dreadfully-given-up men." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. Jac. V. 2, 26, art. 30.) A letter, which appears to be written by the same person to Macward, is dated, "From my closs prison at Stirling castle, the 31st Dec. 1673." The writer says, "though I know not if Forbes (Colonel Wallace) be there, yet about a week ago I wrote to him, which was my second. I wrote also to the good old provost." He mentions that he had been visited by Mr. Thomas Forrester, curate of Alva, "to whose recantation my Rob. Jea. and Meg. with a great gathering of honest people, were auditors." MSS. *ut supra*, Jac. V. i. 26, art. 28.) Robert Ker left a widow, Barbara Montgomery, a son, Daniel, and three daughters. Daniel being killed, in 1692, at the battle of Steinkirk, John Crawfurd of Fergushill, a cadet of the family of Crawfurdland, who married Anna, eldest sister of Daniel Ker, assumed the surname, title, and arms of the house of Kersland. He is the author of the book known by the name of *Kersland's Memoirs*. (Dict. of Decisions, 4755. Letter prefixed to Kersland's Memoirs. Robertson's Ayrshire, 244.)

* The person here referred to is James Dunlop of Househill, whose father, Thomas, (fourth son of James Dunlop of that ilk) purchased the lands of Houschill in 1646. (Crawfurd's Renfrew, 45, 328. He was a Justice of the Peace for Renfrew, and a commissioner of supply in 1661 and 1678.) (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 94, 506; viii. 224.) But he did not escape the severities of that time, being fined for negligence in suppressing conventicles in 1676, obliged to withdraw for refusing to take the bond in 1678, and imprisoned for reset in 1683. (Wodrow, i. 427, 486; ii. 306.). What is stated in the text respecting the forfeited estates committed to his management is only correct in part. His commission to that purpose, dated Oct. 12, 1667, is inserted in Wodrow, i. app. No. xvii. It is probable that the rents of these estates had been illegally lifted by the agents of General Dalziel, &c. and that the lords of the treasury obliged them to account for their intromissions to the laird of Houschill; but these estates were, in the year 1670, gifted by the crown to Dalziel, Drummond and others. (Samson's Riddle. Wodrow, i. app. No. xviii. Crawfurd's Renfrew, 301, 302.) During the time that they were under Houschill's management, an attempt was made to secure them to the respective families, by compounding with the government. There is a letter, dated May 27, 1669, from Sir George Maxwell of Nether Pollock, (then a prisoner in Stirling castle) to Mr. Thomas Hay, one of the clerks of Privy Council, proposing a composition for the lands of Caldwell, Kerseland, Quarellton, Baidland, and of Alexander Porterfield, Quarellton's brother, for which Sir George promises to be cautioner for a limited time. In another letter to Hay, not intended for "public use," Sir George tells him, "this I understand, that, besides the 20,000 merks in it (the

As there were not many come to help this honest party from other shires, so the several rendezvous in the shires for helping to suppress the rebels were but very slack, and these that met (according to the public order) came so accoutred, as testified they minded not to do the rebels much harm. Only the three Lothians were very active in and about the time of the skirmish, and after, in the flight, took many more than Dalziel's men did, and killed severals also in their escaping; for which they may look for a scourge in due time for their savage cruelty, from him in whose sight the blood of the saints is precious.*

The country barbarians of Lothian had good example of their chief city, Edinburgh, whose provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, with all the citizens, showed themselves very active against these poor people, that were coming eastward with no ill will against them, but to present their desires to the council, for freedom from intolerable oppression of the prelates; but these furious townsmen mind nothing of the quarrel, but in their madness and folly (to show their loyalty) puts all in arms to resist the rebels, if they should offer to enter the town; and for more security, the provost desires a new oath, causing the several captains, and their companies, to swear it to this purpose.

[———"The Lord provost presented me ane act of privie counsell for securing the toun, conforme whereto the wholl capitanes, except Capitan Bell, who is not in ye cuntrie, took ye oath that they should be trew and faithfull to ye king, and that they should defend his authority, and maintain the same against this insurrectione and rebellion, and any other that shall happen with the haiseard of their lives and fortuns, and the counsell appoynted the respective capitans to take the oathes of the rest of the officers and wholl souldiers, as lykwayes conforme to the said order, the counsell appoynts sex companies to keep watch night and day by turns."†]

But with all this preparation, they had no more to do but receive the prisoners of that honest, though broken, party, who were brought in that night after the defeat by Dalyell's men, having their hearts broken with the reproaches and blasphemies which these jeering atheists spued out against God, godliness, religion, and all fear of God, by the way as they came in, naked and many bleeding in their wounds. The dead were spoiled of their clothes, and laid naked before the moon by night and the sun by day, by the soldiers and the barbarians of Lothian, as if the victory had been gotten over Turks; but the godly women of Edinburgh came out the morrow with winding sheets, and buried them. Yet worthy Mr. Crookshank's body was not found among them, nor yet M'Cormick's. Report went for a year after, that Mr. Crookshanks was yet alive; but thereafter it was concluded, that there was no truth in it.

The town received the prisoners, which the godly people of the town esteemed the saddest sight that ever Edinburgh had seen, which drew tears in abundance from the eyes of all that feared God, considering what vast difference there was between the persons and the cause on the one side and the other; and surely a most astonishing dispensation it was, to see a company of holy men (for such were the greatest part, yea, but few otherwise) and that in a good cause, given up into the hands of a most desperate crew of scoffing, prophane atheists. But God had called them together (it seems) to have a testimony at their hands; and that he missed not, for he helped them to glorify him in their sufferings, which made their cause more lovely throughout all parts of the land, even in the eyes of enemies and neutrals, than their victory would have done.

The provost caused imprison them all together in an old kirk called Haddow's Hole, where the charity of the godly people of the town appeared in furnishing them with all necessaries, both for maintenance and the healing of their wounds. There were about fifty prisoners; but by accession of these whom the Lothian barbarians had taken, there were within two or three days after about eighty prisoners. The chief whereof were captain Andrew Arnot,* brother to the laird of Lochridge in Stewarton of Cunninghame, taken by some wicked men of Tranent; Mr. Alexander Robison, treacherously betrayed by the laird of Morton after he had delivered his arms upon treaty, to let him go freely where he pleased;† Mr.

public letter) expressed, *you shall have, for your pains to get it done*, 5000 *merks*." (MSS. Adv. Lib. No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 79.)

* On this occasion, the influence of some of their clergy was not wanting to inflame the minds of the people. Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Libberton, it appears, had been very violent in his declarations from the pulpit, particularly by applying to the insurgents the following words of the prophet: "*They shall pass through it hardly bestead and hungry, and it shall come to pass, that, when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their God, and look upward.*" Cant, in a reply to Mr. John Nevay, who had remonstrated with him on his conduct, says—"That place of Isa. viii. 21, I did indeed accommodat to the west countrie men the Sabbath immediately preceding theire defeat, and though Naphtalis blood ferment all, even to the bringing his rayling accusation against me for this, and yow are pleased to refer me to the Dutch annotations for the right meaning of the text, I find no reason to repent what I spoke, the hand of God without all peradventure being in it, for before I went up I made accompt of saying nothing like." (A. Cant to John Nevay, Libberton, October—68, and Edinburgh, November 18,—68: Wodrow MSS. No. lix. Jac. V. 1, 26, art. 7.)

† In the MS. a blank is left for taking in the oath. What is inclosed in brackets is extracted from the Records of Town Council, November 21, 1666.

In the month of May following, when a Dutch squadron appeared in the firth of Forth and fired into Leith, the writer of the History in which Wallace's Narrative is embodied, says, "The men of Edinburgh went downe in companies to defend Leith, but they loved not General Dayell his command, who yet, for as wicked as he was, could cast up to them their naughtiness. 'When your countrey folks (sayes hee to them) the Whigs were up, ye were busie then who might run fastest; but now when the common enemie appeirs, yee cannot be gotten out of your houses.' Thus he; and that not without cause, for the alarm cam at ten o'clock at night, but for all the drums beating and common bell ringing, it was the morrow at 4 o'clock in the morning ere any of them came to Leith. Indeed, in the other case, when those honest people came to Colintoune, they raged like mad men; but heer they wer tame eneuch."—(MS. *ut supra*, p. 271.)

* The Parliament in 1649 appointed "Captain Andro Arnot to be Root-master" to the troop of horse in the sheriffdom of Fife and Kinross, commanded by Lord Elcho.—(Act. Parl. Scot. vi. 389, 392.) He subscribed the protestation against the meetings of the General Assembly, in 1651 and 1652, which approved of the Public Resolutions.—(Representation—and Protestation, p. 18.) In 1661, "Captaine Arnot in Lochrig" was fined along with others, to repair the injuries sustained by the Earl of Queensberry and his son in 1650. (Act. Parl. Scot. vii. 96.)

† The person who apprehended Robison was Sir John Gibson of Pentland, (second son of President Durie) who "possessed all and sundrie the lands of Mortoun and Mortoun-hall." (Act. Parl. Scot. viii. 273.) He was one of the clerks of Session; and that he was alive at the time here referred to, appears from the following act of sederunt respecting his son. June 20th 1676, the Lords "nominated Mr. Alexander Gibson to continue in that chamber, wherein his father and he does serve." (Acts of Sederunt, p. 125.)

Two persons of the name of Robison, or Robertson, are mentioned in this narrative. The one accompanied Colonel Wallace from Edinburgh, left him on the way to the west, and never joined the party in arms. Kirkton calls him Mr. Alexander Robison. (Hist. p. 234, 236.) The other was taken by the laird of Morton and executed at Edinburgh. That he was a different person from the former appears from his trial. "The assize unanimously, in one voice—finds—Mr. Alexander Robertsone to be guilty of ryseing and joyning in arms with the rebells, and that he was one of those that went to Dumfries and seized on Sir James Turner, and that he went alongst with the rebells to Aire, and that he was at Lanark, and took the covenante with the rest of that party there, and came allongst with them to Collingtoune and Pentland hills; and that he was in armes at the conflict with Captaine Arnote against his Majesties forces, and that he had n drawen sword there and discharged his pistols in the fight."—(Samson's Riddle, 36, 37.) He addressed the following letter to Captain Arnot, probably on the morning of the latter's execution: "DEAR FRIEND, now in

Hugh M'Kell son to Mr. Matthew M'Kell, minister of Bothwell, taken also by the country people about Braidscraigs. All these three were put up in the tolbooth. Thomas Paterson, merchant of Glasgow, died in Haddow's Hole of his wounds, within four or five days after; and the provost having caused instruments to be taken that he was dead, some honest men caused warn their neighbours to the burial privately; lest if Burnet, bishop of Glasgow, had got notice, he should have impeded his burial, or done some violence to his corpse. Thus was his body buried honestly in the Greyfriars, which was no sooner interred, than the said bishop sent to the grave, and thereupon protested, that the said Thomas Paterson, rebel, his dying unforfaulted of life and estate, might not prejudge his Majesty of the escheat of his goods, moveables, and all that appertained unto him.*

tears, bot ere long in joy, I drink this cup to you: but the cup of salvation will be your draught ere long. I have had much libertie for you this night. Run the race with courage; make stepping stones of your wife and children; it is an excellent change and niffer you are to make: Instead of the wife of your bosome, handsome and heartsome, enjoyment of Christ without intermission; instead of peace with the world, peace with God, and peace of conscience which will give you the true enjoyment of just peace with God. You are credited with that which hath been the desire of precious godly men, and yet the Lord wold not make use of them as vessels to pour such liquor into; and he hath chosen you. O give him thanks! O praise, O blesse, blesse, blesse him! Ye have the forestart of me; O if I were counted worthie! Noe more, being in hast, but leaves you to him who will wype away all tears from your eyes with the napkin of pardoning mercie.

I rest,
Your's in Christ,
ALEX. ROBERTSON, with you in prison."

The letter is addressed "For his dear friend, in the same bonds with me, (though I be not credited with the same work) Captain Arnot." (MSS. in Adv. Lib. No. xxxii. M. 6, 14, art. 63.)—Captain Arnot was executed on the 7th of December, 1666. Mr. Alexander Robertson was tried on the 10th, and executed on the 14th, of the same month.

* Judging from internal marks, I am of opinion that Colonel Wallace's Narrative ends with the description of the battle; but I have thought it proper to continue the account to the place where the first distinct break in the manuscript occurs.

END OF WALLACE'S NARRATIVE