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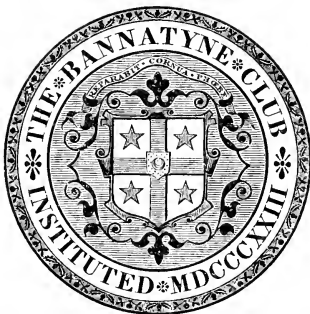
THE HISTORY
OF
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

BY

ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.



AT a Meeting of the Committee of THE BANNATYNE
CLUB, held on Monday, the 29th of March 1847.

Resolved,

That Club Paper be furnished for One Hundred and Twelve Copies of the Edition of ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, in three volumes, octavo, to be Edited by BISHOP RUSSELL for the Spottiswoode Society.

AT a Meeting of the Committee of THE BANNATYNE
CLUB, held on Thursday, the 31st of August 1848.

A letter from the Secretary of the Spottiswoode Society was read, explaining that arrangements were now made with Messrs Oliver & Boyd for completing the republication of ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOOD'S HISTORY, under the superintendence of MARK NAPIER, Esq., Advocate, in the event of the Bannatyne Club continuing their Subscription, upon the same terms, as had been agreed upon, when the Work was originally undertaken.

The COMMITTEE directed the Secretary to express their willingness to accede to the proposed arrangement, as their chief desire was to have the Work completed under the charge of an ostensible Editor, whose name might be a sufficient guarantee for the fidelity of the republication.

Extracted from the Minutes,

DAVID LAING, *Secretary.*

DECEMBER M.DCCC.L.

THOMAS THOMSON, ESQ.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES ADAM.

THE EARL OF ASHBURNHAM.

LORD BELHAVEN AND HAMILTON.

WILLIAM BLAIR, ESQ.

BERIAH BOTFIELD, ESQ.

THE MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE.

SIR THOMAS MAKDOUGALL BRISBANE, BART.

10 GEORGE BRODIE, ESQ.

CHARLES DASHWOOD BRUCE, ESQ.

O. TYNDALL BRUCE, ESQ.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND QUEENSBERRY.

VERY REV. DEAN RICHARD BUTLER.

JAMES CAMPBELL, ESQ.

PATRICK CHALMERS, ESQ.

SIR GEORGE CLERK, BART., M.P.

HON. HENRY COCKBURN, LORD COCKBURN,

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

DAVID CONSTABLE, ESQ.

20 ANDREW COVENTRY, ESQ.

JAMES T. GIBSON CRAIG, ESQ.,

SIR WILLIAM GIBSON CRAIG, BART., M.P.

GEORGE CRANSTOUN, ESQ., [DECEASED.]

THE MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE.

THE MARQUESS OF DOUGLAS AND CLYDESDALE.

HENRY DRUMMOND, ESQ., M.P.

SIR DAVID DUNDAS, M.P.

GEORGE DUNDAS, ESQ.

WILLIAM PITT DUNDAS, ESQ.

30 THE EARL OF ELLESMERE.

JOSEPH WALTER KING EYTON, ESQ.

LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT FERGUSON, M.P.

COUNT MERCER DE FLAHAULT.

THE EARL OF GOSFORD.

WILLIAM GOTT, ESQ.

ROBERT GRAHAM, ESQ.

THE EARL OF HADDINGTON.

THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND BRANDON.

SIR THOMAS BUCHAN HEPBURN, BART.

40 JAMES MAITLAND HOG, ESQ.

JAMES R. HOPE, ESQ.

RIGHT HON. JOHN HOPE, LORD JUSTICE-CLERK.

COSMO INNES, ESQ.

DAVID IRVING, LL.D.

HON. JAMES IVORY, LORD IVORY.

SIR HENRY JARDINE.

HON. FRANCIS JEFFREY, LORD JEFFREY, [DECEASED.]

DAVID LAING, ESQ.,

THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

50 VERY REVEREND PRINCIPAL JOHN LEE, D.D.

LORD LINDSAY.

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

JAMES LOCH, ESQ., M.P.

LORD LOVAT.

ALEXANDER MACDONALD, ESQ.

HON. J. H. MACKENZIE, LORD MACKENZIE.

JAMES MACKENZIE, ESQ.

JOHN WHITEFOORD MACKENZIE, ESQ.

KEITH STEWART MACKENZIE, ESQ.

WILLIAM FORBES MACKENZIE, ESQ., M.P.

60 ALEXANDER MACONOCHIE, ESQ.

JAMES MAIDMENT, ESQ.

HON. THOMAS MAITLAND, LORD DUNDRENNAN.

THE VISCOUNT MELVILLE.

THE HON. WILLIAM LESLIE MELVILLE.

THE EARL OF MINTO.

HON. SIR JAMES W. MONCREIFF, LORD MONCREIFF.

JAMES PATRICK MUIRHEAD, ESQ.

HON. SIR JOHN A. MURRAY, LORD MURRAY.

WILLIAM MURRAY, ESQ.

70 ROBERT NASMYTH, ESQ.

CHARLES NEAVES, ESQ.

THE EARL OF NORTHESK.

LORD PANMURE.

ALEXANDER PRINGLE, ESQ.

JOHN RICHARDSON, ESQ.

THE DUKE OF ROXBURGHE.

RIGHT HON. ANDREW RUTHERFURD, LORD

ADVOCATE, M.P.

THE EARL OF SELKIRK.

JAMES SKENE, ESQ.

80 WILLIAM SMYTHE, ESQ.

JOHN SPOTTISWOODE, ESQ.

EDWARD STANLEY, ESQ.

REV. WILLIAM STEVENSON, D.D.

THE BANNATYNE CLUB.

THE HON. CHARLES FRANCIS STUART.

THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND.

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL SWINTON, ESQ.

ALEXANDER THOMSON, ESQ.

SIR WALTER CALVERLEY TREVELYAN, BART.

WILLIAM B. D. D. TURNBULL, ESQ.

90 ADAM URQUHART, ESQ.

HISTORY

OF THE

BEGINNING THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 203, AND CONTINUED
TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF KING JAMES VI.

BY THE

ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, AND LORD CHANCELLOR
OF SCOTLAND.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND NOTES,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. M. RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

EDINBURGH:

M.DCCC.XLVII.

ALEX. LAURIE AND CO. PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY.

THE Editing Committee of THE SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY consider it incumbent upon them to express their deep regret, that this first accurate Edition of ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH should be issued to the Members of the Society, under different auspices from those they had anticipated. They allude to the sudden and unforeseen dispensation of an all-wise Providence, which has recently deprived them and the Scottish Episcopal Church of the services of one of its most able and learned Prelates, the Right Rev. Dr. M. RUSSELL, Bishop of Glasgow, &c., who for more than two years had been engaged in preparing this Edition of Spottiswoode's History for the press.

His sudden removal from this earthly scene left part of the Work unfinished, though the History itself was fully corrected, and had been carefully collated with the original MS. The Life of Archbishop Spottiswoode, with the exception of a few paragraphs, was completed ; but the summary of his character as an Author was left incomplete, and it is evident that to it no addition could be made. Under these melancholy circumstances, the Committee trust that criticism will be disarmed, and indulgence secured for this Work, by the consideration, that the hand which alone could have corrected inaccuracies and supplied omissions, was suddenly arrested by death ; and that the vigorous mind and cultivated taste for which the Right Reverend Editor had been long distinguished, are for ever quenched in the silence of the tomb.

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.



It may be satisfactory to the reader to receive some information in regard to the several Manuscripts, on the faith of which this edition of Archbishop Spottiswoode's History is presented to the public. Four different copies have passed through my hands, which, without vouching for the precise date at which they were written, I arrange in the following order :—

No. 1. The oldest apparently, and the least perfect, is that which belongs to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and appears to have been presented to that learned body by Bishop Keith, or by some one into whose possession it fell after the death of this Prelate. It extends only to Five Books, bringing down the narrative to no later date than the year 1602, and stops in the middle of a sentence. It presents, indeed, ample proof that the plan of the Work was not fully arranged in the mind of the author; for not only is the composition imperfect as to style, but deficient in many of the historical details which are afterwards introduced into later copies, written, or at least attested, by the hand of the author himself.

The penmanship, too, is in many parts so defaced, that it is almost impossible to read it—a fact repeatedly mentioned by Keith with feelings of deep disappointment and impatience. This defect had suggested to him the expediency of transcribing part of the Manuscript; and a copy of the Fifth Book accordingly, written in a very distinct manner, is now in my hands, bearing the following note :—“ These sheets are copied from the MS. Book or History of Arch-

bishop Spottswood, where it begins to be bad writing; and which MS. History I have gifted to the Advocates' Library." But it is worthy of notice, that neither in this transcribed copy, nor in the original Manuscript itself, is the Fifth Book finished. On the contrary, it terminates in the most abrupt manner, without bringing either the general narrative, or the particular train of thought to a full close.

As the plan of the Work in this earliest Manuscript (for such I consider it to be,) differs considerably from that which the author subsequently prepared for the press, I here insert the "Contents" of the several Books, as originally conceived by him.

"The *First Book* sheweth the beginnings of Christian Religion into this Kingdom; the propagation thereof, and the troubles that fell out in the same by the Pelagian heresy, and the contention for the keeping of Easter. It containeth likewise a description of those that were famous in the Church for their piety and learning during the first ages, till the subversion of the Picts, which happened in the year of Christ 838.

"The *Second Book* containeth the succession of Bishops in the See of Sanct-Andrews, and other Sees of this Church, with the special accidents that fell out in the same, till the time of Reformation.

"The *Third Book* declareth the manner of the Reformation that was here made, with the proceedings both in the Church and State, untill the resignation of the Crown by Queen Mary in favour of her sonne and heyre, King James the Sixth.

"The *Fourth Book* relateth the proceedings of Affairs under the Regents who governed the kingdom in the minority of the King, untill the acceptance of the government in his own person.

"The *Fifth and last Book* containeth the chief matters which have fallen out since that time, as well in the State as in the Church, untill this present."

To this Manuscript is prefixed an Address "To the Reader," which, as it is not to be found in any other copy of the History, I have thought proper to insert in a subsequent page.

It appears to have been the original intention of the author to confine his "History of the Church of Scotland" to the period which terminated at the accession of James the Sixth to the English throne, and to comprehend the whole narrative in five Books. But he afterwards extended his plan so far as to carry down the narrative to the death of that monarch; and with this view he added two Books more, carrying part of the fifth, as it stands in this Manuscript, into the sixth, according to a new division of the matter as it is found arranged in the more complete copies of his transcript, as well as in the printed volume. The Seventh Book comprehends the transactions which took place after the union of the Crowns, so far as such events bear upon the interests of the Church in the northern division of the kingdom.

No. 2. This Manuscript, which is marked "*Ex Bibliotheca apud Spottiswoode*," was put into my hands by the present representative of the Primate's family. It is written in a very distinct and even beautiful character, containing numerous marginal notes, as well as some alterations of the text, inserted by the Archbishop himself. The Seventh Book, for some reason not assigned, is supplied in separate sheets, copied by a different person, and without the references and annotations by the author which are found in every page of the preceding Books. In this case the style of penmanship proves that he must have employed the aid of more than one amanuensis.

No. 3. This Manuscript belongs to the public library at Kelso, and is, with the exception of a few verbal alterations, an exact copy of the foregoing. That it is of more recent date may be inferred from the fact that it contains the "Letter Dedicatorie," addressed by the author to King

Charles the First, though without the signature of the Primate. The date of this copy must therefore be held posterior to the death of King James, which took place in the year 1625, and before the commencement of the troubles in Scotland, which ultimately led to the temporary downfall of the Church in both divisions of Great Britain.

This Manuscript, it is presumed, originally belonged to the Duke of Lauderdale, who was in possession of two written copies of the Work before it was printed by Royston, at London, in the year 1655. It was probably bought at the sale of his Grace's books, to which the following notice bears a reference :—

“ In the year 1692 a collection of Manuscripts, amounting to one hundred and seven different Works, was sold by auction in Tom's Coffee-house, Ludgate Hill.” The Duke of Lauderdale died in 1682; and seven years afterwards, Evelyn, in a letter to Samuel Pepys, writes—“ The Duke's library is still entire, choicely bound, and to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom they are pawned.” Among the Manuscripts inserted in the sale Catalogue, were No. 11, “ Spotswood's History of Scotland (upon paper), folio ;” No. 12, Spotswood's History of Scotland, from the first “ planting of the Christian Faith in that Kingdom (on “ paper), folio.” The distinction of being written on “ paper” arises from the circumstance that many of the Manuscripts then exposed to sale were written on vellum.¹

The Manuscript in the Kelso Library is probably one of the two now described. It bears the word “ Lauderdale,” in large letters, and must, it is hence inferred, have belonged to that family.

No. 4. This Manuscript, and by far the most important of the whole, is that which is in the possession of the University of Dublin, the use of which has been liberally granted to me by the Curators of their Library,—the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College.

¹ See Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. II. p. 149.

The history of this copy cannot now be clearly traced ; but, as it is the one which the Archbishop himself prepared for the press, and is sanctioned by the Licence of two Secretaries of State, its fortunes cannot be viewed without interest. On the first page or fly-leaf of the volume itself, an allusion to its singular destiny is made in the following words :—" For an account of this Manuscript, see the Life of John Forbes of Corse, by Doctor Garden." After some search, for the reference is rather vague, I found the following statement contained in a letter from Robert Burnet, brother of Sir Thomas Burnet of Lyes, in Aberdeenshire, and father of the celebrated Bishop Burnet, addressed to the famed antiquary, Gordon of Straloch.

" Archiepiscopi S. Andreae Historia adhuc salva est, et licet præcipium exemplar semel inciderit in manus Fœderatorum, nunc tamen est in manibus D. Patricii Drummond, viri integerrimi, et pignori oppositum à quodam Law servo Comitis Lanerick, cui, cum esset a secretis Regi, commissum fuit exemplar. Urgebat me D. Patricius Drummond, postquam hue veni, ut a volentibus exigere collatitiam pecuniam ut typis mandaretur ; sed in his turbis et in hac pecuniæ inopia, nemine volente, ego me ipsum scripto obligavi ad quatuor exemplaria emenda, quamprimum historia foret typis mandata. Et conatus sum similem syngraphum ab aliis extorquere ad plura vel pauciora exemplaria emenda, sed nulli persuasi. Verum Archiepiscopi historia non attingit hæc tempora, finiens cum morte Jacobi Sexti Regis. — Nunquam mihi contingit videre aut legere, sed audiui a quondam Comite Lauderio, cui per quindecim dies a D. Roberto Spotswodo commodata fuerit Londini, nihil magis candidè, ingenuè, moderatè, verè, et prudenter ab ullo Scriptum, seque ex ungue leonem judicasse, nempe ex relatione rerum suo tempore gestarum, quarum si non maxima, non minima pars fuit." ¹

¹ Reverendi Viri Johannis Forbesii à Corse, Presbyteri et S. S. Theologiæ Doctoris, ejusdemque Professoris in Academia Aberdonensi, Opera omnia, &c. &c. Tom. prim. p. 67.

For the use of such as are not in the habit of reading Latin, I subjoin a translation of the notice now given, which, considered in relation to the time at which it was written, is certainly not without some degree of interest.

“The history of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews is still safe, and, although the principal copy once fell into the hands of the Covenanters, it is now nevertheless in the possession of Sir Patrick Drummond, a man of great integrity, to whom it was pawned by a certain individual named Law, a servant of the Earl of Lanerick, to whom, when he was of the Privy Council, the said copy was committed in trust. Sir Patrick Drummond, after I came hither, urged me to obtain subscriptions from those friendly to the cause, that the Work might be committed to the press; but, in these troubled times and during the present scarcity of money, I found no one willing to engage: I bound myself, however, by a written obligation, to purchase four copies as soon as the History should be printed. I endeavoured to obtain a similar pledge from others to buy more or fewer copies, but I prevailed with no one. It deserves notice, that the Archbishop's History does not come down to our times, but ends at the death of King James the Sixth. It has never fallen to my lot to see or read the Work, but I learned from the late Earl of Lauderdale, to whom it was lent fifteen days by Sir Robert Spotswood at London, that nothing was ever written by any one, more candidly, ingenuously, moderately, truly, and prudently—that he judged of his high qualities from the portion he had read, especially in regard to the events which had taken place in his own time, in which he performed, if not the greatest, at least a very prominent, part.”

This letter is dated at Aberdeen in the year 1652; and it is well known that the first edition of Archbishop Spottiswoode's History was published at London in 1655, not more than three years afterwards. It is nevertheless more than doubtful whether the Manuscript, to which

Mr Burnet alludes, was ever in the hands of the metropolitan printer; nor is it now possible to ascertain which of the several transcripts of the Primate's Work was used by Royston. I am inclined to believe that a copy may have been written out for the press from the Dublin Manuscript, which was probably still in Scotland; and that all the errors in the printed volume may be ascribed to haste or carelessness on the part of the amanuensis. None of the variations seem to have originated in design, because, generally considered, they are of very little interest, viewed with a reference either to historical facts or party-feeling.

A short quotation made by Nicolson from a communication addressed to him by Gordon of Straloch, indicates that the latter cherished the hope of seeing the Archbishop's book published at no distant period. "*Benè se habet et mihi ipsi gratulor quod antequam vitâ abeam, videam has lucubrationes posthumas in lucem editas, de quibus edendis, hoc perditissimo seculo, omnes desperaverant.*"¹—"It is well," says the learned chieftain, "and I congratulate myself upon the fact, that before I shall depart this life, I may see these posthumous lucubrations brought to light, in regard to the publishing of which, in this most unhappy age, all men had despaired."

But, whatever might be the ground on which Straloch reposed his hope of seeing the Manuscript passed through the press, it is certain that the first edition of the "History of the Church of Scotland" was not printed directly from the copy prepared by the Archbishop. At this distant date it is impossible to trace the precise time and manner in which it passed from the hands of Sir Patrick Drummond into those of Nicolson, when Archdeacon of Carlisle; but it admits not of doubt that it was in the possession of this learned writer about the beginning of last century.

In the Work of Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, entitled, the "Discovery of a most exquisite Jewell," there is

¹ Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, page 194, 8vo. edition.

a notice supplied relative to the Spottiswoode Manuscript, which, considered in connection with the circumstance mentioned by the author, is extremely interesting. He saw the Manuscript delivered by the Bishop of Ross to the King, who immediately handed it over to the Earl of Lanerick.

Alluding, in his peculiar manner, to certain professional men, he says, "we may now for the soul's sake, have another hint at some of our late Scottish Divines; the first whereof, and that *prioritate dignitatis*, that to my memory presenteth himself, is Doctor William Forbes, Principal once of the College of New Aberdeen, and afterwards made Bishop of Edinburgh; who was so able a scholar, that since the days of Scotus Subtilis, there was never any that professed either Divinity or Philosophy in Scotland that in either of these faculties did parallel him. He left Manuscripts of great learning behind him, which, as I am informed, were bought at a good rate by Doctor Laud, late Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England; whose spiritual brother Spottiswoode, late Archbishop of St Andrews and Chancellor of Scotland, was likewise endowed with a great deal of learning, by means whereof, though he wrote many good books, yet that whereon he bestowed most pains was a large book in folio, intituled, "The History of the Church of Scotland," which I believe was never printed. Yet the manuscript thereof, written with Spottiswoode's own hand, I saw presented at Whitehall, in the lobby betwixt the Little Gallery and Privy-Chamber, now called the Admiralty-Court, by Maxwell late Bishop of Ross, to the late King, who even then delivered it to his Secretary of State for Scotland, William Earl of Lanerick by name, who was the same Duke Hamilton of Hamilton that was killed at Worcester, and only brother to James, Duke by the aforesaid title, who, two years before that, lost his head at Westminster in the Palace-yard. But what became of the Manuscript afterwards I cannot tell; but this I know, that the tenderer

thereof (upon his knees to his Majesty as the gift of a deceased man, for the author died but the day before) Master John Maxwell by name, was a very learned man, and author of some good books.”¹

In the letter from Robert Burnet to Gordon, already quoted, it is mentioned that the Manuscript had fallen into the hands of the Covenanters (in manibus Fœderatorum); and it is certain that it was for some time in the possession of Principal Baillie, an individual who, as every one knows, occupied a prominent station in those troubled times. In his “Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland,” written in 1646, he mentions—“among the authors out of which the chief testimonies of the subsequent Vindication are taken, is the ‘Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,’ written by John Spotswood, pretended Archbishop of St Andrews, licensed for the press under the hands of Secretary Stirling and Windebank.” This allusion to the License leaves no doubt as to the particular copy of the Manuscript which was used by the reverend author of the Vindication, about nine years before the appearance of the first printed edition in London.

The next notice of the Archbishop’s corrected Manuscript which has fallen under my observation, is contained in a Work entitled “Historical Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland and Politick related to them, including the Murder of the Cardinal of St Andrews, and the Beheading of their Queen Mary in England.” By Ri. Watson. Printed by John Garfield, London, 1657. Alluding to his own Work he says—“But this endeavour may seem impertinent, if not impudent, in the face or memory of that most reverend heroic Prelate, whose greater eminency in authority and interest in the same country hath, with much more advantage, particularly and amply satisfied the world by a greater volume, for the suppressing which so many subtilities and violencies had been used, besides the power of a forraign magistrate (at Schidam in Holland) for the surprisal of the

¹ Pp. 214-215, Edition 1652, London.

secretary in his preparing it for the press, that nothing could be a surer evidence than such self-confessing guiltiness against that party; nor ought else, after the grace and reverence of the renowned author, put a greater estimate and opinion upon the book, at least if published as he wrote it."

What were the "subtilities and violencies" used for the suppression of the Archbishop's Manuscript I have no means of determining: nor is it more evident by whom it was carried to Holland, and by what means it was recovered. But a short time afterwards it was, as already mentioned, in the possession of Doctor Nicolson, the Archdeacon of Carlisle, well known as the author of the English, Irish, and Scottish Historical Libraries. In the last of these Works, which he published at London in 1702, he writes as follows, in reference to the "History of the Church of Scotland."—"I have now by me a very fair transcript of this History, the same which was provided by the author for the press; as both his name subscribed to the Epistle Dedicatory with his own hand, and the licenses under the hands of the Secretaries of both kingdoms, Sterlin and Windebank, do sufficiently prove. That which Mr Royston procured afterwards was less exact than this; as appears from the marginal notes, which are all in the author's proper handwriting, and from some defects in the print (many of which are omissions of whole lines), which may be hence supplied. I shall instance only a couple, which are within the compass of one page; wherein the learned author tells us that the Isles of Orkney were possessed by the Picts, whilst that kingdom stood; and that St Kentigern's Hymn began thus:

‘O Sacer Antistes, Regis clarissima proles,
Per quem Laudonia nitet, et jam Cambria tota,
Magna pars Scotiae fidei convertitur alma.’

Both which stories are very defective in the printed books of both editions."

Indeed the greater part of the quotation is left out by Royston, and the remainder in consequence is totally without meaning. But there is a still greater mistake in the

Sixth Book, where are described the proceedings adopted against Archbishop Adamson. The Synod held at St Andrews accused him, among other things, of devising the Statutes passed in the year 1534. This charge, according to the printed narrative, is met as follows—"The Bishop, repeating his protestation, answered, That the Statutes were not of his devising; but when they were proposed, he gave his opinion that they were good and lawful Acts, and therein had served his conscience, the very second Act of that Parliament being an express confirmation of Popery, in so far as by it the dignity and authority of the Three Estates was ordained to stand unaltered, according to the ancient custom of the realm."

This appears a very odd defence in the mouth of a Prelate who was accused of shewing a Romish tendency and a marked disaffection towards the constitution of the Reformed Church; but the statement, according to the latest and correct Manuscript of Archbishop Spottiswoode, stands as follows:—"To this the bishop (Adamson), repeating his protestation, answered, 'that the Statutes were not of his devising; but when they were proposed, he gave his opinion that they were good and lawful Acts, and therein had served his conscience.' At this word a confused clamour was raised 'that he was a man of no conscience; the very second Act of that Parliament being an express confirmation of Popery, in so far as by it the dignity and authority of the Three Estates was ordained to stand unaltered, according to the ancient custom of the realm. This, said they, is a ratifying of the Episcopal jurisdiction according as it was in the time of Popery.'"

It is manifest that according to the copies hitherto printed, Adamson is represented as maintaining, in a tone of approbation, an inference which he openly disavowed, namely, that the Act of Parliament conveyed an express confirmation of Popery; which inference, drawn by his enemies, was the principal ground of the charge urged against him

by the two Melvilles, who were then meditating his overthrow. The error, it is clear, arises from two sentences being incautiously run into one; the effect of which, however, is to injure greatly the memory of the unfortunate Primate. In many other parts of Royston's edition, there are whole lines and even larger portions of sentences left out, whereby the meaning of the author is not a little obscured and his argument weakened; a result which may be confidently ascribed to undue haste, or the ignorance of the transcriber, whose thoughts seem to have been directed to the mere mechanical department of his office, without any regard to the accuracy of the text.

Nearly fifty years had elapsed between the appearance of the first London edition and the notice given by Archdeacon Nicolson, of "the very fair transcript of the History of the Church of Scotland, provided by the author himself for the press, and licensed by the two Secretaries of State." The Scottish Historical Library, in which this notice is contained, was, as already stated, first published in 1702. In the same year the Archdeacon was raised to the Episcopate as Bishop of Carlisle. In 1713 he was promoted to the See of Derry; and in 1727, nominated to the Archiepiscopal See of Cashel, of which, as he died the same year, he appears not to have taken possession. It is probable that he carried with him to Ireland the manuscript of Spottiswoode's History; but whether it passed immediately upon his death into the hands of the Trustees of the Library of Trinity College, or had, in the meantime, fallen into the possession of some private person, is a point which cannot now be ascertained. It is conjectured that the University bought it at the sale of Nicolson's books and papers, soon after his death; for, upon inspecting the proper Record, no evidence was discovered that the Manuscript had been presented to the College, either by the owner or by any of his representatives.

It is of more importance to the reader of the present

edition, to be assured that the Manuscript in question has been carefully compared with the printed copy which issued from Royston's press in 1655, and that every word has been inserted which was either omitted or incorrectly placed in the latter.

This assurance will, it is hoped, put an end to the various complaints, and somewhat ungenerous insinuations which have been made in regard to the genuineness of the text of Spottiswoode's History. Of all the writers who have indulged in this freedom of stricture, it is somewhat remarkable that Bishop Keith should be one of the most vociferous, and, considering his opportunities, the least reasonable. For example, at page 495 of his "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland," he copies a passage from the first or earliest Manuscript, in which the Primate narrates the counsel said to have been given by Archbishop Hamilton to John Knox, through the Reverend John Brand, minister at Holyroodhouse. Keith remarks in a foot-note,—“These are the Archbishop's (Spottiswoode) precise words, though not a syllable thereof is to be found in the print.”

The anecdote in question, as quoted by Keith, is to be found at the beginning of the Third Book of Spottiswoode's History, according to the Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, which, it has been remarked, is clearly the original draft of the Archbishop's Work, and the only copy which Keith appears to have read. Indeed, it is generally believed that it was his own property, and is certainly the only written copy of the History to which he any where makes a reference. But he moreover falls into a great mistake when he asserts that “not a syllable of the story is to be found in the print.” It is to be found in the very Book to which he refers, though transferred to the end, instead of the beginning, as originally placed in the Advocates' Manuscript. Alluding to the “Policy” sanctioned by Knox, Spottiswoode remarks, that “the churchmen who went before had been provident enough in these matters; and good had it been for those

who succeeded to have kept fast that which they found established to their hand, as the Archbishop of St Andrews did at the same time advise them ; for he employing John Brand, a Monk of Halvudhouse (who served, many years after, minister at the Canongate), to go unto John Knox, willed him to say from him, ‘ that albeit he had innovated many things, and made reformation of the doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was some reason; yet he should do wisely to retain the old policy which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did shake off the other. Our Highlandmen, said he, have a custom when they will break young colts, to fasten them by the head with strong tethers, one of which they keep ever fast till the beast be thoroughly made. The multitude, that beast with many heads, should just be so dealt with. Master Knox, I know, esteemeth me an enemy ; but tell him from me he shall find it true that I speak.’ ”

In his “ Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops,” p. 264, second edition, Keith again refers to the subject in these words :—“ I must inform the reader of this, that there are two manuscript copies of that History extant, and that both of these do not only vary from each other, but the print also varies from each of them. Great freedoms have been taken in publishing it.”

A satisfactory reply to this charge or insinuation of dishonesty is supplied by Sir David Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Hailes, in his Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James the First, p. 44. “ The editor takes this opportunity of correcting an error committed by Mr Keith, both in his History of the Reformation in Scotland, and in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. He asserts ‘ that great freedoms have been used in publishing Spotiswood’s Work ;’ he even points out certain interpolations in one of the Manuscripts ; but the truth is, that those interpolations are corrections of (in)

the handwriting of Spotiswood himself; and the error of Mr Keith is the more strange, as the Manuscript which he endeavours to depreciate, was his own property, and as it contains the first draught of some part of the History in the handwriting of Spotiswood."

This statement, on the part of Lord Hailes, is perfectly correct. About four hundred and sixty pages of the Manuscript in question (now the Advocates') are written in a good and legible style by an amanuensis; the remainder is in the handwriting of the author, in the character of the seventeenth century; but throughout the whole volume there are marginal additions and remarks by the Archbishop, in his own peculiar penmanship, which cannot be mistaken.

It is clear, therefore, that the imputation of dishonesty hitherto so freely charged upon the editor or publisher of the printed "History of the Church of Scotland," is entirely groundless. There were in existence not fewer than four Manuscripts; and every reader formed his opinion as to the purity of the text, according to the transcript to which he happened to have access. The author, in re-writing his volume, used the privilege which every historian claims, of altering the arrangement of his materials, correcting his style, and of adding to his narrative new facts or reflections. It is manifest that as his inquiries ceased not, until he had, according to his maturer views, entirely exhausted the subject, our main reliance must be placed on the latest of his Manuscripts.

From the constant complaints of modern compilers, including Laing, Cook, and others of less name, a strong suspicion has been propagated that Spottiswoode's great Work is defective both as to its authenticity and genuineness. It was therefore desirable to fix, if possible, the limits of this uncertainty; and it is manifest that this object could not be attained in any way so well as by comparing his several Manuscripts, the order and succession of which may now be fixed with some degree of accuracy. Our confi-

dence is increased beyond the reach of any reasonable doubt, by the important fact, that we have in our hands the copy which he himself prepared for the press, authenticated by the highest authority, as well as by his own signature in the Dedication to the King. Of the existence of this Manuscript, Bishop Keith, and all the more modern annalists who have followed him in his doubts and repeated his complaints, appear to have been entirely ignorant. It is therefore of no small consequence that we have it in our power to give an unquestionable assurance that Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland is at length printed from the sheets which he himself destined for the press, containing his latest improvements, both in matter and style.

It was the wish of the Archbishop, expressed in his Will, that his Work should come forth under the auspices of Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, whom he had named as his principal executor, "commending to his fidelitie the edition of my Historie, if the same be not done by myselfe, and the presenting thereof to his Majestie, for whose service and the Church's I did only take these pains."

As there is no trace of any attempt on the part of the Bishop of Ross to pass the History through the press, it might have been conjectured that he presented the Manuscript to the King; and that being confided to the care of the Earl of Lanark, it encountered the fate mentioned by Robert Burnet—was removed from the house of the Earl by Mr Law, a member of his establishment, and pledged for a sum of money. Sir Thomas Urquhart's statement removes all doubts as to the presentation of the Manuscript to his Majesty, and its transference to the Earl of Lanark.

I have remarked that it is now impossible to remove the obscurity which attends the transmission of the Archbishop's History, from the time when it was in the hands of Principal Baillie till we find it in those of Archdeacon Nicolson. A distinguished member of the University of Dublin, to whom I am chiefly indebted for the loan of

their Manuscript, has written to me as follows :—" I regret to say that I am unable to give you any information as to its history, nor can I tell how it came into our possession. It is very probable that it remained in the hands of the representatives of Bishop Nicolson, and was either purchased from them by the University or presented to our library. I think it must have been purchased, as it is not entered among our donations.

" Nicolson died suddenly about a fortnight after his promotion to the See of Cashel ; we have his Common-place book here in manuscript. I am sorry to say that I can give you no information about the letters committed by Archbishop Spottiswoode to Maxwell, Bishop of Killala."

In mentioning the name of the Archdeacon of Carlisle—for under that title he acquired his celebrity—I am reminded of another testimony which he bore in favour of the integrity and genuineness of Spottiswoode's Manuscript. Bishop Sage, at page 113 of his " Fundamental Charter of Presbytery " writes, in allusion to a fact omitted in the Primate's Work, as follows :—" For my part, I should rather think that we have not his History *entire*, and as he designed it for the press (for which I have heard other pregnant presumptions) than that so great a man was guilty of so great an oscitancy." Wodrow seems to have applied to Nicolson for his opinion in regard to Sage's suspicions as to the entireness of the Archbishop's narrative ; in return to which we have a letter from him addressed to the " Reverend Robert Wodrow, dated 29th February 1700," which contains the following notice :—" I have a manuscript of Spotiswood's History, wherein the marginal notes and some additions are in the author's own handwriting, which is fairly written for the press, and is licensed under the hands of the Secretaries of State of both kingdoms. This differs sometimes from what we have in print ; but I find nothing in it that confirms the forementioned remark,"—that namely made by Sage.¹

¹ Wodrow's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 73.

An allusion has been made to the Address prefixed by the Archbishop to the oldest of his Manuscripts, but which he has not repeated in any of the later copies. It is as follows :—

“ TO THE READER.

“These factious times which, according to their nature, are full of calumnies and misinterpretings, require that I should say somewhat concerning this History, and my purpose in collecting the same; for I am not ignorant what the judgment of diverse men will be, and that I shall be held a partiall witness in the matters of this last time. But I will pray those who think so not to give sentence before they have examined what I have written. Sure I am they shall find no untruth therein, nothing said without warrand, nothing out of humour, nay, not the smallest prejudice offered in the relation, either to the cause or person. Whatsoever my private opinion is of matters, I studied to keep an indifferencie in writing, and so, contented to propound the causes, counsels, and success of every business, I leave to each man his liberty of approving or disapproving things as he shall have reason. This is all I will say for that part of the History, at which I forsee most exception will be taken.

“Touching the rest, the trueth is, that my purpose was not at first to have gone without the compasse of our owne time, much lesse to have played the antiquarie, and made a search of the beginnings of our Church; yet afterwards I was brought unto it upon diverse considerations. As first, I perceived the memories of those ancient times, whereof we have but a few rescued, lying scattered in histories, most of them in old Manuscripts which fall not in every hand; and that the same, being collected and digested in order, would represent the state of the Church in the severall ages of it, and make the story perfite in a sort, which otherwise would be but maimed and mutilate. Next, I considered, that our neglect of those times, and the persones who lived

in them, had emboldened forraine writers to place in their catalogues diverse of the rarest lights that have shined in our Church, whereby they robbe us of our honour, and give many to think that either this kingdome was not Christian till of late, or if it were, that our Church was but obscure, and yielded no men of any worth or excellencie; which imputations being most untrue, could not be removed by a better meane than by deducing the history of our Church from the very beginnings, and setting down a particular description of the persones that were famous therein for piety and learning. A third and more important consideration I had, which was this; that they who are possessed with a misconceit of the present policie of the Church, might possibly be wonne from their opinions, when they should see the forme of government now established to be the same that was observed in the Church in the most pure and uncorrupt times. In which point our histories are most clear, for they relate that the first preachers of the Gospell among us, though they were not many in number, had their owne Bishop and Overseer, whom they honoured and revered as their superiour, doing nothing in any matter of weight or moment without his direction. In processe of time, the faith increasing and the people of God being multiplied, as the number of pastors grew in the Church, so was the number of Bishops proportionably increased; and from those primitive times, through the succession of all ages, have not been wanting, but still continued without change, till of late, after the Reformation some fifteine yeares or more, an innovation was made, by certaine ill advised persones, to the extreme hurt of the Church, as the event proved, and direct against the mind of our Reformers. The platforme of policie which they proposed is extant, and in the hands of many, which I thought meet also to insert in this history, that all might see their meaning was never to frame and erect a new Church, or yet to abolish the policy thereof, but only to restore and reforme the Church which was, from the

disorders and errors wherewith it was blemished. Now when this shall be knowne, and men shall see that the gouvernement of the Church by Bishops was neither the devise of Antichrist, nor yet rejected of our Reformers, as they have bene made to beleive, I doe not think but a better information will take place with those that love to guide themselves by trueth and reason. Last of all, I thought that this history might perhaps serve to reclaime such of our countrey men as have been coosened by the popish braggs of succession and antiquity. For here they shall see, if they will not wilfully shut their eyes, true antiquity to be on our side, and that wee are the same Church, professing the same faith, which our fathers were taught at first. In the beginning a Church pure and sound, as the adversaries themselves will not deny, corrupted in after dayes by our too great familiarity with Rome, and now againe, through the merceyes of God, happily reformed. If any desire to know our pedegree and descent, which long hath been called for, it is here in a sort demonstrated, and might, no doubt, have been more fully cleared by shewing the lineall succession of pastors in this Church, if our Records had not beene lost : But as to require this of us (considering the confusions which have happened in this kingdom, partly by forraine warres, and partly by domestick broiles,) were a demand most unreasonable, so is it no way necessary for us to do ; this sufficing to prove, we are not a new Church, but one truly Apostolicall, that we can derive the doctrine we professe from the Apostles of our Lord, and from their next successors : It being true which Tertullian saith, *Ecclesie in eadem fide conspirantes, licet nullum ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis authorem suum proferant, Apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ* ; that is, the Churches which professe the same faith with the Apostles, howbeit they cannot verify any one of the Apostles or Apostolic men to have been their founders, are yet to be esteemed Apostolicall for the consanguinity they have with the doctrine of the

Apostles. This consanguinity we can evidence in every point of religion that we hold, and farther, can manifest those errors for which we have departed from the now Romane Church not to have been in the beginning, nor heard of in our Church for many ages, which, as occasion hath offered, I make plaine in the History following.

“These be the considerations that drew me upon this labour, and have put me to more paines than I think good to expresse. If they may prove in any sort beneficiall to the Church, or the meanest member of it, my contentment shall be great. I confess no travell did ever more sweetly steal away my time, than that which I spent on this subject; neither was it without profit. The like I wish to thee, and so leaving the Worke to thy use, I commit the successe of my purpose in it, to God his blessing.”

In the original Manuscript, or that marked No. 1, and belonging to the Advocates' Library, “The Pröeme of the whole Work” is as follows:—“Having purposed to write the History of our Church, I judged it convenient to deduce the same from the beginning—that is, from the time in which this kingdom first received the Christian Faith. For albeit the memorials and monuments of times past be perished for the greater part, yet so much is remaining as may let us see the estate and condition of the Church in every age, which for clearing the passage of things in after times is very needful to be knowne.

“When I shall come to the matters of our own time I will write of them more particularly, because they do more nearly concern us, and the Records of these be all extant to witness the truth of every thing, if, perhaps, the relation I make shall be questioned in any point.

“I am not ignorant that this will be a labour full of trouble, and the work itself a subject of great envie; but for the Church's sake I will not decline either of the two, my interest being to procure the good and benefit thereof, by

some means which this piece of history is not unlike to do ; for one of the best means to make men wise, and teach them to govern aright, is to inform them truly of things done before their time, and of the events, good or evil, that have ensued. The short life of man sufficeth not, as one hath truly said, to purchase the experience of many things ; whereas, in a few hours' reading of an history wisely digested, we may gain more instruction than twenty men living successively, one after another, can acquire by their own observations.

“ Now, because truth is the quality that gives chief life to a history, I will study to deliver things faithfully ; occurments especially of this last time, which will be most pried into, I shall set down without passion or partiality, as becometh him who makes profession of the simple truth.”

In the Manuscript belonging to the Library of Spottiswoode, that namely marked No. 2, the Preface appears in the following terms :—“ Having purposed to write the History of our Church, I thought meet to deduce the same from the beginning, that is, from the time this kingdom did first resave the Christian faith ; for albeit we have no Records left of those first times, yet in stories wee find as much as may shew what was the condition of the Church in every age : And therewith wee must rest satisfied till wee come to the times that are more near our own days, and which will yield greater plentie of matter. When I shall come to our own days, if God spare my life so long, although I know it is not safe to deal in matters of that kind, I purpose to set down at length the things which have fallen out both in the State and Church ; and not the events only (these are easily seen of the common sort), but the reasons and causes of the events, without which all history is to little use ; for to take away from story, as an ancient writer saith, the causes whereupon, the manner how, and the purpose wherefore, things were done, and whether the action had that success, which on probabilitie was

expected, is a tale rather than history—delighting for the present, but profiting him that readeth it, little or nothing at all.”

Upon turning to the Introduction, as it was finally prepared for the press, and is now printed, the reader will find that the alterations are unimportant. It concludes with the following sentence, which simply re-states, in different words, an opinion embodied in the older Manuscripts.—“ I am not ignorant how unsafe it is to write of matters so recent, and what offence it may give to divers persons ; but the desire I have to give to posterity a true information of things, and to have them made wise by our errors, weigheth down with me all such fears.”

The lithographed title-page is an exact copy of that prefixed to the Dublin Manuscript, the one prepared for the press by the author, and presents an accurate facsimile of the Licences granted by the Earl of Stirling and Sir Francis Windebank, Secretaries of State.

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.



HE Memoirs of a writer, distinguished at once by the high place he held during a momentous period in the annals of Great Britain, and by the part which he was called upon to act as a public character, require a more particular account of his principles and administration than is contained in the brief notice prefixed to his History of the Church of Scotland. He occupied a prominent station, not only as a ruler in the ecclesiastical body, and as a statesman possessing the confidence of two successive sovereigns, but also as a public writer, who witnessed many of the occurrences described by him in the latter part of his Work, and as a divine who was compelled to share in some of those controversies which embittered the period wherein his lot was cast. In all these respects, many details are wanting which seem necessary to afford a complete view of his conduct, whether viewed in connection with his duties as a Bishop ; his wisdom as a Councillor ; or his success in defending the faith and discipline of the religious Communion over which he presided. Nor would such an undertaking be complete, without some notice of his family, his education, and the circumstances under which he originally entered into professional life.

Proceeding on the ground now indicated, I shall divide this Biographical Sketch into three parts : the first embodying the few notices which, after the lapse of more than two hundred years, have descended to our times, respecting the personal history of the Archbishop ; the second having a reference to his official conduct as one of the heads of the Episcopal Church ; and the third embracing some remarks

on his character as an author, whether viewed as a controversialist, or as a narrator of public events for the instruction of posterity.

It is stated by a writer, who appears to have founded his narrative on a personal knowledge of the facts which he records, that the Archbishop was descended from the Lairds of Spottiswoode ; an ancient race of gentlemen in the county of Berwick, and the Chiefs of their name in that part of the kingdom. His grandfather was slain at the battle of Flodden in the year 1513, where, it is well known, King James the Fourth perished, with many of his nobles and a great number of the inferior tenants of the Crown, who had followed his standard across the Tweed. This catastrophe was succeeded, in many families, by the most disastrous results, and more especially in the border counties, where much property was destroyed by the victorious enemy ; nor do the Spottiswoodes seem to have enjoyed any exemption from this national calamity. John, the future Superintendent and father of the historian, was left an orphan at the age of four years, with means, it is probable, greatly diminished, and deprived of the counsel of those whose affection would have guided his youth and promoted his studies. But notwithstanding, having a desire to prepare himself for the Church, he proceeded to the University of Glasgow, where he appears to have acquired distinction by his talents and assiduity.

After finishing the usual course of literature and philosophy, he found himself opposed by a serious obstacle, arising from the unsettled state of religious opinion in his native Church ; and on this ground he hesitated for some time whether he ought to enter into the profession for which his studies had qualified him, and towards which the full bent of his inclination had been all along directed. He made a journey into England, carrying with him, says his biographer, an "unsettled mind ;" but, having the good fortune to be introduced to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the celebrated

Cranmer, his hesitation was removed, and he was confirmed in those truths from which he never afterwards varied.¹

The fact now mentioned is of some importance when considered in relation to the ecclesiastical principles of the Superintendent and his two sons, who steadily opposed themselves to the new views on Church Government which were gradually introduced into Scotland during the later stages of the Reformation.

About the year 1542, young Spottiswoode was employed by Matthew, Earl of Lennox, in a diplomatic mission; so far, at least, as to be the bearer of a communication to Henry the Eighth of England, relative to the policy of the French King, who cherished impressions unfavourable to the views of this Scottish nobleman. On his return home he was recommended by the Earl to Sir James Sandilands, a person of considerable influence in those times, who nominated him to the parsonage of Calder, a charge which at that period happened to be vacant. After a brief space, when the Church was in a state of transition from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism, he was appointed Superintendent of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale; in reference to which nomination it was said, "he exercised fully the power and discharged faithfully the office of a Bishop; for it was not the office but the name at which the first Reformers startled."

In due time he married Beatrix Crichton, a daughter of the Laird of Lugton, one of the minor barons of Scotland. This lady, remarkable for her pious and intelligent character, became the mother of two sons; John, the future Primate and Historian; and James, who, after serving a cure in

¹ Life prefixed to former Editions of the "History of the Church of Scotland," the writer of which is not certainly known; supposed by some to have been Bishop Duppa, though there is reason to believe that it proceeded from the pen of a native of Scotland, as the Work was "printed at London, 1655, by the care of Mr Alexander Spottiswoode, Advocate, son to Sir Robert Spottiswoode." See Notes by Father Richard Hay, Spottiswoode Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 7.

Norfolk, obtained the Bishopric of Clogher in Ireland, and was subsequently nominated to the Archiepiscopal See of Cashel, upon the duties of which he never entered.

John, the elder son, with whose fortunes we are chiefly concerned, was born in the year 1565. At an early period he was sent by his father to the University of Glasgow, where he displayed considerable abilities, "a pregnant wit, great spirit, and a good memory." As students are admitted at that seminary when not more than twelve or thirteen years of age, he obtained his first degree when about sixteen; a proof not so much of any precocious talent on his part, as of the elementary and imperfect nature of the instruction with which, at that period, Scottish churchmen were obliged to be contented.

The defects of his education, we are assured, were supplied by great diligence and indefatigable exertion in the pursuits of science, and more particularly of theology, whereby he qualified himself, at the early age of eighteen, to act as assistant to his father, who, owing to his advanced period of life and increasing infirmities, was no longer able to perform all the duties of the pastoral office. Diligence, and a conscientious feeling of the responsibility which had devolved upon him, supplied in the young divine the defects of inexperience; and the greenness of his years was tempered by so much gravity, that no man could despise his youth, or think him in any respect unfit for the employment. Upon the death of his revered parent, he succeeded to the incumbency of Calder, where his memory is still respected; and the ruins of the house in which he dwelt are said to be still pointed out to the stranger who may happen to take an interest in such memorials of the past.

As the Presbytery of Linlithgow possesses no Record so ancient as the date of the Superintendent's ministry, I could not receive any information relative to the form of admission or ordination, if any, which was practised in those troubled times. Eighteen years, in ordinary cases, could hardly sup-

ply the qualifications necessary to him who did the duties of a priest, even under the eye of an experienced father. It was indeed one of the evils of that period, and is deeply lamented by some of the gravest writers who witnessed it, that young men of the slenderest acquirements rushed into the pulpit, and performed with more confidence than talent the most sacred offices of the Christian priesthood.

The Parson of Calder, as well as his brother James, the future Bishop of Clogher, enjoyed the confidence of the great family of Lennox. In the year 1601, he was appointed by the Duke to attend him, as his chaplain, on an embassy to Henry the Fourth of France, the object of which was to confirm the amity then subsisting between the two nations. In this office he conducted himself so wisely as to add much to his reputation for prudence and talent, and justify the high opinion which was already entertained of his character. After the lapse of two years Lennox returned homewards through England, on which occasion the ambassador and his chaplain were presented at the court of Elizabeth. The Duke is said to have remarked, after his interview with the Queen, that "her night was drawing on so fast, that his master's rising in the same horizon could not be long deferred."

At the accession of James to the English throne, Mr Spottiswoode, by his knowledge and moderation, so far recommended himself to his Majesty, that he selected him to be one of his attendants when proceeding into his new kingdom. But he remained not long in the south, for the death of Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, creating a vacancy in a very important station, the Parson of Calder was nominated to the vacant See. Soon after he had taken possession of his charge, he was appointed to attend the Queen on her journey to London; by whom, on account of his integrity and gentle manners, he was entrusted, in the capacity of almoner, with the distribution of her charities in his native country.

Upon his accession to the Archiepiscopal See of the West, he found, according to some writers, that, owing to the rapacity which disgraced the earlier stages of the Reformation, the revenue did not exceed one hundred pounds a-year. By the use of means, recommended to all classes by their justice and moderation, he succeeded in recovering part of the lands and tithes which belonged to his high place, without exciting the jealousy of those who had profited most by the irregular seizure of ecclesiastical property during the non-age of the King.

The statement now made as to the amount of official income has not been allowed by ecclesiastical chroniclers to pass without a certain qualification, with the view, it should seem, of lessening the merit of the Archbishop on the only point where his success would not have been held by him as a subject of personal congratulation. It is indeed admitted by the authors to whom allusion is here made, that Beaton, the last of the Roman Catholic Prelates, anticipating the obvious effects of the Reformation on church property, alienated to a considerable extent the lands belonging to his See; and that Porterfield, Boyd, and Montgomery, his successors, in order to secure the affections of the nobility, or to disarm their resentment, followed his example in making liberal grants to the laity. But nevertheless, it is maintained by Crawford and others, that not less than five hundred pounds per annum still remained at the death of Beaton.

It is well known that Porterfield, the first of the Reformed series, was a "kind of Titular Bishop, and placed in that position by the influence of certain persons, lay and clerical, to enable him to convey away the benefice of the Church with some appearance of law." He consented, in the year 1571, to the alienation of the manse and rectory of Glasgow to a commoner, who, a short time afterwards, sold them to Robert Lord Boyd. Montgomery, who was placed in the See in 1581, owed his preferment to the recommendation of the

Duke of Lennox, who found no difficulty in inducing his contemptible nominee to dispoise to him the revenues of the Archbishopric. In return, his Grace bound himself to pay annually the sum of a thousand pounds Scottish money, with some corn and poultry.¹

Crawfurd, in his *Lives of the Chancellors of Scotland*, states, that he had not seen any document to prove that Archbishop Spottiswoode had ever recovered to the See of Glasgow any thing that had been alienated by his predecessors. He was, indeed, he adds, a benefactor to the cathedral, which had been much ruined and neglected since the suppressing of Popery, and to the archiepiscopal palace; both of which he put into a tolerable condition of repair, and began the noble leaden-roof on the church as it now stands, which was completed by his successor, Archbishop Law.²

On the demise of Archbishop Gladstones, in the year 1615, Spottiswoode was preferred to the higher office of Primate and Metropolitan of Scotland. The revenues of St Andrews, like those of Glasgow, had been greatly diminished during the feeble and corrupt rule which marked the proceedings of the later Regents. After the death of Adamson in 1591, the Archiepiscopal Diocese remained vacant fifteen years; and, during that period, the rents were bestowed upon the Duke of Lennox and other needy courtiers. As a considerable proportion was still in possession of the Crown, the King consented to restore about three hundred pounds

¹ Keith's Catalogue, second edition, pp. 261, 262.

² *Lives*, p. 164. Crawfurd supplies some details in regard to the process of alienation in the Diocese of Glasgow. Bishop Beaton alienated the forty-eight pound land of Carstairs to Sir James Hamilton of Evan-dale, from whom it came to the house of Lee; and Bishop Boyd feued out the lands of Bedlay to the Lord Boyd, the lands of Gorbals to George Elphinston of Blythwood; and, by a special grant from the Crown, the Prior of Blantyre, then Lord Privy-Seal, feued out most of the barony of Glasgow to the old rentallers themselves, when the King had but little view of seeing Episcopacy revived with any kind of lustre in the Church.

a-year. A farther addition was made to the revenue by procuring a grant of the lands and tithes which had belonged to the Priory of St Andrews, and were now also in the hands of such laymen as had succeeded in obtaining a share of the ecclesiastical plunder.

Such exertions on the part of the Primate, have by certain annalists been ungenerously ascribed to personal motives, more especially the desire to aggrandize his own official state, and to secure the means of sumptuous living. It is therefore just to his character to mention that he suggested to his Majesty the propriety of establishing an Episcopal See at Edinburgh, and for that purpose to withdraw from the Diocese of St Andrews, the counties of Berwick, Haddington, Mid-Lothian, Linlithgow, and Stirling, the richest portion of the domain from which he derived his own professional income.

In connection with the statement now made, it may not be out of place to mention the reason why, until after the union of the two British Crowns in the person of James the First, there was no Bishop of Edinburgh. This omission arose from the fact that, as the south-eastern counties of Scotland made part of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, and were therefore included in the ecclesiastical province of York, the Bishop of Edinburgh, had there been one, must have yielded canonical obedience to an English Primate; an arrangement to which a very natural reluctance was felt on this side of the Tweed. It is well known that the Saxons of Northumberland had, prior to the period now under consideration, extended their kingdom along the southern shore of the Forth, as far as to the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, so that Ida, one of their princes, occupied the Merse, Teviotdale to the vicinity of Melrose, and the three Lothians, which afterwards became an integral part of Scotland, properly so called. Under Edwin, at a later period, they built the castle, called from his name Edwinburgh, now Edinburgh, the capital of the northern kingdom.

A line drawn from Linlithgow to Melrose would, it is said, mark out that portion of territory which belonged to the State of Northumbria, and subject, of course, in all spiritual matters, to the Archbishop of York.¹

The suggestion of placing a Bishop in Edinburgh, as has just been noticed, originated with Archbishop Spottiswoode, who saw the expediency of dividing his own large Diocese. But the selection of the clergyman who was first called to fill that office is usually ascribed to Charles the First, who during his visit to Scotland in 1633, had become acquainted with Doctor William Forbes, formerly Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Happening to hear him preach, and being aware of his extensive knowledge, especially in theology, his Majesty was pleased to say that he had found a man who deserved to have a See erected for him; and the patent accordingly for his appointment was presented in the month of January 1634. He died about the middle of April the same year; leaving some valuable Works, all of which have been lost, with the exception of his "*Considerationes Modestæ et Pacificæ*."

The candid reader will easily discover, for "the care and husbandry" with which Archbishop Spottiswoode managed the revenues of the two Sees over which he presided, motives much more creditable to his memory than the love of filthy lucre, or the desire to aggrandize his family. If Episcopacy were to exist, as the form of the national religion, it was necessary that the endowments of the several Bishoprics should be at least partially recovered, as well from the Crown as from the more tenacious grasp of those members of the aristocracy, who had already learned to identify their own interests with the depression of the Church.

Such were the irregularities which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, marked the course of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland, that Spottiswoode enjoyed the title and income of an Archbishop seven years before he was conse-

¹ Scott's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 11.

erated. The anomalous position of the Prelates in his ancient kingdom attracted at length the attention of the King, who, being now accustomed to the forms and ritual of a more regular Church, resolved to introduce a juster form of Episcopacy among his native subjects. In the year 1610, accordingly, he communicated his wishes to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and desired him, and any two other of his brethren whom he might chuse to select, to proceed to London, in order to receive the episcopal character from certain dignitaries in the south. He chose for this important purpose Hamilton, the Bishop of Galloway, and Lamb, the Bishop of Brechin.

He himself narrates in his History the chief particulars connected with this very interesting event. After stating that they reached the metropolis about the middle of September, he mentions that, at their first audience, the King declared what was the business for which he had called them,—that he had, at great charge, recovered the Bishopries out of the hands of those who possessed them, and bestowed them upon such as he hoped would prove worthy of their places. But since he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themselves, and that in Scotland there was not a sufficient number to enter them to their charge by consecration, he had called them to England, that, being consecrated themselves, they might, at their return, give ordination to those at home, and so the adversaries' mouths would be stopped, who said that he did take upon him to create Bishops and bestow spiritual powers, which he never did, nor would presume to do; acknowledging that authority to belong to Christ alone, or to those whom he had authorized with his power.

The Archbishop answered, in name of the rest, that they were willing to comply with his Majesty's desire, and only feared that the Church of Scotland, because of old usurpations, might take this as a sort of subjection to the Church of England. The King replied, he had provided sufficiently

against that ; for neither of the English Primates, who were the only pretenders, should have any hand in the business, but that the consecration should be administered by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath. The Scottish Prelates thanked his Majesty for the care he had of their Church, and professed their willingness to obey what he should command. It was therefore resolved that the consecration should take place on the twenty-first day of October, in the chapel of London House.

At this stage a question was raised by Doctor Andrew, the Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the three candidates, who, he insisted, ought first to be ordained Presbyters, as they had not received episcopal ordination in their own country. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, maintained that there was no necessity for such a step, seeing that, where there were no Bishops, the ordination given by Presbyters must be esteemed lawful ; otherwise it might be doubted whether there were any regular vocation in most of the Reformed Churches. The other Prelates acceded to this view of the question ; and the consecration accordingly took place at the time and place appointed.

The argument of the English Primate has not been approved in later times in any country where the true principles of the Church have been received, though instances may be found at an earlier period in which the Episcopate was obtained in a manner not less uncanonical. The loose notions derived from Wittemberg and Zurich had not ceased to exert their influence in some portions of the Anglican Communion ; and the opinions of Zuinglius and Calvin were in certain quarters more powerful than the Apostolical Canons, which at least indicate the practice of the Church at a very early period of her history.¹

There exists not, indeed, any proof that Archbishop

¹ See Bishop Burnet's " Observations on the First and Second of the Apostolical Canons."

Spottiswoode had obtained ordination in any form when he became assistant to his father at Calder. The venerable Superintendent of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, died in 1585, when his son, who had already been two years an officiating minister, succeeded to the pastoral care of the parish at the age of twenty; but no details relative to his Orders or Institution have reached our time. Were any conclusion to be drawn from the instructions given to the Court of High Commission for regulating the induction of ministers, the reader would be led to infer that no form of ordination whatever was observed, but that the call or consent of the congregation was held sufficient to establish the pastoral relation between the minister and his people. To check this irregularity, power is granted to the Commissioners to enforce the laying on of hands, or some equivalent form, before any candidate shall be admitted to a charge; "because young men in Scotland, having gone through a course of philosophy, frequently press into the pulpit before they have either orders or discretion: to prevent this abuse, strict care must be taken for putting a restraint upon such persons, and that none unordained be allowed to preach ordinarily or in public."¹

The Spottiswoode succession, it is well known, did not continue many years in the Scottish Church, and therefore all question as to the validity of the consecration at London House has been long superseded by a more canonical ministration of that sacred ritual. The line which commenced in the persons of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton, and Lamb, was cut asunder before the conclusion of that

¹ Crawford's *Lives*, p. 172. The "Instruction," as given by Archbishop Spottiswoode in his *History*, p. 515, First Edition, is as follows:—"And because there hath been a general abuse in that Church, that youths, having passed their course in philosophy, before they have attained to the years of discretion, or received lawful ordination by imposition of hands, do engage themselves to preach: that a strict order be taken for restraining all such persons, and none permitted but those who have received Orders to preach ordinarily and in public."

intestine war, both civil and religious, which effected the temporary overthrow of the monarchy and the suspension of the Church in both kingdoms. At the Restoration of the royal family, Episcopacy was revived in Scotland under more favourable auspices, and in a more regular form, without any violation of those principles which have usually regulated the ordination of clergymen, in the several orders of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon; by whom, according to the belief of the most learned divines, the sacred duties of the Church have been administered since the days of the Apostles.

It belongs, perhaps, to his personal history, rather than to a review of his professional duties, to relate that Archbishop Spottiswoode had the honour to crown King Charles the First, when His Majesty, in the year already indicated, paid his memorable visit to his northern kingdom. The respect entertained for the Primate by James the Sixth was inherited by his son; both of whom shewed a marked regard for men of letters, more especially among the higher orders of the clergy. These two Monarchs corresponded with his Grace; and the letters which he received from them were, as already mentioned, committed to a friend who was also charged with the publication of his History, according to the Manuscript which he himself had prepared for the press. The royal autographs have not been recovered; and the Manuscript, as has been related, nearly shared the same fate. "It was left, like an infant of the Israelites, in an ark of reeds; and if Providence had not found out very tender hands and hearts to save it, it had been lost."¹

The "History of the Church of Scotland," it may not be unseasonable to remark, was written at the suggestion or command of King James, who saw that the Archbishop possessed such talents, prudence, and candour, as eminently fitted him for the work; "that he would neither fear to

¹ Memoir prefixed to First Edition, 1655.

speak the truth, nor dare to tell a lie." It was not without some degree of reluctance that he undertook the task assigned to him by his royal master, though deterred neither by the labour incident to such a composition, nor by the personal responsibility to which a contemporary annalist is always subjected. His main difficulty had a reference to the character of the unfortunate Queen Mary, the latter part of whose public life had caused great grief to her friends, and a triumph to her enemies. "It is not unknown to your Majesty," said the Primate, "that your Majesty's mother, being defamed by the bold writings of a malignant party and the credulity of easy people, hath not left a clear name behind her. And as in mine own particular judgment I cannot join with them in those scandals which they have, with so malicious a falsehood cast upon her, so your Majesty will give me leave to say, that in all things she did I cannot approve her; and being of necessity to speak of her in the series of this History, what to do therein I know not." The King made to him the following reply, more honourable to his candour, perhaps, than to his filial affection:—"Speak the truth, man, and spare not."

With this permission and encouragement he undertook the work, laying aside all partiality, fear, and favour. By the royal command, he was supplied not only with all the Registers, ecclesiastical and civil, in Scotland, but also with all such State-Papers and Letters as might aid him in his undertaking. These were either sent to him in their original form from the public offices, or transmitted for his use by persons sworn to fidelity, and attested by the signatures of the several secretaries from whose department they were drawn. Before the author had finished his undertaking James was in his grave; and the History, in a printed form, saw not the light till his grandson, Charles the Second, was wandering a fugitive in a foreign land, after the desolation and bloodshed, the changes and chances, of the Grand Rebellion; which, in point of fact, did not reach its con-

summation till the direct line of the Stewart dynasty was set aside in the year 1689.

The Earl of Kinnoul, who for some time had held the office of Lord High Chancellor, died about the end of 1634, when his Majesty resolved to confer on the Primate the honour of succeeding to that elevated and very responsible appointment. The commission, which is dated on the fourteenth day of January 1635, passed under the seals of the two kingdoms in the customary form. No clergyman since the Reformation had enjoyed this office; and as the Church was now opposed by a powerful body, some of whom condemned her constitution, and others grudged her emoluments, the favour bestowed upon the Archbishop was not universally approved. The popular party had forgotten that in former times the seals had usually been held by some learned divine, who, being master of canon as well as of civil law, could guide the Sovereign in all cases of difficulty where the rights of the subject might be involved. Hence the Chancellor, who was usually the royal Confessor, was called the keeper of the King's conscience; and this practice was followed in England a considerable time after the Reformation. But whatever might be the secret dissatisfaction among those who laboured to depress the ecclesiastical body, no insinuation was ever made against the wisdom or integrity of the Primate, who on no occasion permitted his civil avocations to interfere with the higher claims of his professional duties as a father of the Church.

The promotion of the Archbishop was made in pursuance of a plan cherished by the King, whereby he hoped to add at once dignity and authority to the Episcopal Order. He elevated seven or eight other Bishops to the Privy Council, presuming that, by their influence in the civil government, they would attract greater respect, and enjoy an increased power towards settling the Church on a stable foundation. The object contemplated by his Majesty was entirely defeated; and the new rank bestowed upon the Prelates produced

results very different from what he expected. This unseasonable accumulation of honours, apparently inconsistent with their clerical functions, exposed them to the envy of the nobility; many of whom, though they cherished sentiments favourable to their ecclesiastical establishment, could not endure to see them possessed of those offices and emoluments which they considered as naturally belonging to themselves. Such proceedings on the part of the Crown not only sharpened the edge of malice and envy against the Archbishop, viewed as the Lord Chancellor, but withdrew the affections of many from the Established Church itself, which they now regarded as the gulf destined to swallow up all the great offices of State. Lord Clarendon further asserts, that "the number of the Bishops was thought too great, so that they overbalanced many debates, and some of them, by want of temper or want of breeding, did not behave themselves with that decency in their debates towards the greatest men of the kingdom, as in discretion they ought to have done, and as the others reasonably expected from them." Instead of bringing any advantage to the Church, or facilitating the intentions of the King towards promoting Episcopacy in Scotland, the policy of Charles had no other effect than to create a more general prejudice against it. It is true, that while these matters were passing, there appeared no particular sign of discontent or systematic opposition to the heads of the clerical body. So far, indeed, did this apparent acquiescence extend, that the less intelligent of the higher orders were induced to believe that the popular party had undergone a complete change in their sentiments, or had, at least, resolved to submit to authority, and sacrifice their peculiar notions to the love of peace. "But this temporary calm," says the noble author just quoted, "arose from a different motive, and was meant to serve very different ends:" for it appeared afterwards, that the enemies of the Church, observing the want of temper and discretion in some of the Bishops who held the highest authority, con-

cluded that "they were like to have more advantages administered to them by their ill managery than they could raise by any contrivance of their own." ¹

As the Primate accepted the office of Chancellor, rather in compliance with the wishes of the King than to gratify any feeling of personal ambition, he held it no longer than the circumstances of the times permitted him to discharge its duties in a manner advantageous to the public. In the year 1638, when the troubles occasioned by the Liturgy were about to be consummated by actual rebellion, the Archbishop received permission from his Majesty to resign the Great Seal into the hands of the Royal Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton. On this occasion Charles was pleased to write to him with his own hand a letter, which was first published by Crawford in his *Life of Spottiswoode*; and which, as the autograph no longer remains, I have judged it proper to insert in this place. It is addressed—"To the Right Reverend Father in God, John Archbishop of St Andrews, our Chancellor."

"CHARLES R.

"Right Reverend Father in God, and right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well.

"Having understood from you heretofore how that, in regard of your age and infirmity, you are willing to demit the charge of Chancellor, though (knowing your faithfulness and earnest care in our service,) we were not then pleased that you should do the same; yet considering your estate, and the troublesomeness of this time, we have resolved to give way thereunto; and it is our pleasure that you cause deliver (having made your demission) the Great Seal up

¹ History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, &c. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Vol. 1st, page 146. Oxford Edition, 1819.—Crawford's *Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland*, &c. P. 177-178.

into the hands of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, James Marquis of Hamilton, our Commissioner, that he may dispose of it as he shall have order from us. And that it may appear that we are well satisfied with your service in that place, we have appointed our said Commissioner to give unto you a testimony of our favour. And as we are pleased that you, and your brethren with you, remain there where you are, or in any part to the north thereof that you shall find most convenient, till you hear back from our said Commissioner; we will you thereafter to do as you shall be directed by him; and so we bid you farewell. Given from our Court at Hampton Court, the 16th of September 1638."

In connection with the event to which his Majesty's letter refers, the Archbishop wrote to his son, Sir Robert, President of the Court of Session, as follows :—

" Sonne, the enclosed letter came to me this day, which I believed at first had been a direction to return home. But that had been impossible for me at this season. Now I persave it is for the demission of the Chancellerie, qch I am most willing to doe, and more willing than ever I was to resave it. Do therefore in it qhat my Lord Commissioner thinks good; and as I have written to you by Henry Lyndsay, tak the securitie in your own person, for I am not very well, and should wish to see you in the Christmasse vacancie, if I live so long. If this may further his m. (Majesty's) service, I shall be glade, and as glade, if death intervene not, to demit the Archbishoprick, for I will trouble myself with those things no more. Remember my service to my Lord Commissioner, and pray his G. (Grace) to shew that Assembly that they will be no longer troubled with me. So I rest in haste, yor father,

SANCTANDROIS.

Addressed thus—

“ To my Sonne, the President of the
Session :”

And folded and endorsed by the latter thus—

“ My Father.”

“ 14th Novr. 1638.”¹

II. It seems convenient to interrupt at this period the personal narrative of the Archbishop's life, and to consider his official conduct as a Ruler of the Church, and his character as an Author. The few incidents which remain, illustrative of his family and individual fortunes, will find a more appropriate place towards the close of his career, when he had retired from public duties, both as a Prelate and a Statesman, after the memorable Assembly held at Glasgow in the year 1638.

The Reformation had assumed a stable footing in Scotland before he was called to assume the pastoral office at Calder; though its principles were not yet accurately defined, nor had its ecclesiastical form been permanently ratified, either by lay or spiritual authority. The older edifice had been overthrown so completely that there remained no longer any hope that it could be restored; but the opinions of men were still divided as to the plan of the new structure which was destined to succeed it. The popular voice had, at an early period, been invited to put forth its strength—an instrument which has ever been found better fitted to pull down than to rebuild—to demolish than to reconstruct. “ It is with the vulgar,” says a great author, “ that the supreme power in church affairs finally rests; and there, if not in reason, at least in fact, is the supreme tribunal. Such is especially the condition of a spiritual despotism. It may lean on the occasional interest of princes—it may court

¹ From the original at Spottiswoode.

the precarious favour of the great—but its last appeal is to the fidelity of the common people.”¹

Perhaps at the beginning of the sixteenth century the people of Scotland were very little prepared to decide on the momentous questions of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity. They had, however, able leaders who had been trained on the Continent, and who, if they did not bring with them a clear light, conveyed a sufficient degree of heat to kindle the cold minds of the Scottish nation into a flame which the strongest outworks of the Romish Church could not withstand. It was found here, as elsewhere, that the power of the Vatican could not be seriously shaken until its enemies should find access to the minds of the common people; and this could not be accomplished until at least the first elements of learning and reasoning were somewhat diffused among the mass of the inhabitants. The Papal system had laid its foundations in utter darkness, and on the ignorance of mankind. To correct this evil, a certain portion of literature, and of the reflection which results from it, was absolutely necessary; but it is nevertheless manifest, that the operation of mere human learning would never have brought about, in the Church, a revolution equal to that accomplished by Luther in Germany, or by Knox in Scotland. It might have occasioned the removal of some scandals and absurd practices; it might have roused the clergy to some sense of the shame, or at least of the danger of professional ignorance; it might have purified the theological schools from much dogmatism and sophistry; but it would never have accomplished any extensive reformation, nor overthrown any large portion of the established evils.

The value of education was perceived, though somewhat dimly, by the legislators of North Britain so early as the year 1494, when an Act of Parliament was passed, imposing a fine of twenty pounds upon every baron and sub-

¹ Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, Lib. I, cap. ix., quoted by Dean Waddington in his *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. p. 3.

stantial freeholder who neglected to put his son and heir to school. The application of this Statute, it is true, was extremely limited ; it respected only the son and heir, the rest of the family being privileged as to the enjoyment of their natural ignorance and barbarity. All the classes, too, above and below the baron and the freeholder, were permitted to enjoy the same exemption ; the nobility being either above the reach of the law, or, it may be charitably supposed, were so sensible of the benefits of education as not to require the interposition of authority. But it will not be denied, that until the Reformation had made some progress in Scotland, learning was at a very low ebb ; and if it was not altogether dead, it showed only occasional signs of animation. When the rest of Europe could boast of such men as Petrarch, Erasmus, Regiomontanus, Copernicus, and Roger Bacon, the extensive provinces northwards of the Tweed showed no acquaintance with any branch of knowledge, if we except the technical theology of the schools.

After a brief space, when the desire for an improved form of faith and worship had descended to the lower ranks of society, the demand to have the Scriptures in their native tongue proved that the knowledge of letters was gradually extending over the whole land. This fact should have awakened the fears or exertions of the clergy, who ought not any longer to have expected implicit obedience, when there existed the means of ascertaining how far the doctrines and ritual of the Church coincided with the evangelical Record. Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, sounded this note of alarm even in the ears of the Pope himself. "The state of Germany," said he, "is not now such as it was formerly. Arts and literature are flourishing, and even many of the people are filled with a thirst for scriptural knowledge. So, if the Court of Rome shall proceed only by the form of ecclesiastical authority, and if the conditions pro-

posed by Luther shall be rejected with a haughty refusal to examine his doctrine, and if no solid evidence and argument shall be brought against it from Scripture, very great commotions will arise out of this matter, from which the Pope will assuredly derive no sort of advantage."

The immorality and scepticism of the Romish Communion were agents not less powerful in hastening the Reformation, than the professional ignorance with which her clergy were charged. Hence it is not surprising that the first Reformers in Scotland, as well as in Germany, were members of the sacred Orders, either monks or secular priests. The determination of Luther to work out a change in her system, was confirmed by a visit which he made to Rome. At the period of this memorable journey, "he was so wild a Papist," that he considered all the eulogies bestowed upon the Church as cold and faint, compared with the eternal majesty of the subject.¹ When he entered the gate of the city, he fell down on his knees and lifted up his hand to Heaven, and cried,—“Hail, revered Rome, sanctified by the blessed martyrs, and by their blood which has been shed into thy bosom.” Under the influence of this enthusiasm, he presently hastened to the holy places—he visited all their precincts—he listened to all the legends by which they are consecrated; and all that he saw and heard, he believed.²

But his anticipations were all deceived—his hopes were disappointed, and his ardent adoration was turned into disgust, alarm, and contempt. Everywhere he witnessed the grossest self indulgence, infidelity, and impious mockery of sacred things. He spent among the priests fourteen days

¹ Sciat lector me fuisse aliquando monachum et papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam aggressus sum, ita ebrium ita submersum in dogmatibus Papæ, ut paratissimus fuerim omnes, si potuisssem, occidere, si Papæ una syllaba obedientiam detractarent.

² Waddington, Vol. I. p. 57.

of astonishment and mortification, and returning home, felt himself doubly armed against the errors and corruptions of Rome.

The same causes which agitated society on the Continent soon extended their influence to Scotland, where similar reasons had led no small portion of the people to desire improvement in the principles and discipline of the Church. In the year 1508, the art of printing was introduced by King James the Fourth; an expedient for extending human improvement which has, more than any other invention, changed the condition and prospects of the world. About twenty years afterwards, the first victim of intolerance was sacrificed in the Archiepiscopal city, being convicted of lending a favourable ear to the new doctrines with which he had become acquainted in foreign parts. The multitude who witnessed this painful sight, though not qualified to decide in regard to the disputed tenets, were ready to sympathize in the sufferings of a virtuous young man who had taught the truths of Christianity with fearless zeal.

Though Patrick Hamilton was not the first who suffered death for what was then deemed an erring faith, he was, owing to his birth and amiable character, considered the most interesting of the early Scottish martyrs. The earliest victim who endured capital punishment as a reviler of the Church, was a priest named Resby, who having adopted the sentiments of Wicliff, was induced, by his zeal, to cross the Tweed and preach the new doctrine to the Scots, in the year 1407. But the field not being prepared for the good seed, the pious labourer was requited with contumely and violence. Being summoned before the established Inquisitor, and accused of heretical pravity, he was pronounced guilty, and committed to the flames.

About twenty-five years afterwards a similar fate attended the preaching of Paul Craw, a native of Bohemia, who ventured to promulgate the notions of Huss in the University of St Andrews. The charges brought against these two

Reformers are nowhere clearly defined ; though in both cases they appear to have been founded on certain conclusions as to the Papal office, the authority of the Priesthood, and the nature of the Lord's Supper. The former resolutely maintained that the Pope is not, in fact, the Vicar of Christ, and that no one ought to be received as such, who is not distinguished for his personal sanctity.¹

From the year 1407, accordingly, the pillars of the Roman Church no longer stood with their wonted firmness, but gradually declined till they ultimately fell. Various causes had contributed to weaken the authority which the Papal institutions had so long exercised over the minds of men. The unseemly schism which, originating in the ambition of Clement the Fifth, continued many years to disturb the tranquillity of the Church, diminished, in no small degree, the reverence with which the people at large were wont to regard the supreme Pontiff. Finding it impossible to obey the contradictory mandates which were issued by the rival occupants of St Peter's chair, they gradually became accustomed to examine into their pretensions as the Vicars of Christ upon earth ; and at length they assumed courage to ask whether any man ought to assume so high a title, even were he adorned with all the virtues to which human nature can ever attain. The sacred attributes, too, ascribed to the Pope, began to assume an air of inconsistency, when one after another of that exalted order was seen descending from his throne, deposed by a subordinate tribunal. It was difficult to connect the belief of doctrinal infallibility with the character of a priest who aspired to discharge the duties of an office to which, upon suitable investigation, it was found he had no canonical right.

But the avarice and immorality of which the great body

¹ Fordun, the author of the *Scotichronicon*, informs us, that the first conclusion was, "*quod Papa de facto non est Christi Vicarius :*" *Secunda, (conclusio)* "*nullus est Papa, nec Christi Vicarius, nisi sit sanctus.*"—*Tom. Secun., p. 442.*

of the clergy were accused, operated with a still greater effect in alienating the lay-members of the Church. The numerous devices employed by ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, for enriching the several Foundations to which they were attached, had transferred into their hands more than half of the territorial property of Scotland, or of its annual produce. It is not surprising, therefore, that all orders of the people should have lent a ready ear to those who exposed at once the selfishness of such spiritual guides, and the luxurious intemperance which was said to disgrace their lives. The annals of the fourteenth century accordingly leave no room for doubt that the first dissentients from the Roman See were actuated by their indignation at the Papal pretensions on the one hand, and, on the other, by their disgust at the voluptuous indolence of the priesthood.

It is worthy of observation, accordingly, that literature had no sooner shewn symptoms of a revival in Italy, than it directed its irresistible power against the Church. The indecent deportment of some monkish fraternities, their hypocrisy, and the domineering spirit of their leaders, opened an inexhaustible field to the poet and the satirist. Dante and Boccaccio were among the first to exercise their splendid talents in exposing the vices of monastic life; and the Works of these authors are still admired, not more for the excellence of their literary merit than for the picture they exhibit of the times in which they were written. The great poet, just named, had no difficulty in recognising in the Head of his Church the famed apocalyptic woman, who sat on the waters, or occupied the seven hills, and thence carried on her traffic of iniquity with the Kings of the earth.

In respect to the papal office, it may be remarked, that the great Reformer of Germany held what in his circumstances must have been regarded as very moderate views. He extols the character of Leo the Tenth, who, no doubt, was a man of a liberal character, and possessed many amiable dispositions. In reference to the Prelates by whom he was sur-

rounded, Luther compares him to holy Daniel among the lions. His main objection was directed against the impiety of the preachers, who, he maintained, by their mode of proclaiming the Indulgences, rendered of none effect the mediation of the Redeemer, and undermined the great evangelical doctrine of pardon through His blood alone. He condemned not the Papal remissions considered in themselves, for he continued to believe in purgatory, and denied not the efficacy of such intervention, on the part of the Church, to mitigate, or even to shorten, the pains due to sin in the intermediate state. He simply denounced the abuse which was carried to an intolerable length by Tetzel, without venturing to call in question either the object or the authority.

In a letter which he addressed to Leo, he writes in the following dutiful and submissive terms—"I fear, most holy Father, that my name is in ill favour with your Holiness; that I am called heretic, apostate, traitor, with a thousand similar appellations. I am surprized by what I see, and alarmed by what I hear; but the foundation of my quiet remains unmoved—a pure and peaceful conscience. Deign to listen to me, who am but a child, and stand in need of instruction. To the end that I may both appease my adversaries and comply with the wishes of my friends, I send you these mere trifles, things explanatory of my theses, that I may be safer under the shadow of the pontifical name, and the shadow of its protection.—Prostrate at thy feet, most blessed Father, I offer myself, with all that I am and have. Give me life or death; call or recall, approve or reprove, as seemeth best to thee. I shall recognize thy voice as the voice of Christ speaking in thee; and if I have deserved death, I will not refuse to die. The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is. May he be praised for ever and ever! May he uphold thee to all eternity!"

In Scotland as in Germany, the early Reformers directed their attacks, not against the constitution of the Church, but against the impiety and abuses of its administration.

They denounced the false doctrine and bad lives of those to whom its powers were committed, and who, while they studied their own ease and sensual enjoyments, neglected the flock of Christ, which they had been appointed to teach, admonish, and protect from deadly errors. In both cases the views of the leaders gradually changed; and finding that no alteration for the better could be obtained, they at length, though not without fear and reluctance, resolved to leave a Church in which the means of salvation could no longer be obtained.

As a proof that the Scottish Reformers denounced the doctrinal errors, and not the constitution or ritual of the Church, it may be mentioned, that Sir John Borthwick, who in the year 1539 was accused of heresy, was merely charged with the crime of teaching that “the tenets of the English and their new Liturgy were commendable, and worthy to be embraced by all Christians—that churchmen ought not to enjoy any temporalities—that the King ought to employ the rents of the Church for other pious uses—that the various orders of monks and friars ought to be abolished—and finally, that the Kirk of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English.”

The spirit of the age, too, was hostile to the continued ascendancy of the ecclesiastics raised to civil power by the Fifth James, who had bestowed many of the more dignified offices under the Crown upon churchmen. The warlike barons were not only ignorant of letters, and unpractised in deliberation, but shewed the utmost contempt for such accomplishments, as being at once unsuitable to their rank, and to the more manly exercises in which their youth had been trained. They were, therefore, little prepared to brook the elevation of timid clergymen, whose strength appeared to them to consist in intrigue, and whose merit, in their eyes, was confined to the ambiguous task of perplexing the counsels of more honest men. The laity, in general, who by their superstition and profuseness had con-

tributed to raise the ministers of the altar to wealth and eminence, had already begun to resist their encroachments as statesmen and councillors. They now perceived that the means were placed within their reach of throwing off the yoke of sacerdotal dominion, long felt to be oppressive, and which they were now taught to consider as also unchristian. They expected to recover possession of the revenues which their ancestors had appropriated to pious uses ; and they flattered themselves, at the same time, that by resuming such property, they should impose a check on the ostentation of the Prelates, and compel them to confine their views within bounds more suited to their sacred calling.

Such feelings, however, under a steady government, might have been checked, or at least prevented from assuming an active form, had not the multitude, at the same time, been taught to entertain similar impressions of pious indignation ; which the preachers of the new opinions laboured to excite, by constantly declaiming against the Popish ecclesiastics, as men who had corrupted the doctrines of Christianity, perverted the true faith, and substituted in its place the unprofitable exercises of bodily penance, or the observances of an obscure ritual. At all times the lower classes of the people have a natural aversion to every appearance of pomp and riches in clergymen ; expecting rather to find in the minister of Christ tokens of a meek and self-denying spirit ; an example of pious and virtuous living ; a counsellor in difficulties ; and a comforter in distress. They are accordingly not less shocked than disappointed when they have presented to them a picture of pride, avarice, and dissipation, though the lineaments may have been drawn by the hand of an enemy. Without exercising either candour or inquiry, they make haste to denounce those against whom such bitter sarcasms are uttered by an eloquent tongue, though the harangue may have been inflamed much more by personal animosity than by zeal for pure religion. At all events, at the epoch now under consideration, the ancient

hierarchy had ceased to rest on the solid foundation of respect and love ; and, accordingly, when the arm of the State was no longer able to support it, the counsels of the aristocracy were employed to undermine it, and the hands of the people were stretched out to pull it down.

In all the kingdoms of Europe, to which the principles of the Reformation extended, its progress was marked by the singular desire of putting into the hands of the temporal Sovereign the power which had just been wrested from the Bishop of Rome. The new teachers justified their conduct on the ground that all authority in ecclesiastical matters proceeds from the civil magistrate, and consequently, that the Church, though regarded as an institution founded by Christ, has not the right of judging even in spiritual things ; no direct control over the avowed opinions of its members ; and no claim for a legal or independent endowment. The history of Wicliff supplies many instances wherein he acted on the principles now explained, at once so derogatory to the clerical order, and so flattering to ambitious monarchs. When, for example, he was accused of inculcating doctrines hostile to the purity of the faith, as then professed by nearly the whole christian world, and was threatened by the University in which he held a public charge, that unless he desisted from such practices he should be proceeded against according to the laws of the Church, we find him, instead of entering into any explanation, boldly denying the competency of an ecclesiastical tribunal upon earth, and determined to appeal forthwith to the King. In strict conformity with such opinions, he maintained that “ a Prelate or Bishop excommunicating any of the clergie which hath appealed to the King or to the Councell, is thereby a traitour to the King and the realme.” Nay, he extended the same conclusion to the jurisdiction of the Pope himself ; who, he asserted, if a bad man, had “ no power, by any manner of means, given to him over faithful

Christians, unless, peradventure, it be given him from the Emperor."

The same spirit was manifested by the original Reformers in Scotland; not only did they refuse to acknowledge the superintendence of the Pope, but, following the example of Wicliff and Luther, laboured to transfer to the Crown the spiritual jurisdiction of which they had deprived him. For example, when Seaton, the Confessor of James the Fifth, found his life endangered by the churchmen, he exhorted the King "to use the authority committed to him by God;" offering to prove from reason and Scripture, that the ecclesiastical estate should in all cases be rendered subordinate to the civil, and also that the determination of religious controversies belongs to the Prince, and not to the clerical tyrants who had usurped his rights.¹

At a subsequent period, these Erastian notions, as they would now be described, were utterly rejected by the Scottish Protestants, and their place supplied by a firm resolution to invest the preachers of the Gospel with all the power and terrors which had belonged to the older establishment. Had the royal authority, at the important crisis when the new doctrines began to be generally received by the people, been wielded by the hands of a vigorous monarch, the external form of the Church would, it is probable, have been moulded according to his wishes, and established on a more regular and permanent foundation than it actually acquired, till after the lapse of many years. But, on the untimely death of the King, the sceptre fell into the hands of his infant daughter, Mary, who could not exercise that prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs which, agreeably to the spirit of the age, would have been readily conceded to a maturer mind; and as the Regent, the Earl of Arran, was not possessed either of talent or principle sufficient to qualify him to take the lead in a discussion so delicate, the

¹ Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, Book Second, p. 65.

question of Church Government was left undetermined until another influence arose, which entirely changed the scene as well as the grounds of deliberation. The wishes of the Sovereign, at this new era, being entirely overlooked, the wisdom of certain lords, aided by the counsels of Knox and other ministers, suggested a scheme of ecclesiastical policy, which, without any particular reference to the standard of antiquity, would, it was hoped, conciliate all parties ; those, on the one hand, who were desirous to retain some resemblance to the ancient pattern, and on the other, that more numerous body who thought it impossible to recede too far from the usages of a Communion, whose corruptions they had taken the utmost pains to expose. To a variety of motives which had not yet in Scotland exerted all their power, there was soon added the working of a secret bias derived from those congregations which, at Geneva, in the southern parts of France, and in the Low Countries, had originated a new plan for regulating the discipline of the Church, as well as for communicating to their members the blessings of the Gospel.

In 1560, a Parliament or Convention was held at Edinburgh, when the Reformers, with very little respect for the royal prerogative, proceeded to frame a Constitution for the Church, into which was introduced a species of Episcopal rule, under the name of Superintendency. Being aware that it was the name, not the office, which had given offence to the popular mind, the authors of the Book of Discipline avoided the term Bishop ; and by altering the translation of the Greek word, which literally means overseer, they substituted the less displeasing title of Superintendent. These persons, of whom ten were appointed to a corresponding number of Dioceses or Districts, were instructed to move from place to place, as necessity should require. They were enjoined to enter upon a visitation of their whole bounds, and not to rest till the Churches should be wholly planted and provided with ministers or readers. “ In their visitation,

they must try the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers; the order of the churches, and manners of the people; how the poor are provided, and how the youth is instructed; they must admonish where admonition needeth, and address all things that by good counsel they are able to compose."

Knox informs his readers that Superintendents were nominated, not so much to meet any special emergency connected with the times in which he lived, as "that all things in the Church may be carried with order and well." This plan of Church Government did not long continue; and a question has arisen, whether those who devised it meant that it should be permanent. Episcopalians, no doubt, would have preferred to it an exact resemblance to the Church of England; while those who afterwards embraced, with so much zeal, the exclusive and divine authority of the Presbyterian model, consider it as a stumbling-block which they are eager to remove. They have accordingly represented the institution of Superintendents as not designed by Knox to continue in the Church, and on this ground endeavour to gain to their principles his countenance and authority. "But," says a modern author of their own Communion, "the ground upon which they rest this assertion is not sufficient to bear it. It is apparent from the manner in which Knox has spoken of the state of religion while Superintendents were recognised, from the uniformity with which he inculcated deference to the higher ecclesiastical powers, and from the language used in the Acts of the successive Assemblies, in some of which Superintendents are explicitly classed among the needful members of the Church, that he was firmly persuaded that his plan ought to be permanent; that so far from being only a 'devout imagination,' as it was by some of the nobility contemptuously characterised, it was the best scheme which presented itself to his mind."¹

There is no reasonable ground for doubting that this modified species of Episcopacy was meant to be permanent,

¹ Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II. p. 417.

for the persons who promoted it, and took a share in its administration, were not inclined to adopt the system of parity which was afterwards introduced. This conclusion is confirmed by the remarkable fact that the compilers of the First Book of Discipline were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days. Winram, for example, died Superintendent of Strathern; Willock was Superintendent of the West; Spottiswoode was many years Superintendent of Lothian and Tweeddale, and, as we learn from his son the Primate, continued hostile to Presbyterianism throughout his life; Douglas became Archbishop of St Andrews; and Row was one of the three who afterwards defended the lawfulness of Diocesan Episcopacy at the Conference appointed by the General Assembly in 1575. The associates of Knox, it is manifest, were not Presbyterians, and had no intention of erecting a system of equality among the ministers of their new establishment. If evidence were wanting, a reference might be made to a letter written by Erskine to the Regent, dated November 1571, in which he maintains not only the expediency, but even the divine authority of the Episcopal office in the Church of Christ. Every one knows that he was a fellow-labourer with the great Reformer in new-modelling the Constitution of the Kirk, and was himself one of the original Superintendents; hence it may be inferred that the opinions which he expresses in an official communication to the head of the government, were those entertained by the whole body to which he belonged. Alluding to the instructions and authority which St Paul directed to Timothy and Titus, when he appointed them respectively to the charge of Ephesus and Crete, he remarks, "Thus have I expressed plainly by Scripture, that to the office of a Bishop pertain examination and admission into spiritual office, and also to oversee them who are admitted, that they walk uprightly, and exercise their office faithfully and purely: to take away this power from the Bishop or Superintendent, is to take

away the office of a Bishop, that no Bishop be in the Church. As to the question, If it be expedient that a Superintendent be where a qualified Bishop is? I understand a Bishop or Superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is the other is."

The foregoing remarks, extended perhaps to an undue length, will prepare the reader to comprehend the position of ecclesiastical affairs at the period when the Spottiswoodes, father and son, were called to occupy the prominent place which they held in the Scottish Church.

The Superintendent was one of the six persons appointed by the Lords of the Congregation "to commit to writing their judgment touching the Reformation;" and the fruits of their labours were the First Book of Discipline and a Confession of Faith. "Divers of this number," says his son, the Archbishop, "persuaded the retaining of the ancient polity, and to purge it from the corruptions and abuses only which had crept into it, forasmuch as they were not to make a new Church, but only to reform it, and to reduce things to that perfection from which they had swerved. But these devices took no place: John Knox, who then carried the chiefest sway, liked that course best which stood in extreme opposition to the Church of Rome, and studied by all means to conform the government of the Church to that which he had seen in Geneva." This government, it need not be added, was monarchical and despotic, the President of the Consistory being Calvin himself, who held this office during his whole life; an eminence to which Knox might have attained, had his ambition pointed in that direction.

A modern biographer, who does not, it is true, regularly quote his authorities, relates that the elder Spottiswoode, about the year 1534, withdrew into England, where the Reformation had already made a considerable progress, and where a greater degree of liberty with regard to religion was then allowed. "He now intended, it has been said, to follow some secular employment; but Providence so ordered

that he was introduced to Archbishop Cranmer, who afterwards, in the reign of Queen Mary, suffered death as a martyr to his religion. This great and good man was much pleased with Mr Spottiswoode; he admitted him into his familiarity, and fully instructed and confirmed him in the Protestant faith. It may be presumed that, if he had not received clerical Orders before, he now received them from the hands of the Archbishop. It is probable that he resided chiefly in the Primate's family as one of his chaplains, and assisted him in the various parts of public business, in which, from the nature of his office, he was necessarily engaged. It must have been in some such situation that he became a person well known at the court of England." ¹

If the facts here stated could be entirely relied upon, there would be no difficulty in accounting for the strong bias in favour of Episcopacy manifested by the Superintendent of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, as well as by his more distinguished son. The motives of the latter have been questioned by uncandid writers, who forget that before Presbyterianism was fully established in Scotland, Archbishop Spottiswoode was advanced to the See of Glasgow.

No event occurred in this Diocese of sufficient importance to arrest the attention of the reader till the year 1610, when a General Assembly was appointed to be held in that city on the 6th day of June. The Earl of Dunbar was named by his Majesty, Chief Commissioner, and the Archbishop was elected to preside during the deliberations of the Convocation, lay and clerical, who represented the Church of Scotland. The Commissioner drew the attention of the members to "certain points of discipline," which his Majesty desired should be determined by them, that "all things might be done thereafter orderly in the Church, and with that consent and harmony which was fitting among preachers." After an amicable discussion,

¹ A History of the Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland. By the Reverend James Scott, late Senior Minister of Perth. 1810.

which continued three days, the following Resolutions were adopted as the Conclusions of the Assembly :—

1. The Assembly did acknowledge the indiction of all such General Assemblies of the Church to belong to his Majesty by the prerogative of his Crown, and all Convocations of that kind without his licence to be merely unlawful; condemning the Conventicle of Aberdeen, made in the year 1605, as having no warrant from his Majesty, and contrary to the prohibition he had given.

2. That Synods should be kept in every Diocese twice in the year, namely, in April and October, and to be moderated (presided over) by the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese, or where the Dioceses are so large as all the ministers cannot conveniently assemble at one place, that there be one or more held, and in the Bishop's absence, the place of Moderator be supplied by the most worthy minister having charge in the bounds, such as the Archbishop or Bishop shall appoint.

3. That no sentence of excommunication, or absolution from the same, be pronounced against or in favour of any person without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the Diocese, who must be answerable to God and his Majesty for the formal and impartial proceedings thereof. And the process being found formal, that the sentence be pronounced, at the Bishop's direction, by the minister of the parish where the offender hath his dwelling, and the process did first begin.

4. That all presentations, in time coming, be directed to the Archbishop or Bishop of the Diocese within which the benefice that is void lieth, with power to the Archbishop or Bishop to dispoise or confer the benefices that are void within the Diocese, after the lapse, *jure devoluto*.

5. That upon the deposition of ministers, on any occasion, the Bishop do associate to himself some of the ministers within the bounds where the delinquent serveth, and after just trial of the fact, and merit of it, pronounce the sentence

of deprivation. The like order to be observed in the suspension of ministers from the exercise of their functions.

6. That every minister, at his admission, swear obedience to his Majesty and to his Ordinary, according to the form agreed upon, anno 1571.

7. That the visitation of the Diocese be made by the Bishop himself, and, if the bounds be greater than he can well undertake, by such a worthy man of the ministry, within the Diocese, as he shall choose, to visit in his place. And whatsoever minister, without just cause or lawful excuse, shall absent himself from the Visitation or Diocesan Assembly, be suspended from his office and benefice, and, if he do not amend, be deprived.

8. That the convention of ministers for exercise be moderated by the Bishop being present, and in his absence, by any minister in his Synod that he shall nominate.

9. And last, it was ordained that no minister should speak against any of the foresaid Conclusions in public, nor dispute the question of equality or inequality of ministry, as tending only to the entertainment of schism in the Church, and violation of the peace thereof.

I have copied these Resolutions without any abridgement ; because, in regard to them, the accuracy and good faith of the Archbishop, as an author, have been seriously impeached. The latest historian of the Scottish Church, after mentioning some deviations from the record made by other writers, adds,—“ but the charge against Spottiswoode is of a much more serious nature. Although he was Moderator of the Assembly, and must, when he wrote his History, have had full access to the official Record, he has not only misrepresented some of the Articles and suppressed some clauses, but two of the Articles he has entirely omitted. That this was not the effect of negligence or of accident, is evident, from the nature of the alterations and omissions. The First Article, as it is in the Register, provides that an Assembly should

be held once a-year. The Archbishop, in the Article, as given by him, makes not the least allusion to this important stipulation, which he knew, when he wrote, had been most flagrantly violated. In the Third Article, instead of the words "answerable to his Majesty," Spottiswoode has "answerable to God and his Majesty;" and he leaves out the concluding clause of the Article, which was not consistent with his high notions of Episcopal dignity. In the Sixth Article, he omits the form of the oath, perhaps from his having been struck with the curious fact, that there is in it no mention of the Ordinary to whom the minister was said to swear; a fact upon which Calderwood, not without some plausibility, rests a conjecture that the words "to his Ordinary," had been inserted in the Article after it was enacted. The Primate omits entirely the Ninth Article, by which Bishops were in all things subjected to the Assembly, authorizing even their deposition, if they should be found guilty; and also the Tenth, respecting the age of a Bishop, and the necessity of his having been ten years an officiating minister before he could obtain a mitre. If we suppose that the History was printed exactly as it was written by the author, the conduct of Spottiswoode cannot be too severely reprobated; for he was attempting to mislead posterity, and to support, by an unfair or false representation, the authority and the powers of the Scottish Prelates." ¹

¹ The History of the Church of Scotland, from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution. By George Cook, D.D. Vol. II. p. 235, 236. To the remarks quoted in the text, Dr Cook adds, "it is proper to observe that most unwarrantable freedom was used with the Archbishop's Manuscript. Crawford mentions that the copy left for publication had fallen into bad hands; and Wodrow, he continues, not only states the same fact, but contrasts the printed Work with what had been actually written by the Primate. We may, therefore, for the honour of a writer who often shows considerable candour, and who was possessed of talents highly respectable, hope that some of the changes which have been noticed may be ascribed to the Editor; but it is impossible not to deplore the influence of party spirit which darkens the understanding, and perverts that integrity which is the basis of virtue."

As the imputation cast upon the Archbishop in this case does not apply to carelessness or misapprehension, I have consulted Calderwood and other authorities, and find not the slightest evidence that it was provided by the Convocation at Glasgow that “an Assembly should be held once a-year.” The words of Calderwood, the author on whose accuracy the chief reliance seems to be placed, are as follows:—Under the title of Heads of Articles concerning the Discipline of the Kirk to be observed in all time coming, he states, that “in the first, it is declared that the alleged Assembly, holden at Aberdeen, is null in itself, specially in respect it had not his Majesty’s allowance, and was discharged by his Highness’s Commissioner. And because the necessity of the Kirk craveth that for order-taking with the common enemies and other affairs of the Kirk, there be yearly General Assemblies, the indiction whereof the Assembly acknowledgeth to appertain to his Majesty by the prerogative of the royal Crown; and therefore, the General Assembly most humbly request his Majesty that General Assemblies be held once in the year; or, at least, in respect of the necessities foresaid, his Majesty would appoint a certain time at which the same shall be holden in all time coming.”¹

In the Scottish Acts of Parliament, as lately printed, there is a “Ratification of the Acts and Conclusions set down and agreed upon in the General Assembly of the Kirk, keepit in Glasgow in the year 1610; together with an explanation made by the Estates of some Articles of the same.” In the first Conclusion, “the fairsaid Assemblée acknowledgeth the indiction of the General Assemblée of the Kirk to appertain to his Majestie by the prerogative of

¹ All the authorities I have seen agree in this, that the Assembly resolved to petition the King that he would summon an Assembly once a-year, or at least at certain periods. But no writer of that age asserts that the Assembly decreed that there should be such a convocation annually. On the contrary, they admit that the indiction of such meeting belonged to his Majesty’s prerogative, and could not be convened without his consent.

his royall Crowne." There is no allusion whatever even to the desire expressed by some of the ministers to have periodical meetings of their principal judicatory; nor is there any reference made to the supposed Resolution by which themselves are represented to have decreed that there should be a meeting every year. They resolved to petition the King, but nothing more. In truth, as Dr Cook himself remarks, "the stipulation in favour of annual Assemblies (which he assumes was made) would have amounted to nothing; for as no Assembly was valid which the King did not sanction, it might have been apparent, even to the most careless, that he would never summon those who were to resist him, and that, by degrading submission alone, the ruins of Presbytery would be permitted to exist."

It is proper to add, that Calderwood's volume does contain the Ninth Article, which is omitted by Spottiswoode; namely, that "the Bishops should be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice, to the censure of the General Assembly, and being found culpable, should, with his Majesty's consent and advice, be deprived." The original Record no longer exists, and there remain no longer any means of determining whether such a Resolution was passed. There is no allusion to it in the Parliamentary Ratification of the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly; a circumstance which tends to confirm the accuracy of the Archbishop's narrative.

In the "Continuation of Mr James Melville's Diary," the Conclusions are presented in nearly the same terms which Calderwood employs, without professing to be a literal copy of the original. Addressing a friend, in a private letter, "touching the proceedings of the Assembly at Glasgow," he writes, "the principal Articles concludit were, First, the General Assemblie at Aberdecne condemnit: 2. The hail power of visitatione of Kirks, of excommunicatioune, of admitting and deposing of Ministeres, to be in the handis of Bishopis, everie ane within their awin Diosie, and sua

many as they pleis to joyne thame, twyse in the yeir ; Diocesiane meittingis to be twyse in the yeir ; General Assemblies to be none, except as the King shall think meitte to appoint. If the Bischop doe amiss in the power committed to him, it shall be lawful to the ministers to complain against him to the General Assemblie, quhilk shall take order with him, according to the King's advice, as shall be qualified against him."

From the extracts now made, it is manifest that the First Article does not provide that an Assembly should be held once a-year ; and as that Court was not to convene except when specially summoned by his Majesty, it is not probable that the deputies assembled at Glasgow would subject to its jurisdiction the conduct of the Bishops. James had the remedy in his own hand ; and he would never have consented to see a Prelate arraigned at the bar of the Presbyters whom they were appointed to govern. To put an end to this unseemly state of things—this collision of authority and pretension among the several orders of ministers—had been the main object of regal policy during many years. It is, therefore, highly improbable that the Royal Commissioner would have consented to the Ninth Article, or that the King would have accepted it, if allowed to pass. It is not, therefore, surprising that this Resolution is not found either in Spottiswoode's History, or in the Ratification by Parliament of the " Acts and Conclusions set down and agreed upon in the General Assemblie of the Kirk keepit in Glasgow, in the month of June 1610." Indeed, it is manifest that the Archbishop, in collecting materials for his Work, and the members of the Parliament now mentioned, must have drawn their information from the same source, which, in all probability, was the original Register which was still in possession of the Church.

It ought not to be forgotten that the author of the " History of the Church of Scotland" is accused by the writers to whom I have alluded, not of simple inaccuracy, but of a

premeditated corruption of a public Record, to which, as President of a great Ecclesiastical Convention, and as Ordinary of the Diocese in which it was held, he had official access. To every one, however, who examines with candour the grounds of this serious charge, it will appear that the impeachment rests entirely on the fact, that several incorrect copies of the Resolutions having been obtained through private channels, and put in circulation, the decisions of the Assembly were mixed up with the wishes of some individuals, and with the comments of others. There are not to be found two transcripts which entirely agree in all the points which fell under the discussion of the members at their several sittings. The majority, too, in favour of the Resolutions was so great, that his Majesty's Representative could have found no difficulty in procuring the concurrence of the clerical body in the enactment of such measures as would give satisfaction to his royal master. Out of a hundred and forty members not more than three dissented; or according to Calderwood, "there were only five who refused their assent to these damnable Conclusions of this woful Assembly."

This unanimity has given occasion to a reproach, from which it was not meant by its authors that the character of the Archbishop should be exempted. It is maintained that the more influential of the members were bribed by the Earl of Dunbar, who acted on this occasion as Royal Commissioner. He poured gold into their pockets, and thereby gained their suffrages to an iniquitous measure, fatal to the Church and dishonourable to the religion of Christ. Were this accusation just, it is manifest that, like a two-edged sword, it would cut on both sides, for bribery implies guilt in two parties;—he who offers, and he who takes. But that there was no blame chargeable either on the Earl or on the ministers, will appear from a simple statement of historical facts. In the Assembly holden at Linlithgow, in December 1606, it was resolved that permanent Moderators should be

appointed in Presbyteries as well as in Synods, in order to avoid the evil arising from the "lack of wisdom and experience" in young men who might be elected to fill those offices. As some degree of expense might be incurred in the discharge of these duties, especially in those connected with the Provincial Assemblies, it was resolved that a small salary should be granted by the Crown, amounting to a hundred pounds Scottish money, or eight pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling. This small allowance not having been paid, the Moderators, when assembled at Glasgow in 1610, complained to the Commissioner that, "notwithstanding of the promise made at their accepting of the charge, they had received no payment at all of the stipend allowed." The Earl of Dunbar excused the neglect, on the ground that he had been out of the country, and that no application had ever been made to him ; but added, that before the Assembly should be dissolved, he would cause satisfaction to be given to them for the time past. The ministers therein remitting themselves to his Majesty's good pleasure, gave his Lordship thanks for what he had offered, which he did also see performed ; some four thousand pounds Scots being distributed by the Treasurer's servants among those who had borne the charge. "Certain of the discontented sort," as is stated by the Archbishop, "did interpret it to be a sort of corruption ; giving out that this was done for obtaining the ministers' voices. Howbeit the debt was known to be just ; and that no motion was made of that business before the foresaid Conclusions were enacted."

Much calumny was connected with this simple transaction ; and even at this day the charge of corruption is repeated, though it must be admitted that the debt was unquestionable, and that the business of the Assembly was finished before the Commissioner was reminded of this small claim on the public purse.

It was not without reason that the Right Reverend author anticipated both slander and misinterpretation. "I

am not ignorant what the judgment of divers will be, and that I shall be held a partial witness in the matters of this last time. But I will pray those who think so, not to give sentence before they have examined what I have written. Sure I am they shall find no untruth therein ; nothing said without warrant ; nothing out of humour ; nay, not the smallest prejudice offered in the relation either to the cause or person. Whatsoever my private opinion is of matters, I have studied to keep an indifferency in writing ; and so, contented to propound the causes, counsels, and success of every business, I leave to each man his liberty of approving or disapproving things as he shall have reason."

The Primate does not here assume a merit to which he had not the most unquestionable right. Those who impeach his accuracy have, with hardly any exception, allowed themselves to be misled by ignorance of facts, or by the malignant strictures of party-writers, whose passions darkened or paralysed their judgment. Calderwood is generally admitted to be a very acrimonious writer ; but in regard to the Resolutions of the Assembly held in Glasgow in 1610, his statements are accurate, or when he is in error, his mistakes, in point of fact, are corrected by his own reasoning. So far from asserting that the majority resolved that there should be annual meetings of the whole Church, he relates, in distinct terms, that the Assembly " was to petition the King " to allow such Convocation, either every year, or, at least, at certain fixed periods. This failing, he acknowledges that the Resolutions, which subjected the Bishops to the control of the Assembly, in respect to their morals and official conduct, " fell to the ground." Having admitted that the power of indieting or summoning an Assembly belonged exclusively to the royal prerogative, all discipline connected with such Convocations was necessarily suspended.

The anxiety of the King, in regard to these popular meetings, arose from the rather turbulent, and sometimes rebellious, spirit which animated their proceedings, and

which thwarted all his views towards public peace. A democratical impulse already prevailed throughout the nation, especially in the Church; and, in the royal eye, nothing appeared more likely to check its progress than a system of ecclesiastical polity which would give repose to the multitude, and remove the more violent of the clergy from all direct interference in the management of theological discussions. The sentiments of his Majesty were more clearly revealed in his celebrated Work, the “*Basilikon Doron*,” some extracts from which, even before it was put to press, were obtained by Andrew Melville, who, without being deterred by any of those considerations which condemn a breach of confidence, laid them on the table of the Synod of which he was a member, accompanied by some severe reflections on the author. The passage which gave most offence is as follows:—“That parity amongst ministers is inconsistent with monarchy; that without Bishops the Three Estates in Parliament cannot be restored; and that the design of the Presbyterian ministers is to establish a democracy.” Spottiswoode says that the extracts now mentioned were produced in Synod by Mr John Dikes, minister at Anstruther; and that they were procured by Melville from Sir James Semple, who had been employed by the King to transcribe his manuscript.¹

Nor was the King himself permitted to remain ignorant of the feelings with which he was regarded by the leading members of the reformed body, who had alienated his affections entirely from the presbyterian system of church-government. At a Conference, to which his Majesty invited some of the ministers in the Diocese of St Andrews, Melville, perceiving that the royal patience was exhausted, “uttered his commission as from Almighty God; called the King *God’s silly vassal*; and, taking him by the sleeve, said this in effect—‘Sir, we will humbly reverence your Majesty always, namely, in

public; but as we have this occasion to be with your Majesty in private, and you are brought into extreme danger both of your life and crown, and with you the country and Kirk of God is like to be wrecked, for not telling you the truth and giving a faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or be enemies to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as divers times before, so now I must tell you, that there are two kings and two kingdoms,—there is Christ and his kingdom—the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member;—and they whom Christ hath called and commanded to watch over his Kirk, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power and authority from him to do so; which no Christian king can control nor discharge, but fortify and assist—otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. The wisdom of your Council, which is devilish and pernicious, is this—that you may be served by all sorts of men to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the ministers in Scotland are too 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 unto him, so shall he be well settled. But, Sir, let God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere folly and madness; for his curse cannot but light upon it, so that in seeking both you will lose both;—whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants will be your true friends, and he will compel the rest, counterfeitingly and lyingly, to serve you.' ”¹

In this address to the Sovereign of Scotland, pronounced by him who was the real founder of presbyterianism in that country, there are very distinct reasons given for the paramount authority claimed by the Spiritual Estate, as well as for all the measures adopted by its more active members, to

¹ Calderwood, p. 329.

oppose the pacific designs of his Majesty. Of the two kingdoms mentioned by Melville, that assigned to the Redeemer was unquestionably greater, and more worthy of unlimited obedience than the one possessed by James the Sixth; and the ministers of Christ accordingly were entitled to a larger deference than the highest servants of an earthly monarch, who, in relation to divine matters, was himself a subject and a pupil. But the orator could hardly fail to be aware, that in employing the argument by means of which he attempted to diminish the prerogative of his Sovereign, he was using the very reasons which, during several centuries, had been urged by the Roman Catholics with the view of maintaining the universal supremacy of the Pope. From Thomas of Canterbury down to Cardinal Beaton, no papal dignitary ever exacted obeisance from earthly rulers in his own personal right, but in all cases claimed submission as the representative of the Celestial Head of the Church. The Presbyterian seized the same vantage-ground in the Conference at Falkland. The Kirk is the kingdom of Christ; her ministers are his chosen servants, and entrusted with authority to govern that kingdom independently of every temporal potentate; and therefore their allegiance to the King of Scots must be measured by the extent of his submission to their theological injunctions. On one occasion, the same individual told the King to his face, “that he and his Council presumed too boldly in a constituted estate of a Christian Kirk—the Kingdom of Jesus Christ—to take upon them to judge the doctrines, and controul the ambassadors and messengers of a King and Council greater than they, and far above them;” and hence, that “all godly princes and magistrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the majesty of the Son of God, by them speaking.”¹

The same spirit, somewhat modified by political circumstances, continued to animate the leaders of ecclesiastical

¹ James Melville's Diary, pp. 105, 142. Wodrow Edition.

affairs down to the accession of Charles the Second, when they joined in a Remonstrance, exhorting the Committee of Estates “to adhere to the King only in defence of religion and liberty, and if he shall forsake the counsels of the Church and State, and be guided by Malignants, that he be removed from the exercise of government.”¹

Such discussions, mingling politics with religion, and restricting the duty of a subject by the measure of his theological opinions, “split the Church into parties, and made a breach not yet fully healed up.”²

James the Sixth, of whom it has been said, more smartly, perhaps, than justly, “that he was learned without being wise, and good-natured without being good,” could not endure the freedoms used with his prerogative, and was driven into hostility with the Presbyterians, not because he dissented from their opinions as Divines, but because he dreaded that their ecclesiastical system was inconsistent with the exercise of monarchy in a free state. When a petition was presented to him after his accession to the English throne, touching certain alleged abuses in the Church, he exclaimed, that “his mother and he had been haunted by a Puritan Devil from their very cradles,” and entreated that he might now be permitted to enjoy some repose. He remarked at the same time, that the revolt in the Low Countries, which had lasted ever since he was born, and of which he did not expect to see the end, began by a petition on matters of religion.

Such was the state of things when Archbishop Spottiswoode found himself placed in the See of Glasgow; and it was varied only by royal favour and popular insolence till the end of his life. His prudence and gentle rule secured to him many faithful friends in all ranks of society; and even those who were opposed to the Church over which he presided, acknowledged his moderation, and were ready to

¹ Shaw's History of Moray, p. 368.

² Shaw, p. 367.

admit his candour in the opinions he expressed regarding his avowed antagonists. At the time he was raised to the Episcopate, it is true, the first heats produced by a contested reformation had passed away. There had, no doubt, succeeded among the higher ranks of laymen, an indifference to the interests of the new establishment which threatened worse effects than the hostility of the Romanists. At a Parliament held in 1571, it was resolved that the property of the Church should be alienated for ever from the ecclesiastical body. This Statute was formed upon the plea, that since the Reformation, most of the Bishops, Priors, and Abbots had died, and that, as successors to them were not to be appointed, no title to lands or tithes could be given, except by some new provision of the legislature. By this one sweeping Act, that large division of the Church's patrimony that had been seized during the troubled period which followed the death of James the Fifth, was converted into a royal fee, and secured, in the meantime, to the rapacious retainers of the Court.

This violent measure induced the Protestant ministers to listen to a plan for revising the principles of their Constitution. They were soon convinced that, as ecclesiastical property was originally vested in the dignified clergy, the right to its inheritance, in a legal point of view, depended upon the existence of the several orders of the hierarchy as members of the Establishment. One of the leading Reformers, addressing the Regent, observed, "that the fault of the whole stands in this, that the polity of the Church of Scotland is not perfect; nor has there been any solid conference amongst godly men of sound judgment and of good intentions as to what remedy should be provided." It was therefore proposed that certain changes should be introduced, which, by bringing the ecclesiastical form of the Protestant body nearer to the ancient model, would at once restore the Third Estate to their place in Parliament, and thereby entitle the revived Prelacy to demand possession of

the various revenues belonging to their order. On their part, the clergy, in general, felt that it was highly important to their interests that they should, as of old, be represented in the legislature.

With the concurrence of the Earl of Mar, then at the head of affairs, an Assembly was convened in January 1572; and, after due deliberation, it was resolved that the names and titles of the Archbishops and Bishops be not altered, nor the bounds of the Dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time coming as they did before the reformation of religion, at least till the King's majority, or till Parliament shall determine otherwise; that all spiritual jurisdiction shall be exercised by the Bishops in their several Districts; and that ministers should receive ordination from the Bishop of the Diocese, and, where no Bishop was as yet placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds.

The ground upon which Episcopacy was now placed, proved not sufficiently strong to bear the assaults of an able enemy who watched every opportunity to renew their attacks against it; and, accordingly, though the King exerted all the influence of his Crown in its behalf, he was compelled to witness its temporary decline. But the Bishops still held seats in Parliament, and were recognised as the chief office-bearers in the Church; and though the exercise of their spiritual authority was restricted and frequently opposed, their function was not superseded even by the provisions of the Second Book of Discipline, ratified in 1592. James would not consent to the petition of the ministers, when they solicited that the different orders of Prelates might be deprived of their votes in the legislature. Had the expedient of dissent been known in those days, the more violent preachers would probably have seceded from the Establishment, even when under the mild but inefficient sway of the Superintendents, and thereby afforded, to the better experienced and temperate among the brethren, an opportunity of strengthening its foundations, and consolidating its structure. But,

at this early period, respect for the unity of the Church prevented even the most refractory from attempting to create a new Communion. They adopted the notion which had descended to them on the current of Ecclesiastical history, that the visible body of Christ could have only one form; that there could be no more than one Church; and, accordingly, when they were employed in setting up the reformed model with the one hand, they were busy tearing down the ancient fabric with the other. Proceeding on the same principle, they denominated themselves the “Universal Kirk;” and no sooner had they obtained even the partial countenance of the civil government, than they declared that the Romish Priests had ceased to be clergymen; that “they had neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments, and were consequently exposed to the punishment due to those who counterfeit the seals of the Redeemer”—a painful death inflicted by the hands of the civil magistrate.

The polity delineated in the Second Book of Discipline granted to the Presbyterians an extent of power in ecclesiastical matters, for the exercise of which they found themselves quite unprepared; and a short experience convinced the leaders that they could not yet dispense with all the institutions of Episcopacy. During the temporary decline of the Prelatical government, it became customary to elect, once a-year, from among the ministers certain Commissioners, or Visitors of Districts, who were invested with powers similar to those which the Bishops had enjoyed; and it was not uncommon to confer this appointment on some of these dignitaries themselves. This office, indeed, was at open variance with those principles of parity for which the preachers had so long contended; and yet at an Assembly, held within a year after the new Constitution was ratified, the function of Visitor was revived, and clothed too with an authority very closely resembling that which had been wrested from the former governors of the Church, as one of

the greatest corruptions of religion. The Act was framed in the following terms :—

“ Forasmuch as the visitation of Presbyteries throughout the whole nation is thought very necessary, and from diverse Assemblies commissions have been given to that effect : the necessity still existing, the Church and Commissioners present have given commission to certain brethren, to visit, and try the life, doctrine, conversation, diligence, and fidelity of the pastors within the said Presbyteries ; and also to ascertain whether if there be any of the beneficed ministers within the same not residing, and who have no just cause of non-residence ; to proceed with the consent of Presbyteries against all who have dilapidated their benefices, set tacks, and made other arrangements, without the consent of the Church ; and to try slanderous persons unmeet to serve in the ministry, and unable or unqualified to teach and edify their hearers.”

This, says a Presbyterian author, “ was certainly a wide step towards the restoration of Episcopal privileges. In this light it was regarded, and had the King, availing himself of it, studiously conciliated the ministers, he might have seen, what he was so desirous afterwards to introduce, an uniformity of ecclesiastical polity in both the British Kingdoms, with the concurrence of the great majority of his people.” ¹

The observation just quoted is not without reason, and the result anticipated would probably have been realized, had not civil strife, originating in the South, mixed itself so deeply with religious dissension. The agitations which divided the English Parliament soon extended themselves into the North, and put a sword into the hands of churchmen which was not sheathed until the King had fallen from his throne, and a new stimulus supplied to the lovers of innovation.

¹ Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, Vol. II, p. 21.

At this important period, when the elements of ecclesiastical polity were as yet unfixed and the two rival systems striving for the ascendancy, Archbishop Spottiswoode still presided in the See of Glasgow. A collision with the Roman Catholics was also apprehended, on account of an act of justifiable lenity performed by the King, who refused to seize the property of certain ladies of rank, whose husbands were in exile on account of their religion. The ministers immediately sounded the alarm to all the Presbyteries in the country—warned them of the approaching danger—exhorted them to stir up the people in defence of their just rights—commanded them to publish in their churches the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced on the Popish Lords; and enjoined them, without observing any of the usual formalities of trial, to subject to the same formidable censure all who were suspected of favouring the old religion. To meet still more effectually the pressing emergencies of the crisis, they constituted a Board at Edinburgh, under the designation of the Standing Council of the Church, whom they invested with the supreme authority, and instructed to watch over the general interests of the ecclesiastical body.

In 1606, the administration of the Western Archbishop had been marked by the enactment of certain public Statutes, of which the main object was the increased stability of the Church. By one of these the royal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters was so defined, as to prevent the recurrence of such disputes as had arisen from the meditated Assemblies at Aberdeen; and by another was repealed the Act of Annexation, which had vested in the Crown the temporalities of the several Bishoprics. It had become manifest that owing to the want of a settled revenue, the Prelates could not perform their duty, either as ecclesiastics or as members of the civil government. The title of the latter Act, says the Primate, “being expressed in rather ambiguous terms, has led some writers into the error

of conceiving that the Spiritual Estate was thereby placed on a new footing, whereas it applied solely to the landed property and tithes whence their income was derived." He justly remarks, that "the Episcopal order, as one of the Three Estates of the Kingdom, had neither been cast down nor was intended to be overthrown by the legislature, even when the polity of the Second Book of Discipline was sanctioned in the year 1592; and accordingly, that the Bill, entitled the 'Restitution of the Estate of Bishops,' provided exclusively for their rank and sustentation as occupants of the ancient Sees."¹

Finding that contention was not yet allayed in the North, his Majesty devised an expedient for reconciling the two parties, or at least for ascertaining the points on which they differed. For this purpose he summoned to London the two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Dunkeld, to represent the Episcopal interest; while, as advocates of the Presbyterian cause, he named the two Melvilles and five others, than whom there were none better qualified, both by talent and courage, to support the tenets of the Genevan school, whether in doctrine or discipline.

To prepare the champions for the amicable contest in which they were about to engage, the King had provided that they should all go to church, and listen to a series of discourses on the several points at issue. The first who mounted the pulpit was Barlow, the Bishop of Lincoln, who undertook to prove from Scripture and the Fathers, the "superiority of Bishops to Presbyters, and also to set forth the inconvenience of parity in the Church." Dr Buckridge, Bishop of Rochester, who appeared next in order, handled the "King's supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical," to the satisfaction of, at least, one part of his audience. It, in-

¹ History of the Church of Scotland, p. 499. Wodrow's Life of Forbes, p. 37. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 55, &c.

deed, grieved the Scottish ministers to hear the Pope and Presbytery so often equalled in their opposition to sovereign princes. The Bishop of Chichester, Dr Andrews, had for his task, "to confirm the power of Monarchs in convoking Synods and Councils." Dr King, Bishop of London, discoursed on the office of Presbyters, and "did prove lay-elders to have no place nor office in the Church, and that the late device was without warrant of precept or example, either in Scripture or antiquity."¹

Ample details are supplied by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who appears not to have taken any active part in the disputation which ensued; the result of which, as is usual in all such cases, was a more rigid adherence on either side to the controverted tenets. The elder Melville, whose temper was seldom under control, gave additional offence by his undutiful language, as well as by indulging his humour for ridicule at the expense of the English clergy and ritual. When summoned before the Council, as the author of a lampoon against the Church, he boldly acknowledged himself as the author of the verses laid to his charge, and even attempted to justify them as a lawful attack on a hated superstition. He then assailed Bancroft, the Primate, in very opprobrious terms, denouncing him as the persecutor of God's faithful servants; as the abettor of all the corruptions and vanities which adhered to the Anglican Communion; and, in short, as the principal enemy of the reformed religion throughout all the nations of Europe. Yielding to the impulse of his passion, he laid hold of the Archbishop's lawn-sleeves, and shaking them violently, called them Roman rags, and one of the marks of the beast. Spottiswoode, who, as has been already stated, was one of the persons summoned from Scotland to attend the Conference, remarks that he "behaved insolently, and more like a madman than a Divine."²

¹ Spottiswoode, p. 497.

² History of the Church of Scotland, p. 500. Heylin, p. 385. Wodrow's Life of A. Melville, p. 82.

One of the most important duties in which the Archbishop was engaged, while Primate of the West, was that of presiding in the Assembly of 1610, by whom those important Resolutions were passed to which the attention of the reader has been already directed. Allusion has also been made to the motives which are supposed to have secured an unanimity, at that time so unusual, among the clergy; though the reasons which really influenced their decisions, it may be charitably presumed, were more honourable to their characters. They had experienced the evils inseparable from the turbulent and mutinous disposition which had distracted the Church during many years; and they were now willing to take refuge under a system of ecclesiastical rule which held out the prospect, at least, of comparative tranquillity and order. Nor could they be ignorant of the fact, that the Roman Catholics had gained many advantages from the unhappy condition of the Protestant Communion. These adherents to the older ritual saw, in the new establishment, numerous laymen performing the most solemn acts of the Christian priesthood, while the great body of the ministers, ordained and unordained, were more frequently occupied in contentions with one another on points of external discipline, than in instructing the youth of their congregations, or in manifesting in their own manners the mild spirit of the Gospel. It is not surprising, therefore, that an increasing number of proselytes should have been seen to flock around the less variable standards and polity of the ancient Church; an evil which having been long ascribed to the will of God, was now perceived to have for its more immediate cause the anger and folly of man.

Besides, in contemplating the surprising change which, at this period, took place in the sentiments of the Scottish clergy, it ought not to be forgotten, that the party who originated the more violent measures into which they were occasionally led, was not numerous, if compared with the whole body of the Church. Two or three Presbyteries had

influence enough to excite the fears or resentment of the important districts of Fife and Lothian; and it was accordingly found, that as soon as Andrew Melville, Bruce, and a few others were removed, the agitation ceased on both sides of the Forth. The experience of every day proves to what an extent the public peace may be disturbed by the artifices of a minority, remarkable in no other respect but that of perseverance. The Puritans, too, who shook the fabric of the English Church, were few in number, and not distinguished at first either for learning or ability. They were, however, loud in their complaints, representing their grievances as intolerable to every enlightened conscience; and yet, of more than nine thousand clergymen belonging to that establishment in the reign of James the First, not more than forty-nine individuals were deposed for non-conformity. In all national commotions, the immense majority who are silent and comply, are too often overlooked; and it is not until the alarm has subsided that men become aware of the real state of public feeling, and perceive how diminutive were the objects which had excited their apprehensions, when seen through the clouded medium of rage and controversy.

In the year 1612, soon after the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, had returned from London, a Parliament was holden at Edinburgh, in which all the Resolutions of the Assembly of 1610 were ratified, and all Acts inconsistent with them were rescinded and annulled. Among these last was the celebrated Statute of 1592, by which the Second Book of Discipline was acknowledged as the standard of government and worship in the National Church.

This temporary triumph of Episcopacy gave rise among writers on the other side to much bitteranimosity, of which the remains may still be detected in more modern compositions. The piety of that age, in many respects sufficiently sullen and austere, shewed itself, nevertheless, abundantly indul-

gent to satirical invective and furious railing, when directed against the enemies of the popular cause. The wrath which burned in the breast of the elder Melville, for example, has perpetuated its fervour not less strikingly in his speeches for the truth and liberty of the Gospel, than in personal abuse and in slanderous epigrams on the characters of men, who, while they were not inferior to him in professional acquirements, in point of christian temper were incomparably more estimable.

The Bishops, it need not be added, received their full share of this calumny, of which a large portion fell to the Archbishop of Glasgow, who, in point of fact, was Primate of the whole kingdom, Adamson being driven from the helm of affairs. Those very persons who, it is admitted, had, by their mild behaviour, gained the suffrages of the parochial clergy in support of the Church, have been described in lampoons, issuing from the school of Melville, as drunkards, gluttons, debauchees, gamblers, and extortioners. Besides, they had been recently selected from the ranks of the Presbyterians themselves; and as their "lives and conversations," even after they became Bishops, were, during a certain period, subject to the censure of the General Assembly, who had authority not only to reprove but even to depose them, it may be concluded that their chief offence consisted in their having inflicted a severe disappointment on certain ambitious rivals.

Nor are the severe strictures now mentioned, less just or generous when applied to the great body of the clergy who readily assented to the changes which took place in the Church between the years 1592 and 1612. Calderwood maintains that "by policy on the one side, and terror on the other, the Prelates got too much advantage among the weak and simple of the ministry." But he does not perceive what advantage he gives to the adversary by allowing that hope or fear prevailed over principle, so far as to make the larger number of the clergy sacrifice to such motives the

clearest views of duty. The Assembly at Glasgow, for example, consisted of about a hundred and forty members, of whom the greater part were ministers, and yet the Resolutions were not opposed by more than five individuals. What must be thought of a Church, and one, too, so exactly reformed, in which policy or terror could secure a majority so overwhelming ! The gradual change of sentiment which succeeded the promulgation of the Second Book of Discipline, may be ascribed to considerations much more creditable to the characters of the ecclesiastical body than those suggested by Calderwood, as well as by several writers in later times who have adopted his views. An unprejudiced inquirer will find that the true reasons for the gradual change of views mentioned, were disgust at the seditious spirit which had so long divided their body, and the prospect of tranquillity under the revived form of church-government.

At the period to which we have now arrived Spottiswoode was Primate of the Scottish Church, having in the year 1615 been promoted to the See of St Andrews, rendered vacant by the death of Archbishop Gladstones. His administration was soon disturbed by the action of two very different causes ; namely, the popular jealousy against Roman Catholics, and the imprudent wish of King James to effect an entire uniformity in discipline and worship in both divisions of his realm. In regard to the former point, punishment was inflicted, and disabilities were imposed, in a manner which reflected no honour on the discernment of the ecclesiastical leaders ; who, it is probable, nevertheless, if they had been left to the guidance of their own feelings, would not have disturbed the exercise of private devotion, nor the settled convictions of conscience. But the popular voice required that the idolatry of the Mass should be visited with the severest penalties of law ; and accordingly, a priest was put to death by the public executioner, while some of the more prominent among the Catholic

laity were compelled or induced to renounce the only creed in which they had been accustomed to repose their belief.

But the innovations in the Protestant body, contemplated by his Majesty, were the occasion of evils much more serious and lasting. As yet there were not in the Scottish Church any authoritative Articles of Belief; Canons for the regulation of Discipline; nor a Liturgy for the common use of the several congregations. The only Confession of Faith acknowledged by the clergy was that which was introduced in the days of Knox, which, though no longer sanctioned by law, was generally held as the symbol of the national doctrine. Since the Liturgy of Edward the Sixth was discontinued, the prayers, founded on the devotional usages of Geneva, and recommended by the same Reformer, constituted the only Service used in church, and that, too, according to the discretion of the officiating clergyman. It therefore appeared in the eyes of the King extremely desirable that all these deficiencies should be supplied without delay; and that the theological tenets, worship, discipline, ritual, and vestments should be brought to a near resemblance with those to which he was now accustomed in the south.

In 1617 James paid a visit to his native country, where he soon manifested an injudicious anxiety for the establishment of his prerogative in matters ecclesiastical. He induced Parliament to enact, that "whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the clergy, should have the strength of a law." The opinions of the Prelates being opposed to such a stretch of regal authority, this Act received not the royal sanction. The King soon perceived that the Bishops were not less desirous than the inferior clergy that the forms of the Church should not be tampered with; and that he should not, by any unseasonable pretensions to a paramount authority, awaken jealousies which were yet hardly lulled to sleep. He accordingly returned to London without having

accomplished the main object of his visit to Scotland, the conformity of the Scottish Communion to the ritual and usages of their English brethren ; but it is understood that Archbishop Spottiswoode and his brethren had given his Majesty an assurance that all regular means should be employed, to procure the sanction of a General Assembly for the ceremonies which he considered so important to the interests of the Church.

The rites to which allusion has now been made, were the Five Articles of Perth, which afterwards obtained great celebrity when the disputes, which divided the clergy in the reign of Charles the First, once more called the theological combatants into the field. The first respected the attitude simply, in which the Holy Communion ought to be received, that is, whether sitting or kneeling ; the second had reference to the administration of the same sacrament to the sick or infirm who were not able to attend church ; the third allowed private Baptism to infants in the case of imminent danger, or in the prospect of death ; the fourth enjoined Confirmation of young persons, properly instructed in the principles of the Christian religion ; and the fifth related to the Commemoration of the Birth of our Blessed Lord, his Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and his sending down the Holy Ghost,—in other words, to the religious observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday.

Certain points being adjusted at a preliminary meeting of the Church at St Andrews, his Majesty issued authority for the summoning of an Assembly, which met at Perth on the 25th August 1618. On this occasion the Archbishop preached a sermon, remarkable at once for candour, learning, and moderation. He does not conceal that, in yielding to the wishes of the King, the Bishops had sacrificed their private opinions as well as their views of expediency. “ My Lords and Brethren,” he begins, “ the business for which we meet here is known to you all, namely, to take some

resolution on these Articles which we are required to admit into our Church by that power unto which we be all subject. Of the indifferency of these Articles, I think there is little or no question amongst us ; the conveniency of them for our Church is doubted by many, but not without cause. They are new and uncouth ; such things we have not been accustomed with ; and innovations in a Church, even in the smallest things, are dangerous, though the utility may not be questioned. Augustine uttered this sentiment long ago ; and we have experienced the truth of it during the year just past. I beseech God we may feel no more of it hereafter. Had it been in our power to have dissuaded or declined them, most certainly we would ; and if any of you think otherwise, ye are greatly mistaken. But now, being brought to a necessity (I am sorry to speak, more sorry to think, of the means that wrought the same,) either of yielding, or of disobeying him whom, for myself, I hold it [contrary to] religion to offend. I must tell you that the evil of innovation, especially in matters of rite and ceremony, is nothing so great as the evil of disobedience. That which is new this day, will, with a little use, become familiar and old. But how far disobedience may go, and what evils it may produce, God knows.”

Concerning ceremonies in general, he observes that, though the Church of Rome may, in this particular, have run into excess, and thereby made the very name of them hateful to Protestants, they are yet necessary in the performance of all public duties, whether civil or ecclesiastical ; but, however expedient certain forms may be, such is the variety of mens’ minds and opinions that it is next to impossible that they shall ever be brought to an entire agreement in regard to them. “ In this case,” says the Archbishop, “ what is to be done ? ” Some recommend that a search should be made into apostolic times, and a rule founded upon the usage of that pure period. But he reminds his hearers that “ this cannot well be our guide, inasmuch as the Apostles have not

delivered in writing all that they did, and besides many of their observances would not be found suitable to our times and circumstances." Among these he mentions the practice of assembling the people in close and secret meetings; their baptisms in rivers; their administering of the Lord's Supper after love-feasts; the abhorring of unleavened bread; the abstaining from the use of blood and of animals which had been put to death by strangling. "To re-introduce such practices and opinions, would, in a great measure, change the aspect and spirit of Christianity itself. The doctrine of the Apostles, on the other hand, was so exact and perfect that we must not either add any thing to it, or diminish ought from it; but as to the ceremonies or usages which they countenanced, it is clear that they had a special respect to the times, and places, and circumstances wherein they exercised their ministry, and some of them, therefore, were by the Church very properly abolished." In support of his views he quotes from the writings of Beza and Calvin, whose authority was great in the reformed Churches of England and Scotland, the former of whom declared that he did not think that every thing done by the Apostles, so far as rites and ceremonies are concerned, ought, in all cases, to be followed. The judgment of the latter author is, "that the power of adding, altering, innovating, and appointing ceremonies, remains with the Church to do therein as she, in her wisdom, shall think meet. And certainly there is no other method of keeping away differences in matters of rites and ceremonies but this, that every man keep the customs of the Church wherein he lives, and observe that which is appointed by the governors thereof; for in things indifferent we must always esteem that to be the best and most seemly which appear so in the eye of public authority."

"Unless this rule hold," adds the Primate, "there can be no order, and all must be filled with strife and contention. But thou wilt say, my conscience suffers me not to obey, for I am persuaded that such things are not right nor

well appointed. I answer that in matters of this nature, the sentence of thy superiors ought to direct thee, and that is a sufficient ground to thy conscience for obeying. But may not superiors err? May not Councils decree that which is wrong? This no man denies, and if they decree any thing against Scripture, it is not to be obeyed; for there that sentence holds, *it is better to obey God than man*; but if that which is decreed be not repugnant to the Word, and that thou hast no more than thine own inferences and motions of conscience, as thou callest it, how strong however thy persuasions be, it is presumption in thee to disobey the ordinance of the Church; and of this we may be sure, that whoever denies obedience to Church ordinances in things indifferent, the same will not stick to reject God's own Word, when it crosses his fancy."

With regard to the Communion of the sick, he remarks, that "the mind which is offended hardly interprets any thing well; so fared it in this matter." His Majesty, it appears, was dissatisfied with a previous Assembly, who expressed some doubts as to the expediency of the proposed Articles. "I was bold in a private letter," continues his Grace, "to shew there was a mistaking, and justify that which was done; neither should I speak any more of it, but that it hath been complained that some of our ministry, being earnestly entreated by certain sick persons for the comfort of that sacrament since that time, have denied the same. To justify, therefore, that which was enacted, I say shortly that by our calling we are directly bound to minister unto men, in the last hour, all the helps and comforts we possibly can. Why this sacrament, which is the seal of God's promises, and a special means of binding up our communion with Christ, should be denied to such as desire the same in that time, there can be no reason." He proves from the writings of Calvin, Bucer, Bullinger, and Zipperus, that the Protestant Churches on the Continent gave their countenance to the practice of private Communion when sick

persons desired it ; and on this ground, if such authority were necessary, he remarks in conclusion,—“so when the Reformed Churches have approved it, were we ourselves, by our own practice, now to stand against it, when by a special Canon it is appointed to be done, it could not but be thought obstinate disobedience.”

His remarks on the administration of Baptism are not only very weighty, considered in themselves, but supported by the authority of reformed Divines, whose opinion, he was perfectly aware, would produce a greater effect on the minds of his audience than any appeal to more primitive times. At a somewhat earlier period, when the principle adopted in arranging the usages of the Kirk was to avoid every practice which might seem to coincide with the Romish superstition, the rule was to confine the baptism of infants “to the ordinary day of teaching,” or the first day of the week. “The question,” says the Archbishop, “was then of the time, now it is of the place. Respecting this you all know that in the institution of baptism the Lord Jesus hath not tied us to any place, but his command binds all men to be baptized ; and we that are ministers by our calling, are obliged to baptize, although we may not think baptism necessary to salvation, or that the child who wants it, through an inevitable necessity, is any thing prejudiced that way ; yet if the occasion present, there is no doubt that the minister hath a necessity lying upon him to baptize, although time, place, and other circumstances required for the due and solemn administration be not concurring. But this, ye will say, fosters the popish opinion of the necessity of baptism.” He answers these objections in the words of Bucer, who maintains that to withhold baptism for want of the due solemnities, opens a door to the devil to bring in the contempt of Christ’s ordinance, and our whole redemption by him. We have a commandment to baptize, and this to us is a necessary duty, which we may not leave undone. As for inconveniencies, we must meet them as wisely as we may,

by doctrine and diligent catechising, but in no sort neglect the commandment that is given. When, again, Calvin was asked—"Where baptism may be rightly administered?" He answered—"It is not lawful to administer baptism except in a meeting of the faithful; not indeed that a temple is required for this purpose, but anywhere you please, provided some number of believers be assembled, for this constitutes the body of the Church."

With equal wisdom and moderation the Primate speaks concerning Confirmation, as one of the most ancient customs of the Christian Church; maintaining that it began with the Apostles, and from their days it hath continued. The neglect of this duty hath, he remarks, done much harm in the Church; and the restoration of that good custom, which Calvin earnestly wished, could not but bring with it an exceeding great benefit. What is imposition of hands, said St Augustine, but a prayer for the man upon whom hands are laid? But I hear, the Archbishop exclaims, that some cannot abide to hear the word Confirmation: the thing itself they gladly admit, but they would have the term Examination, or some similar word, substituted for it. Thus, not only the abuse, but the very name of the thing abused (so tender on the hearts of some), must be put away! Besides, the word Confirmation was used in the Church long before Popery was intruded upon her, as is manifest from the writings of Cyprian, Augustine, Tertullian, Eusebius, and others." The author of the sermon might have farther strengthened his argument by stating that Calvin, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, includes Confirmation among the elements of Christian doctrines. These elements or principles mentioned in the sixth Chapter, are by the Apostle said to be repentance, faith, baptism, the laying on of hands, belief in the resurrection, and in eternal judgment. Both from the natural import of the expression itself—the laying on of hands—and the place which it occupies, immediately after faith and baptism, Calvin infers that it

could mean nothing other than what is now called Confirmation. But he, like many other reformers, was compelled to yield to the popular mind several things which he felt were due to truth, usage, and authority.

Referring the reader to the sermon itself for the Primate's reasoning on the expediency of observing the festivals of the Church, those days, namely, which have been set apart for commemorating the more solemn events in the history of the Redeemer, I pass on to the Fifth Article, which respects the attitude or gesture in which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be received. In regard to this matter, he remarks, "great stirs have been made, and, as I esteem, without any cause. The Apostle, when he professes to deliver unto us that which he received of the Lord, speaks not either of sitting, or kneeling, or standing; from which it is evident that the position of the body is not of the essence of the sacraments, but may be numbered among those circumstances which the Church may alter or change at pleasure. It is said that we ought to conform ourselves to the example of Christ in this matter. If this be so, you know that it would behove us neither to sit nor kneel, but to lie round about the table; to communicate with men exclusively, and not with women; and in the evening, after supper, to receive the sacrament; which things were ridiculous to affirm."

The Archbishop alludes to a pamphlet written by some perverse spirit in the English Church, whose argument had found too good a reception among some ministers in Scotland. The unknown author maintains that in receiving the holy Communion, we ought not to use any rite that may signify our inferiority unto Christ, neither should we abase ourselves there, but acknowledge and think ourselves as his equals. This very low notion, entertained by the "perverse spirit," arose from the too liberal acceptance of the term Supper, as applied to the holy Communion. If in common life we sit down with the host to an entertainment, we may for the

time consider ourselves his equals ; but to apply this analogy to the most sacred institution of the Christian religion, were, indeed, profane in the extreme. “ I pray God, said the Primate, to keep us from this divinity. We have learned to honour the Son even as we honour the Father ; and he who honours not the Son so in every place, especially in the participation of the Holy Supper, should be to us as a Jew or Pagan. For myself, he adds, I think sitting, in the beginning, was not evilly instituted, and since, by our Church continued, for we may adore while we are sitting as well as kneeling ; yet the gesture which becometh adoration best is that of bowing of the knee ; and the irreligion of these times craves that we should put men more unto it than we do.”

“ Thus have I showed you the judgment of the best reformed Churches touching these Articles. Thereby you have seen that there is nothing impious or unlawful in them ; they who showed a dislike of them in the last Assembly, could not say either. And surely if it cannot be showed that they are repugnant to the written Word, I see not with what conscience we can refuse them, being urged, as they are, by our sovereign Lord and King ; a King who is not a stranger to divinity, but hath such acquaintance with it, that in the confessions of all men, Rome never found a more potent adversary ; a King neither superstitious nor inclinable that way, but one who seeks to have God rightly and truly worshipped by all his subjects.”

The Archbishop next adverts to the suspicion entertained by some of the ministers that the Articles were introduced under foreign influence, more especially that which was supposed to be exercised on the mind of the King by certain dignitaries of the Anglican Church. In reply to this insinuation, the Primate reminds them of a solemn declaration made by his Majesty himself at St Andrews, that neither the desire of bringing the two churches to a full conformity in rites and ceremonies, nor the solicitation of any person whatsoever, did stimulate him to this pious work, but simply

his zeal for the honour of God, and a deep feeling that he could not be acquitted in the great day of judgment if he should neglect this duty.

In regard to himself and the influence he was supposed to have used in order to meet the views of the Sovereign, he adds—" I solemnly protest before Almighty God and this honourable Assembly, that without my knowledge, against my desire, and when I least expected, these Articles were sent unto me, not to be proponed unto the Church, but to be inserted among the Canons thereof which then were in gathering: touching which point, I humbly excused myself that I could not insert among the Canons that which was not first advised with the Church, and desired that they might be referred to another consideration. Neither did I hear after that time any thing of them until that Protestation was formed to be presented to the States of Parliament; at what time his Majesty taking advantage of the misbehaviour of those persons who penned the Protestation, and proudly stood to the same, resolved to have these Articles admitted into our Church; wherein all my care was to save the Church's authority, and labour that they might be referred to an Assembly, which was obtained upon promise that his Majesty should receive satisfaction; and this promise was not made by me alone, but ratified by yourselves, as you remember, at St Andrews. In the Assembly that followed, however, my advice took no place; I joined, after the dissolving thereof, with my lords the Bishops, to excuse the delay that was made at the time. But our letter being ill accepted, and another returning full of anger and indignation, which divers of yourselves have seen, I travelled, at the earnest solicitation of the ministers, by all the ways I could, to divert the troubles which, before this time, you most certainly would have felt. And all that has proceeded since, you know; so, as I spake before, I would, if it had been in my power, most willingly have declined the receiving of these Articles; not that I did esteem them either unlaw-

ful or inconvenient, for I am so far persuaded of the contrary as I can be of any thing ; but I foresaw the contradiction that would be made, and the business we should fall into ; therefore, let no man deceive himself. These things proceed from his Majesty, and are his own motions, not any other's."

An objection to the Five Articles had been raised, on the ground that the English Church intended to renew her old claim of superiority over the Scottish, and that the proposed conformity about to be established by the decision of the Assembly, would pave the way for this assumption on the part of the southern Prelates. The Archbishop observes—" this reason is so ill-founded, that were we to conform with them in every outward rite, observed not only by them but by the whole Church of Christ, long before it was infected with Popery, it would not infer the dependance of our Church upon theirs, but simply that there would be between us such harmony as ought to exist among all the Reformed Churches, both in doctrine and discipline. But if matters should come to be thus contested as to our independance, which is not to be apprehended, we should not be found neglectful either of our Church or Country. What ground is there for this jealousy ? We live under a King who loves this nation's honour more than we all, and who has never omitted an opportunity to express his natural affection towards his native land."

The preacher concludes by saying,—“ Brethren, we have made too much business about these matters. The kingdom of God consists not in them, but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Away with fruitless and contentious disputings—remember the work we are sent for is to build the Church of God and not to destroy it ; to call men to faith and repentance ; to stir them up to the works of true piety and love ; and not to make them think they have religion enough, when they have talked against Bishops and ceremonies. If we shall go about this carefully, and

all of us strive in our places, by fruitful preaching, by honest living, and a wise governing, to approve ourselves to the consciences of our people, we shall shortly find matters in a better state than we have seen, and be all of us an acceptable people unto the Lord our God."

Before the calling of the roll, the King's letter was again read; and the vote being taken, the Five Articles were approved by a large majority; on the 25th October they were sanctioned by an Act of the Privy-Council; and the King's proclamation, ratifying and confirming them, was published at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 26th of the same month.

It is not till 1621 that the Resolutions of the Perth Assembly were ratified by the authority of Parliament; and on this occasion his Majesty reminded the Bishops that as they had to do with two sorts of enemies, Papists and Puritans, so they should go forward in action against both the one and the other; that papistry was a disease of the mind, and puritanism of the brain; and that the antidote to both was a grave, settled, and well ordered Church, in the obedience of God and their King. As might have been anticipated, the simple circumstance that the Articles originated in a suggestion of his Majesty, prevented them from giving full satisfaction to all the ministers; many of whom retained, not unreasonably, a strong jealousy against royal interference in the discipline or worship of the Church. But even the most rigid of these must have admitted that there was more to blame in the manner in which the Sovereign pursued his object, than in the decisions of the Assembly, considered apart from the exercise of the royal prerogative. For example, it may be remarked that, though the private administration of either sacrament, under certain urgent circumstances, was now permitted by law, no one was obliged to avail himself of that privilege. The same remark applies to the rite of Confirmation, and the observance of the several festivals. Every individual,

not in holy orders, was left at perfect freedom to omit the celebration, or to conform to the rule of the Church, as he should see proper. Even in regard to the attitude enjoined for receiving the holy Communion—the point in which there seemed to be the least discretionary power—there were some congregations who, though they refused to conform, were, as long as they conducted themselves with quietness, permitted to follow the wonted method without fear or disturbance. The expectation of the Archbishop was fully realized, that as the Articles were passed by a large majority, most of the clergy obeyed the injunctions of their national convocation.

It is true that several of them were prosecuted for non-compliance ; but, in such cases, the refusal was generally accompanied with expressions of disloyalty to the government, or of insult towards those of their brethren who had set an example of obedience. The first who was summoned before the High Commission for this offence, had not only forbidden the people to kneel at the Communion, but openly declared that “ the conclusion of the Assembly on this head was in itself superstitious and damnable, and inclined for the most part to idolatry.”

At the accession of Charles the First, the anti-episcopal party made an effort to gain the favour of the Court and thereby thwart the policy of Archbishop Spottiswoode. They entrusted to the hands of one of the ministers of Glasgow a supplication addressed to his Majesty, intreating relief from the grievances imposed by the Resolutions of the Perth Assembly. But the young King, who was not less desirous than his father had been to establish a complete uniformity in the Church on both sides of the Tweed, turned a deaf ear to their solicitations. The Bishops accordingly enjoyed a temporary repose, till political aspirations mingled with religious feelings in England and called into the field of battle the leading men in both kingdoms.

The conduct of Archbishop Spottiswoode, during the troubled period which preceded the meeting of the Assembly

at Perth, was marked with great moderation, self-denial, and firmness. He did not conceal from the King his opinion, well weighed and matured, that the introduction of the Five Articles would certainly be attended with much hazard to the peace of the Church. Exposing himself to the displeasure of his Majesty, he did not refrain from urging upon him that the innovation was unseasonable ; and though none of the ceremonies were in themselves objectionable, they would excite much opposition among such of the ministers as were not yet reconciled to Episcopacy. On the other hand, he reasoned with the clergy as to the inexpediency and folly of provoking the anger of their Sovereign, whose prerogative in ecclesiastical matters had been recently extended by an Act of Parliament, by opposing his views in matters of comparative indifference. No wise man could hold it a matter of conscience whether he sat or knelt when receiving the holy Communion ; and whether a sick person, who earnestly desired it, might not be allowed the comfort of commemorating the death of his Redeemer, in the society of his friends and relations solemnly assembled around his bed. The case of aged persons, who for years had been unable to attend church, and were desirous of receiving the Sacrament, was perhaps still more urgent, and not less common. Episcopal clergymen, at the present day, are frequently applied to by such persons, though not of their Communion ; and in no instance is the request denied without regret and compassion on the part of him who declines compliance.

The Primate, in his History, very modestly passes over his own exertions connected with the Assembly now mentioned ; simply alluding to his " Exhortation "—the able sermon he pronounced—and to his painful correspondence with the King, touching the proposed Articles. It is to his friend, Doctor Lindesay, the Bishop of Brechin, that we are indebted for the preservation of his admirable discourse, as well as the cogent reasoning by means of which he induced

a large majority of the ministers to vote in favour of the Resolutions.¹ He who peruses the Archbishop's own narrative will not, indeed, perceive any proof that he bore on his shoulders the heavy burden of an unpopular measure, which he carried with success through the thorny path of vulgar controversy and democratical agitation. He seems rather disposed to confine the attention of his reader to the proceedings which took place during the former year, when the King manifested so strongly his most injudicious desire to have his prerogative, in matters ecclesiastical, fully established, that the Parliament was induced to enact, that "whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law." The Primate had not studied the history of the Church so carelessly as not to perceive the inconvenience of urging the popular mind, especially when moved by ignorant or artful leaders, beyond the point which is limited by the means of knowledge or habits of reflection possessed by the mass of any nation. He has related in his great Work the agitation which was excited in Scotland at an early period, by the determination of the question which respected the keeping of Easter; when the people at large confounded an astronomical problem with an evangelical truth, and struggled for the accustomed rule for observing the festival, as if it had been founded on Apostolical injunction. Not being aware that the discussion which had kindled their zeal and alarmed their fears, had no higher an object than to determine whether a star-gazer at Athens were more worthy of confidence than one at Alexandria, they divided the Church, and made themselves unhappy during several generations. As it affords a key to the principle on which he himself was always inclined to act, when the uninformed

¹ In reference to the majority in favour of the Perth Articles, the Bishop of Brechin remarks, in his "True Narrative," that they were carried by "more than double the number" of the opposers, p. 11.

portion of the community were excited, I shall transcribe the paragraph which contains his remarks.

Alluding to the divisions occasioned by the violence of the contending parties, he observes—"after this time we find a continual declining in the Church; for the decision taken in that conference of Whitby, touching the controversy of Easter, increased the dissension and put all out of frame; they that were in place urging the rites more strictly than was convenient, and others choosing rather to quit their charges than give way unto them. Theodorus, then Archbishop of Canterbury, is blamed for exercising the authority of his place too peremptorily about these things, and forcing the British bishops to conform themselves: Wilfred, Archbishop of York, dealing in like sort with the Scottish preachers who had planted the Gospel among the northern English, thrust them from all their places. The clergy at home became also divided; for Adamnanus, a Bishop who had been tutor to Eugenius the Sixth, being sent in embassy to Alfrid, King of Northumberland, fell in such a liking of the rites he saw there used, as at his return he became an earnest persuader of his countrymen to receive them, and prevailed with many. Yet the monks of Iona, whose governor he had sometime been, did strongly oppose; others who chose not to be contentious retired themselves."¹

No one, under the influence of that charity which thinketh no evil, will condemn either the decision at Whitby or the Articles of Perth. Both were right in point of principle, and unquestionably within the bounds of ecclesiastical determination; both divided the Church, and caused a "continual declining." The Resolutions of the Assembly afforded a plausible pretext for reviving animosities in the breasts of the multitude, and for assailing the motives of the Bishops who had consented to the enactment. Spottiswoode set an

¹ History of the Church of Scotland, p. 18, First Edition.

example of moderation, and did not urge the rites more strictly than was convenient. In an important part of his Diocese the clergy declared themselves ready to administer the holy Communion to the people kneeling, sitting, or even standing, as their consciences or taste might dictate; a concession which in many instances was rejected, with what consistency it does not appear, as a violation of order.

Those who may wish to see the reasons urged against the adoption of the Perth Articles, will find them, amounting to fifteen in number, in Calderwood's History, page 708; and they apply not only to the usages themselves, as sanctioned by the Assembly, but also to the alleged informalities which attended the proceedings of that learned body. He mentions not, however, any indication of the Divine displeasure, until they were ratified by Parliament on the fourth day of August 1621. At the moment the Commissioner rose from his seat, with the sceptre in his hand, to perform that act in the name of the Sovereign—"at that same very instant, was sent from the heavens in at the windows of the house, which was dark before by reason of the darkness of the day, an extraordinary great lightning; after the first, a second; and after the second, a third more fearful. Immediately after the lightnings followed an extraordinary great darkness, which astonished all that were in the house. The lightnings were succeeded by three loud claps of thunder!" The one party viewed this as a proof that God was angry; the churchmen (called Atheists by the author) suggested, that as the Law was given on Sinai amidst appalling thunder and flames of fire, so the Divine approbation of the Articles was in like manner expressed on this occasion.

The Archbishop was doomed to sustain, at no distant period, a very powerful opposition, arising from a quarter whence no evil could have been apprehended by him. Charles the First, in the year 1633, paid a visit to Scotland with the view of redressing grievances and securing the affections of his northern subjects, whose attachment to the Crown

had been somewhat alienated by the policy of his father. The disaffected party among the parochial ministers had not forgotten their discomfiture at Perth; and though they refrained from open resistance to the law, they sedulously pursued measures which could not fail to increase the number of their adherents. They had recourse to frequent Fasts in the several parishes devoted to their interests—a practice which was introduced without authority and continued without any public sanction. On such occasions they were wont in their sermons to hint at the danger to which religion was exposed by the dominance of Episcopacy; and in their prayers to supplicate a remedy for this evil, with a blessing on all the means which providence should present to further the accomplishment of it. By this course, long and steadily pursued, they perverted the minds of the common people, and rendered them indifferent or hostile towards the Church.¹

But these arts, though they might have perpetuated, and even strengthened the opposition which was to be expected from the more violent Presbyterians, would not alone have endangered the stability of the Church. The main hazard arose from the measures which Charles had resolved to adopt for consolidating the Spiritual Estate in Scotland, and whereby he was unconsciously rousing into action a much more formidable enemy than the rigid pastors of a few rural districts. James the Sixth had denuded the Crown of a considerable portion of ecclesiastical property, which had been seized by the Government at the beginning of the Reformation, and restored it to the higher orders of the clergy—a measure which, except as a precedent of evil omen, could not excite any dissatisfaction among the nobility. But Charles, less discerning than his father, or less acquainted with the feelings of the Scottish aristocracy, made known

¹ Guthry's *Memoirs*, wherein the conspiracies and rebellion against Charles the First, &c. are briefly and faithfully related, p. 8. Burnet's *History of his Own Time*, p. 29, &c. Oxford Edition.

his intention of revoking, in favour of the Prelates, all the grants of church-lands and tithes, from which many of his most powerful subjects derived the larger share of their income. He began by recommending a scheme for the sale or commutation of tithes, reserving the more efficient resource of an entire revocation of territorial endowments until his plans should be better matured. If to this threatening be added the fact, that several of the Prelates were raised to high secular offices, as Lords of the Privy-Council, Judges in the Court of Session and Exchequer, there will be no difficulty in accounting for the jealousy entertained by the nobility against the Bishops and other dignitaries, for whose benefit the gifts of land and tenths were about to be recalled.

It is stated by Guthry in his Memoirs, that the heads of the Church themselves did not act harmoniously, and that the younger members of the Episcopate were deficient both in wisdom and experience. During the reign of King James, whenever a Bishopric became void, his Majesty instructed the Archbishop of St Andrews to convene the others, and after consulting with them, to name three or four well qualified persons, so that there should be no error in the choice; and out of that list the King selected one, whom in all respects he thought the most suitable. It happened accordingly, that during all this time the most able men were advanced. But Charles followed another plan, and without any consultation with the Scottish Primate, he preferred such clergymen as had the greatest interest at Court, who were not always found well fitted for the duties of their office, which were every day becoming more difficult and arduous. Spottiswoode accordingly, though much respected by the King, was gradually deprived of the influence which belonged to his high station and character, and his younger brethren hesitated not to form a party against him, even when their own existence was at stake.

The impending evils were accelerated by the presence of Laud, Bishop of London, who accompanied his Majesty to Scotland in the year 1633. He conducted Divine Service in the chapel of Holyrood-House according to the English Liturgy, and in his sermon earnestly recommended to the Scottish Church the use of the same Liturgy in all its parts. The discourse, it is said, was heard with such a degree of approbation as seemed to justify the immediate introduction of a form of prayer, as well as the full adoption of the sacerdotal vestments; to which last the zealous preacher attached more than an adequate importance.

Laud was one of that numerous class of men who have not weighed well the importance of St Paul's maxim,—“All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.” A Liturgy was in many respects desirable, for nothing is more dangerous in troubled times than extemporary prayer in public worship. The minister, in such circumstances, makes heaven a party to his own political notions, and rouses the most violent prejudices of his people by recommending them to the throne of the heavenly grace. For that reason, perhaps, this mode of performing Divine Service was greatly preferred to a set form by a considerable number of the clergy. But, on more general grounds, it was held by Archbishop Spottiswoode and his professional friends highly inexpedient to attempt the introduction of a national Liturgy at a crisis so alarming both to Church and State. They reminded the partizans of Laud, that in King James' time there had been a motion made for carrying such a measure, but that it had been postponed on account of the excitement occasioned by the Articles of Perth, then recently enacted, and which had proved so unwelcome to a large body of the people, that it was not thought fit or safe to attempt any further innovation. The same reasons for delay still existed; and they confessed that they were not without fear that if it were now introduced, the consequences might be very serious. But the younger Bishops “pressed hard that it

might be, maintaining that there was no kind of danger in it; whereupon Bishop Laud (who spoke as he would have it), moving the King to declare it to be his will that there should be a Liturgy, his Majesty commanded the Bishops to go about the forming of it.”¹

The compilation was finished in the year 1636, and nothing remained but to have it authorised by royal authority, and introduced into all the parish churches. A report was spread among the people that the Roman Mass was to be obtruded upon them, under the auspices of Laud and a Popish party about Court; and so great was the excitement, that it became manifest to all considerate persons that the public peace could not be long preserved unless the Service-book was suppressed or delayed. The Scottish Primate made another effort to prevent the evil which, none saw more clearly than he, must arise from the intervention of English influence or authority in ecclesiastical affairs. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to use his influence with the King that the Liturgy might be postponed till the people should be better prepared to receive it. His efforts were, however, thwarted by certain of his suffragans who saw no hazard and dreaded no difficulty. These last allowed themselves to be deceived by Lord Traquair, the Treasurer, whose object was to ruin the Prelates and overthrow the Church; and who, when he reached London, informed Canterbury that there was no danger to be apprehended; that the old Bishops were timorous men, and feared when no cause of fear existed, adding, that if his Grace would move the King to lay his commands upon him, he should, upon his life, carry through the business without any stir. The Primate did not deem it expedient that such a task should be confided to the hands of a layman; but he himself procured a warrant from the King to command the Scottish Bishops to introduce the Liturgy at all hazards,

¹ Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, p. 16.

threatening them withal, that "if they lingered on it longer, the King would turn them out of their places, and fill the same with vigorous and resolute men who would not be afraid to do him service." ¹

Thus did Charles the First, on his visit to the land of his birth, sow the seeds of that Rebellion which, after a few years, hurled him from his throne and carried him to a bloody scaffold. He had alarmed the nobility by giving certain indications of a plan to recover for the Church a share of the wealth of which she had been deprived during the tumults of the preceding century; he had disappointed certain ambitious individuals, who thought their services, which seemed to merit the reward of a title, forgotten or overlooked; he had irritated the puritanical party by the favour shown to Episcopalians, and by the importance which he attached to rites which, in their eyes, seemed nothing better than Popish ceremonies; and by an incautious use of his prerogative, he had awakened the jealousy of those more generous spirits who began to set a value on the privileges of political freedom.

The Bishops, compelled to proceed in framing Canons and preparing a Liturgy, were apparently forsaken by their wonted wisdom and sagacity. They acted, says one of their successors, "so far contrary to those rules of prudence and policy whereby they had been accustomed to manage their affairs, that all men began to espy a fatality in it." ²

The Archbishop of St Andrews has been blamed for not obtaining the sanction of the General Assembly before the new Liturgy was used in his Diocese. But it ought to be remembered that the chief ministers of the Crown, whose advice he appears to have followed, wished nothing more earnestly than that the attempt to comply with the wishes of the Sovereign should be repelled by the people, and the Church thereby be put to rebuke and exposed to contempt.

¹ Guthry, pp. 17, 18.

² Guthry, p. 18.

After the failure in Edinburgh, his Grace issued an injunction that the service should be read in certain rural parishes in Fife; but the clergymen, instead of honouring his command by a ready obedience, appealed to the Privy-Council, at that time the organ of government in Scotland, where they found protection, and were even supplied with advice as to the means of rendering their opposition effectual. Not only the Treasurer, but also the Lord Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, whose duty it was to maintain the public peace, gave their countenance to the refractory pastors, and paved the way for those public meetings in the metropolis, which soon set at defiance the wishes of the King, and displayed the standard of rebellion.

During the commotions which followed, when it was resolved to frame a Covenant which would bind the whole nation in a united effort to root out Episcopacy, Archbishop Spottiswoode, it is said, made a narrow escape from assassination. "The giddy sort," writes an annalist of the period, "would have had it so; but the noblemen and the wisest of the ministers abhorred the motion, and so nothing of that kind was attempted." At this period the civil war, in point of fact, was begun, though the sword was not actually drawn on either side. The Covenanters protested publicly against every royal proclamation which had for its object the peace of the country or the safety of the Established Church. On the 1st of March 1633, the Covenant was subscribed by great numbers of the people with much shouting and joy; and when this occurrence was announced to Archbishop Spottiswoode, he said—"Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is thrown down at once." He soon afterwards retired to Newcastle, where he appears to have resided about a year, and whence, towards the close of 1639, he proceeded to London.

Hume makes a remark on the events now mentioned, characteristic of his good sense and happy style, but not consistent with the truth of history. "The Primate (Spottis-

woode), a man of wisdom and prudence, who was all along averse to the introduction of the Liturgy, represented to the King the state of the nation : and the Earl of Traquair, the Treasurer, set out for London in order to lay the matter more fully before him. Every circumstance, whether the condition of England or of Scotland was considered, should have engaged him to desist from so hazardous an attempt : yet was Charles inflexible. In his conduct of this affair there appear no marks of the good sense with which he was endowed ; a lively instance of that species of character so frequently to be met with ; where there are found ability and judgment in every discourse and opinion, in many of their actions indiscretion and imprudence." But the historian was not aware that the Lord Treasurer, who wished the Covenanters to succeed in their attempts against the Church, deceived his Majesty, urging him forward in a course which, the spirit of the people in both divisions of the kingdom being considered, could not but lead to open insurrection. In England the feeling of disaffection to the government and the higher ecclesiastics had already manifested itself in a very unambiguous form. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick had suffered the penalties of law ; and Hampden, opposing the prerogative of the Crown on a different ground, had appeared in the Exchequer-chamber before the twelve Judges, and heard pronounced against him an unfavourable sentence. The train was laid for an explosion in the South as well as the North ; and the spark was at length supplied from the latter country. The King was betrayed by his sworn Councillors, who drew him to the brink of destruction, and then retired to a place of safety where they might view his fall.

The character of Hamilton himself, a near kinsman and favourite of the King, does not stand clear ; but a candid reader will perceive, in his conduct as Royal Commissioner, stronger proofs of imbecility than of dishonest intention. Bishop Guthry has preserved an anecdote, which, as it rests

merely on the personal credit of certain individuals who might have heard the Marquis indistinctly, is not to be received as evidence against him in a matter so important as his faithfulness to the Sovereign whom he represented. He is said to have taken the Covenanting Lords and Ministers aside, and to have addressed them as follows—"My Lords and Gentlemen, I spoke to you before those Lords of Council as King's Commissioner; now, there being none present but yourselves, I speak to you as a kindly Scotchman: if you go on with courage and resolution, you will carry what you please; but if you faint and give ground in the least, you are undone; a word is enough to wise men."¹

His last interview with Archbishop Spottiswoode affords evidence that the latter had not full confidence in his resolution or integrity. The biographer who wrote the life prefixed to the original edition of the History of Scotland, states that the Primate, though on his death-bed, "could not prevent the visits of many honourable persons, among whom the visit of the Marquis of Hamilton, (being looked upon by the eye of the world as disaffected to the whole order,) deserves more particularly to be remembered; and the circumstances you shall have in the terms in which they are related.

"The Marquis, coming near to his bedside, was pleased to say,—‘My Lord, I am come to kiss your Lordship’s hands, and humbly to ask your blessing.’ To which the Archbishop, with a soft voice, answered,—‘My Lord, you shall have my blessing, but give me leave to speak these few words to you—My Lord, I visibly foresee that the Church and King are both in danger to be lost, and I am wisely persuaded that there is none under God so able to prevent it as your Lordship; and therefore I speak to you as a dying Prelate, in the words of Mordecai to Esther, ‘if you

¹ *Memoirs*, pp. 34, 35. The author adds—"That the reports were so different, that some made it better, and some worse than it was."

do it not, salvation in the end will come somewhere else, but you and your house shall perish." To whom the Marquis made this worthy reply, 'that what he foresaw was his grief, and he wished from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the sacrificing of his life and fortunes.' After which, upon his knees, he received the Archbishop's blessing, and departed. I shall make, adds the writer, no commentary upon it, for the best interpreters of words are actions."

Hamilton, it is manifest, was desirous to prevent an appeal to the sword, and with that view solicited the Covenanters to make concessions, without going the full length of sacrificing their principles. As it not unfrequently happens, his conduct gave dissatisfaction to both parties; and the impression of his want of honesty has descended to modern times, unaccompanied, however, with sufficient evidence that he meant not faithfully to serve the King and the Church. When arms were put into his hand, it is true, he did not use them with decision or effect; and he allowed more than one opportunity to pass of suppressing the insurrection before the Covenanters were ready for the field. He despaired of success, and therefore he did not succeed. He possessed neither the spirit of Montrose, nor the military talent of Lesley; and he trusted to negotiation with men who had already resolved to listen to no terms short of a complete surrender.

In his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* by Burnet, there is a draught of a paper in the handwriting of Archbishop Spottiswoode, in which the Primate, in order to avoid the horrors of war, recommends that an explanation of the Covenant might be accepted by the King. The paper, which is addressed to the Marquis, is expressed in the following terms:—

"We, the Noblemen, Barons, Burgesses, Ministers and others, that have joined in a late Bond or Covenant for the maintaining of true religion and purity of God's worship in

this kingdom, having understood that our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty is with our doing highly offended, as if we thereby had usurped his Majesty's authority, and shaken off all obedience to his Majesty and to his laws; for clearing ourselves of that imputation, do hereby declare, and in the presence of Almighty God do solemnly protest that it did never so much as enter into our thoughts to derogate any thing from his Majesty's power and authority royal, or to disobey and rebel against his Majesty's laws; and that all our proceedings hitherto by petitioning, protesting, covenanting, and whatsoever other way, was and is only for the maintaining of true religion by us professed, and with express reservation of our obedience to his Most Sacred Majesty, most humbly beseeching his Majesty so to esteem and accept of us, that he will be graciously pleased to call a National Assembly and Parliament, for removing the fears, we have not without cause (as we think) conceived, of introducing into this Church another form of worship than what we have been accustomed with; as likewise for satisfying our just grievances, and the settling of a constant and solid order to be kept in all time coming, as well in the civil as ecclesiastical government; which if we shall, by the intercession of your Grace obtain, we faithfully promise (according to our bounden duties) to continue in his Majesty's obedience, and at our utmost powers to procure the same during our lives, and for the same to rest and remain your Grace's obliged servants."

This "Explanation" of the Covenant appears not to have been either accepted by the Lords, Barons, and Ministers, or to have been transmitted to his Majesty, and it is now transcribed for no other purpose than to afford an example of the concessions which considerate men were disposed to make for the continuance of peace. But the holders of church property, whether lands or tithes, had resolved that Episcopacy should be put down, and thereby all their fears removed of a revocation of the grant in virtue of which they held them.

They had besides entered into a secret understanding with the popular party in England; were actively employed in collecting arms in foreign countries; had invited military officers into their service; and had secured possession of some of the strongholds in the kingdom, especially the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. War was therefore inevitable, unless his Majesty should submit to terms which he thought equivalent to the surrender of his Crown into the hands of an intriguing and ambitious aristocracy. He therefore resolved on hostilities, without possessing means sufficient to secure a victory or to negotiate an honourable peace.

But as Archbishop Spottiswoode had already retired from the scene of conflict, and no longer exercised the power connected with his high office as a Churchman, it is not necessary that we should follow the course of history to a later period than the end of 1638, when the evils which he predicted were realized to the fullest extent. Suffice it to observe, that the overthrow of Episcopacy was not accomplished by the clerical body, though many of them were disaffected. The Lords of the Covenant were the instruments by which this revolution was effected, and the civil war begun. They had resolved, whether the King should consent or refuse, to hold a General Assembly; and they used such means for securing representatives subservient to their ultimate object, as rendered their success certain, if not disturbed by the intrusion of a military force. Not having full confidence in the parish ministers, who are not to be considered, at least in the beginning, as the ringleaders of the sedition which was raised in their name, and rather apprehending a spirit of moderation in that body, the higher orders among the laity resolved to domineer entirely in the Assembly, and to hurry on the ecclesiastics with the same furious zeal by which they were themselves transported. Before the establishment of Prelacy, it had been usual for each presbytery to send to the Assembly, besides two or

three ministers, one lay-commissioner ; and as all the boroughs and universities sent likewise commissioners, the lay members in that Ecclesiastical Court nearly equalled the clerical. Not only this arrangement, which the late King, apprehensive of zeal in the laity, had abolished, was now revived by the Covenanters, but they also introduced an innovation which served still further to reduce the clergy to subjection. By an " Edict of the Tables," whose authority was supreme, an elder from each parish was ordered to attend the presbytery, and give his vote in the choice of the ministers who should be deputed to the Assembly. As it is not usual for the ministers who are put in the list of candidates to claim a vote, all the elections by that means fell into the hands of the laity. The most furious of all ranks were chosen ; and the more to overawe the clergy, a new device was fallen upon of joining to every commissioner four or five lay assessors, who, though they could have no vote, might yet interpose with their voice and authority in the Assembly.

Burnet in his Memoirs mentions, that in the end of October, a short time before the meeting of the celebrated Convocation at Glasgow, the Earl of Rothes, with other Covenanters, petitioned the Marquis of Hamilton for a warrant to cite the Bishops to appear as the representatives of the Church, to hear certain charges which were to be alleged against them, chiefly on the ground of immorality. The Marquis refused to grant such a warrant, being contrary to law and practice in such cases. Defeated in this quarter, they applied to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who authorised " the most scandalous summons that ever was heard of in the Christian Church ; wherein all the Bishops were cited as guilty of heresy, simony, perjury, incest, adultery, breach of the Sabbath, and what not ! They added, indeed, the word *respective*, which many said was on design to abuse the poor vulgar, who could not understand the import of that law-term, but would undoubtedly believe each guilty of all

these crimes. This was ordered to be read in the churches of Edinburgh, but carried so secretly that it was only on the Saturday night that the Marquis had notice of it, whereupon he presently sent to require them, under pain of treason, to forbear; but that was not formidable to them,—so it was read in the College Church, and ordered to be read in all the churches of Scotland.”

The Prelates finding themselves condemned before trial, denied the authority and jurisdiction of the approaching Convention, and therefore refused to attend, either to assert their own rights or to refute the malicious charges which had been levelled at their characters. In reference to these calumnies, they assert in a formal deed their innocence, saying, “We protest in the sight of God, to whom we must one day give account, that we make use of this declinature out of the conscience of our duty to God and his Church, and not out of fear of any guiltiness whereof any of us is conscious to himself, either of wickedness in our lives or miscarriage in our callings, being content every one of us for our own particular (as we have never shewn ourselves to be otherwise) to submit ourselves to the lawful and most exact trial of any competent judicatory within this kingdom, or of his Majesty’s High Commissioner. We are so far from wishing hurt to any man in his person or estate, notwithstanding all the indignities and injuries we have suffered, that for quieting the present combustion and settling peace in this Church and Country, we could be content, after clearing our innocence of all things wherewith we can be charged, not only to lay down our Bishoprics at his Majesty’s feet, to be disposed of at his royal pleasure, but also, if so be it pleased God, to lay down our lives and become a sacrifice for this atonement.”

As an apology for introducing such historical details in the Life of the Archbishop, it must be remembered that he was included in the number of those who were cited to the bar of the General Assembly at Glasgow, charged with the

guilt of "heresy, simony, perjury, incest, adultery, fornication, and breach of the Sabbath, besides being suspected of Arminianism, Popery, and card-playing." That such an accusation had no other object than to prevent the Prelates from taking their seats in the Convocation, is manifest from the fact that three of their number who conformed to Presbyterianism, were received as ministers of parish churches, without any inquiry as to the amount of their contamination by the deadly sins now recited.

The calumnies at that time propagated for a special purpose have, by some uncandid authors, been perpetuated against the Primate, though the most moderate and tolerant of the opponents of Presbyterianism. It has been said of him by a writer who occasionally places too much confidence in the scurrilities of Calderwood, that the Archbishop, "alienated from the enemies of Prelacy, who were marked by the sanctity and even severity of their deportment, conceived it right to depart from the strictness which he associated with enthusiasm, he paid little reverence to the Lord's-day, was not regular in attending public worship, and affected a gaiety or looseness of behaviour most unsuitable to his station in the Church, and most ruinous to the cause he was anxious to support." The Covenanters, as is proved by their proceedings against the Church, were not slow to act upon the maxim which recommends a bold and unmeasured calumny, on the assurance that some portion of it will attach even to the most spotless character. Archbishop Spottiswoode, it is recorded, made no fewer than fifty journeys to London on the affairs of the Church; and from the mode of travelling in those days must of necessity have spent some portion of his time at inns, (for this is one of the charges against him) and probably made an occasional journey on the day of weekly repose. His duties too, as a Privy-Councillor, called him frequently to the northern capital, and may in certain cases have led him to a similar violation of the rest which now very properly

belongs to the Sunday. But all men, whatever may have been their station, ought to be judged by the feelings and practice of the age in which they lived ; and upon inquiry it will be found, that at the period in question the same respect was not paid to the Lord's-day which was afterwards enforced by law as well as by a sense of propriety. Secular occupations were commonly followed, or were superseded by riotous amusement. There were instances even of ministers countenancing this freedom, and going with their people on the Sunday evenings to the bow-butts to practise archery. Wodrow, in several of his Lives, gives a melancholy view of the barbarous state of Scotland, and of the profaneness which abounded at the period now under consideration, adducing in support of his representation many facts which render incredulity impossible. A remedy for this evil was attempted, not by the Reformed Clergy, but by the Parliament, who, in 1594, framed an Act for the better Observance of the Sabbath. At this stage of their proceedings, it is certain that the followers of Knox had not attained to those rigid notions, in regard to the observance of the seventh day which were afterwards adopted by the more strict Puritans who disturbed the reign of Charles the First. Nearly twenty years after the Reformation was established in Scotland, the General Assembly gravely considered whether a minister or reader might not tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern. It was, indeed, determined by the united wisdom of the members, that these persons be exhorted by the Commissioners "to keep decorum;" a decision which reserved to their industrious brethren no small share of discretionary power in the pursuit of temporal objects. In those days, indeed, a portion of the weekly festival, as well as of the annual commemorations appointed by the Church, was everywhere devoted to relaxation ; and accordingly it was not deemed very unbecoming, even in serious persons to seek amusement, or even to travel on important business after Divine Service on the Lord's-

day. As to the calumnies fabricated by the Covenanting Lords, with the view of preventing the Bishops from appearing in the Glasgow Assembly, they are unworthy of credit ; the ministers of Edinburgh, with a few exceptions, refused to sign the deed which contained those imputations ; and, as has been already mentioned, all the Prelates who conformed to the new order of things were held acquitted from the crimes of heresy, simony, adultery, fornication, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, and gaming. Had Spottiswoode imitated the conduct of his brethren of Dunkeld, Orkney, and Argyle, and abjured his Episcopal character, he would, like them, have enjoyed a plenary absolution and indulgence. He chose the better part, and has, in consequence, received a degree of respect which was refused to the others.

The last occasion in which the Primate gave his advice in the affairs of the Church, appears to have occurred at London, when the King, who was desirous to have the opinion of his Council in regard to the troubled state of his northern Kingdom, “ called to his closet ” the Archbishops of Canterbury and St Andrews, and the Bishops of Galloway, Brechin, and Ross, the Marquis of Hamilton being there before they came. To all these his Majesty declared the choice he had made, and that he intended to send the Marquis to Scotland with the rank of High Commissioner, for establishing the peace of the country and the good of the Church. St Andrews said he approved the choice, and hoped for good success. My Lord of Canterbury asked why his Majesty had called him ; the King said, to be a witness of what was done, and because he had been before acquainted with the proceedings of that business, he was also to be informed of what passed thereafter. Then the Marquis desired to know what the Bishops expected he could do : they answered, nothing but procure the peace of the country and good of the Church. He desired that they would contribute their assistance for reclaiming the ministers who were once conformable ; and for the ministers that

were censured and were now stirring, how he should deal with them. They answered, their power was small at that time and their danger great, and so were inclined to stay still at London ; but that was overruled, the Marquis undertaking that, so far as in him lay, he should stand between them and danger. The Archbishop of Canterbury said much and well on this head ; so it was agreed that they should go home. Next the King expressed how necessary it was that they should live each in his own diocese ; Canterbury seconded this, and the Bishops acknowledged that it was the best way. Much was said concerning General Assemblies, and that Ecclesiastical matters ought to have been introduced by them ; and the Marquis was ordered to give assurance that in all time coming, nothing substantial should be introduced into the Church but by them. Much debate passed about the oath of admission of ministers, and it was concluded that it should be no other than was warranted by law ; and the Bishops were required to be sparing and moderate for the present, both in urging that and the ceremonies. All this his Majesty concluded with his wishes for good success, adding that the Marquis had been so far from seeking this employment that he commanded him, much against his will, to undertake the journey.¹

It does not appear that the Archbishop returned to Scotland, though he must have retired from Court and taken up his residence at Newcastle. The Conference now mentioned took place in the beginning of May 1638 ; and on the seventh day of the same month, letters were written to the nobility giving notice of the resolutions now taken. But the result did not accord with the King's wishes, who knew not, at that moment, that the most determined of his enemies were to be found among the aristocracy, on whose aid he placed his chief dependence, and not a few among those also who surrounded his throne and filled the most important

¹ Burnet's Memoirs, p. 42.

offices in his Scottish Council. Proclamations were issued promising a redress of all grievances, on the sole condition that the Covenant should be renounced; a concession which the mass of the nation had resolved not to grant, because in it their main strength lay for the accomplishment of those ulterior objects, which were now no longer concealed among the leaders of the people.

Even after the defeat he sustained in the Assembly in the month of November, the Marquis continued to cherish a hope that the Church would be restored, and the authority of the King acknowledged. On the third day of February 1639, he wrote to Archbishop Spottiswoode the following letter, which conveys an impression as to public affairs which could not be shared by those who knew the state of the country more accurately than did the royal Commissioner:—

“MY LORD,—I know the Bissop of Rosse heath wrytt at length to your Lordship of all passages heire, yett I wold not neglect my deuti so fare as not to intreat your Lordship’s favore to Doctor Robert Hamilton, whome his Majestie, without anie desyre of myne (as I shall answer to God), heath beene plesead to advance to the honerabill degree of ane Bissop: God make him worthy his calling.

“My Lord be of good heart, for certanlie his Majestie’s outhorati wile be sett right eare long, and all thoes who heath suffered for God and the King, not onlie restored but rewarded, which no man living will rejoyes more att then ho who is obliged and resolved ever to be,

“Your Grace’s assured friend and servant,

“Whythall, 3 Feb. 1639.

“HAMILTON.

“Your Lordship will be plesed to dereet Doctor Hamilton how he shall now proceed, and I have willed him to obay your cōmands.”¹

¹ From original at Spottiswoode, endorsed in the handwriting of Sir Robert Spottiswoode,—“Marq. of Hamilton to my Father, 3 Febr^y 1639.”

But the Archbishop and his friends viewed not in the same favourable light the state of affairs in Scotland ; knowing that there were designs entertained by a powerful party in that country which would infallibly lead to a civil commotion, as well as change the aspect of ecclesiastical arrangements. The following letter addressed to his son, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, then in London, proves that he saw very distinctly the issue of the measures pursued by the opposite party, and that he had no confidence in those who professed to serve the King in his northern capital :—

“ SONNE,—I have no new matter to write ; but having resaved yo^r letter of the 13th this 22. q^{ria} [wherein] you desire me to advertise yow how matters lift here ; these shall shew you that I have satisfieit yo^r desire in my former, having sent the copies of all vnto yow. Only in the last, subscryved by my lord of Roxburgh, him and me, he did cast to in the end that if the course we projected made no quietnes, his mj [Majesty] should direct the Councell according to the instructions committed to Traquair, which I exponed to be done for excluding the Marquis of Huntly his employment, who is only feared, and only able to doe service ; for as to the Councell, as it is now constitute, God help ws.

“ You will remember my service to my Lord Canterbury, and shew him till the country be quieted I will no more write of the state of our Church or for it ; and that if I had been believed these things had not fallen out. This last Sonday they keep a fast throw Fife for moving his Majesty’s heart to accept well of their petition, in effect to give him a good successe in his journey, for they all relie upon him. I have written at lenth with the Erle of Airth his man, and expects to heare more particularly from yow at his return. Yow need not feare my engadging, for I have proof enough. And if his Majesty take a course to mend things, I will not wearie so long as I have strenth ;

but otherwyse I cannot serve in such company. So wishing you a good return, I rest

“ Yo^r loving Father,

“ SANCTANDROIS.

“ Ed^r. 22 Ja^{ry}.

“ 1638.”¹

It cannot be considered surprising that, exhausted by anxiety and regret, the Primate should have been desirous to resign his high office, and retire into private life. He found himself everywhere surrounded by traitors, and saw even the chief law-officer of the Crown instructing the Covenanters how they might most dexterously oppose the King, by protesting openly against all his Proclamations. “ If his Majesty take a course to mend things, I will not weary so long as I have strength ; but otherwise I cannot serve in such company.” The following letter from Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, shews clearly that Spottiswoode was desirous to extricate himself from the responsibility and danger with which he was encompassed, on the ground that his royal Master was ignorant of the real condition of his northern kingdom, and of the character of those persons to whom the government of it was committed. It is addressed to his son, Sir Robert, President of the Court of Session :—

“ WORTHY SIR,—I received y^r letters, but the Justice-Clerk was returned before I had them. Yet, though he was gone, I hold it my dewtye to represent to the Kinge all that you had written. And I did soe. I hope you have written nothing in those leters, which you say you can warrant, but that you are able to make good your word.

“ The Kynge will bye no means heare of your father’s resigning his place till he see things in a better way. I

¹ From the original at Spottiswoode, addressed—“To my Sonne, the President of the Session, at Courte.”

told you thus much at your being heare, and his Majestye continues in the same mind still ; and therefore you must give him the best both encouradgment and assistance that possibly you can in his Majesty's service.

“ I have likewise received from D. Carss what was sent to him, but I had seen it all before. I canne give the particulars in your letters no further answer ; but for your saftie and happye end of those troubles you have mye dailye prayers, who am

“ Y^r very lovinge friend,

(Signed) “ W. CANT.

“ Lambeth, Mar.

“ 28. 1638.”

“ For mye verye worthye frind

“ S^r Robert Spotswood, Lord

“ President of y^e Session, These.”¹

The true friends of Charles, while they lamented his want of resolution and consistency, were grieved to see how badly he was served by the greater number of those in whom he reposed confidence, and even trusted with the administration of his affairs. The Earls of Rothes, Lothian, Cassillis, Eglinton, and Home, with the Lords Lindesay, Loudon, Lorn, Yester, and Balmerino, are mentioned by historians as the chief supporters of the Covenant, though several of them were members of the Privy-Council. On one occasion Loudon presented to this body, who, in point of fact, constituted the Government of Scotland, supplications and petitions of a very inflammatory nature, disrespectful to his Majesty, and full of menaces against the Episcopal Order ; but the Councillors, so far from firmly declaring that such proceedings were unwarrantable, shewed much partiality to the petitioners, and assured them that their cause should receive no prejudice until an answer were returned, and

¹ From the original at Spottiswoode.

even aided them by their advice as to the most successful mode of accomplishing their object, however opposed to the measures of the King. The Earl of Traquair, Hope, the Lord Advocate, and Sir James Hamilton, the Justice-Clerk, shewed a decided leaning towards the cause of the Covenant, while the only person who spoke with zeal in defence of the Church, was Sir John Hay of Barro, the Lord Clerk-Register. The following letter from this honest Councillor to Sir Robert Spottiswoode indicates the embarrassment in which the King's friends found themselves placed, as well as the ambiguous conduct of his colleagues in office, who wished their Sovereign no success in his efforts to pacify the country :—

“MYE VERYE HONR^{BLE} AND GUID LORD,—I received your Lordship's off the 12 off this instant, and am weill pleased that your affaires ar in so guid ane prydicament. I wisch that they may so continew: from the Counsaill you have little or none except what my lord yo^r father and Privie Seale have written. I was not admitted to thair seerecies, bot so farre as yo^r father was pleased to let me know. I gave him my advyse to beware of thame, aad acquaint him that the most secreit papers they had were maid patent to the opposates, yet I heare his Lordship hes written something to yo^r Lordship in favors off 4, but I houp your Lordship is wyse, yet I am soure he red ane of ane contrarey tenour to me, which I haue sent also be Harye Drwmond; yo^r Lordship knawis he hes one with him more powerfull then we ar all. Yet I doe all I can, and I am sure this day he is verye weill pleased with him. I marveill yo^r Lordship hes not maid mentioun off ye [the] receipt of my letters, for I wrote to yo^r Lordship be Mr James Gordoun, twyse vnder Joⁿ Jonsse's cover; once be Oversoun in Panmure's packitt; and last be Harye Drwmond quha pairted this morning. As for the affaires heir, thair is no houe of recouerie, if his Majestie doe not advert to his officers and

otheris in truiste, and sure yo^r Lordship knowis all the passages, and how the town off Edinburgh was drawn, ne forced, to come upon the pairtie. And before ye [the] Act off Councell at Lynlithgow the opposates durst not avow thet they had Commissioners, but since to this day, they have publicklie maid thair Conventicles and Councels : And still do continew. And whereas youre father is blamed for the petitions receiving, yo^r father was not in Dalkeith thrie counsaill dayes befoir. And if he had come, he wald not have had ane voice, for the Bishop of the Isles was forced to remove himselffe for eschewing of stuore, swa y^t my lord yo^r father is wronged, for albeit in the Councell's letter pryceiding, it was written y^t they had rafused the petitionunes, thair was no such thing, albeit y^t I put my hand to y^t letter becaus being with y^r father, and seeing him subscriyve it, I did the lyke ; bot knew not what was in it till after, for iff I had knawen I wald not have subscriyvit it. As for this toun there is no dealing, for now W^m Dick is drawn over to be as forward as any man ; so y^t some calm and wyse course must be vsed till things calm, els this toun is lost. All the houe of the pairtie depends upon the assurance they seem to have off 4. And yet the Bishop of Galloway affirms, that without he have absolute power over this Kyngdome, all will goe wrang. We have no Councell, and I think sall have none till yor return. There was much bragging heir off ane letter which my Lord Canturburie write, bot upon what just ground I cannot certifie your Lordship. Thair is many letters gone from hence in favors off 4, and nothing left vndone which may prevento what is done, but I houpe his Majestie is wyse, and will not suffer us to perisch. Your Lordship neids not feare to stand to the treuth, for yair will be fund witnesses sufficient. The Lord assist you. Ther was many strange pranks the last Exchequer-day, whereof I intendit to advertise, bot y^t [that] it is not tyme to mixe these businesses ; bot they will be found strange acts in ane subject. Your Lady has pro-

meist to write with this, under Joⁿ Jonsse's cover, swa with my humble dewtie remembered, I rest

“Yo^r lordship's humble Servand,

(Signed) “JOⁿ. HAY.¹”

“Edinburgh, 22d January, 1638.”

As an author, Archbishop Spottiswoode is known to the literary world chiefly by his History of the Church of Scotland, and his controversy with Calderwood relative to the ecclesiastical polity established by the Reformers in his native country. The sturdy Presbyterian, as this polemic has been described, published in 1618 a tract entitled “*De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ brevis Relatio*”—the object of which was to prove that the Presbyterian model of Church-government was adopted from the beginning of the Reformation, and whatever features of Episcopacy it afterwards assumed, were not sanctioned by Assemblies or Parliament, but were violently obtruded by the royal prerogative. About two years afterwards the Archbishop committed to the press a tract which bears for its title, “*Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*,” in which he examines very minutely the assertions and reasonings of his antagonist, most of which he successfully exposes. Calderwood wrote an answer under the assumed name of Hieronymus Philadelphus, entitled “*De Regimine Scoticanæ Ecclesiæ Epistola*,” to which is added a somewhat tedious defence of his former tract, bearing the name of “*Vindicie contra calumnios Johannis Spotswodi, Fani Andreæ Pseudo-Archiepiscopi*”—that is, a Defence of the Letter of Hieronymus Philadelphus against the calumnies of John Spottiswoode, pretended Archbishop of St Andrews.

Calderwood, though a man of competent learning and

¹ From the original at Spottiswoode, addressed—“To my verye honorable and guid Lord, Sr Robert Spottiswood, off Dunipace, Knight, President of the Colledge of Justice, These.”

great industry, was very neglectful of the proprieties of social life, and never thought it necessary to check his resentment or conceal his bitterness of spirit. Not only does he describe the Primate as “pretended” Archbishop, but he elsewhere asserts that “he was as void of learning as of good manners.” Even in the presence of Majesty his indomitable spirit rejected all restraint; and on one occasion, in making a reply to King James, “he carried himself,” says the historian, “unreverently, and broke forth into speeches not becoming a subject.”

In regard to the matter discussed in the rival pamphlets on the government of the Scottish Church during the interval between 1560 and 1592, there is no difficulty, so far as the main question is concerned, though it may be impossible to reconcile the decisions of particular Assemblies and even Parliaments, with any fixed principle, ecclesiastical or civil; there was such a mixture of Presbyterianism with Episcopacy as to justify each party in claiming the sanction of law for his own system of Church-government; though, in our days, candid men will admit that the development of both was so imperfect and inoperative as not to satisfy the views of either. The government by Bishops was so uncanonical in its principles, and restricted in its operation, as not to coincide with any conception of the Church which could be derived from antiquity; while the presbyterian will be ready to repudiate the heterogeneous discipline exercised by a Superintendent and Provincial Synods, when he had the right to preside and oppose their decisions.

Archbishop Spottiswoode in his “Refutation” commands our assent, while he maintains that the form in which the Scottish Church emerged from the cloud which darkened the dawn of the Reformation was not Presbyterian. Even the mass of the people were hardly prepared for so great a change; and provided the title of Bishop, closely connected with all their notions of the Romish hierarchy

were suppressed, they were not solicitous to determine who should be the office-bearers in the new Kirk.

Early in 1639 Archbishop Spottiswoode retired to Newcastle, where, wearied and heavy laden with the troubles he had encountered, and weighed down by the anticipation of those greater evils he saw impending over that Church he had so long laboured to uphold, he became ill, and remained sometime under the care of physicians till he recovered strength to travel to London. There is no record of the circumstances attending the death of this venerable Prelate except what is contained in the slight biographical sketch prefixed to former editions of the "History of the Church," supposed to have been written by Dr Brian Duppa, Bishop of Winchester. The only event of any importance connected with the demise of Archbishop Spottiswoode, is the visit paid by the Marquis of Hamilton to him when on his death-bed, which has already been noticed. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Laud) and other Bishops also visited the dying Prelate, and joined with him in celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On the 26th November 1639 a troubled life was ended by a tranquil death: he died with a stillness so much more than ordinary, that those who were about him could not perceive when his soul departed. Immediately before his dissolution he made a declaration of the faith in which he died, which being prefixed to his last Will and Testament, shall be here printed at length:—

"THE LATTER WILL AND TESTAMENT OF JHON ARCHBISHOP OF ST ANDREWS, MADE BY HIM AT NEWCASTLE THE 14TH OF JANUARY 1639.

"THE death of my wife, whose age and constitutioun was not muche differing from mine owne, having warned me that the end of my dayes is approaching, and in this troubled time not knowing where or when I shall be called hence, I

have thought meet to leave this for my latter Will and Testament.

“ And first, for that I esteem it the duty of every Christian, especially of those whose service it hath pleased God to vse in his Church, to make an open declaration of his faith wherein he lives and dyeth, I professe to believe all the Articles of the Creed cōmonly called the Apostles’ Creed, the summe whereof is, That God is one and three persons, the Father Creator of all things ; the Sonne made man in time, who by his bitter passioun and death hating redeemed mankind, rose from death, and ascended to heaven, from whence he will come to judge all fleshe ; and the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, the sanctifier of all that believe. That this God hath chosen to him self a Church, the members whereof living in cōmunion, though never so dispersed, shall, by his infinite mercy, resave remission of all their sinnes, and being raised again in their bodies at the last day, shall enioy everlasting life.

“ This is the summe of my faith ; other additaments that ignorance and corruption have induced into Christianitie I simply refuse, beseeching God to purge his Church from the errors and superstitiouns that hath crept into the same, and to mak ws all at last, that are called Christians, the sheep of one fold.

“ For matters of rite and government, my judgement is and hath been, that the most simple, decent, and humble rites should be chused, such as is the bowing of the knee in resaving the Holy Sacrament, and others of that kinde, prophannesse being as dangerouse to religion as superstition ; and touching the government of the Church, I am verily persuaded that the government Episcopall is the only right and Apostolicque forme. Paritie among ministers is the breeder of confusion, as experience might have taught ws ; and for these ruling-elders, as they are a mere humane devise, so will they proove, if they find way, the ruin both of Church and Estate.

To the sonnes with whom God hath blessed me, I seriously cōmend the feare of God, obedience to the King, and a hearty love one to anether, willing them to show all the kindnesse they may to their only sister, and, above all earthly cares, to study not to be indebted to any person, and to eschew the paying of vsurie, which is a very miserie and the vndoer of estates.

“To my sonne, the President, I leave the robes I have used at Parliament, and such things as are addebted to me from the vassals on the south side of Forth, with my whole books that I have already dispoed to him, which I will to be kept together; only suche English treaties and histories as his brother shall desire, I will to be delivered to him.

“What is on the other side of Forth, or shall be resting to me by any right in these parts, with the moneyes appointed by Act of Parliament to be payed by the successor for the great expense I have made on the buyldings as wall in the Castle as Abbey, I leave to my sonne, S^r Jhon; together with the obligation of ane thousand marks that is in the keeping of Hew Scringuor, due to me by Jhon Carstaris, he therefore assuring Jhon Low, his sonne, of a thousand m^{ks}, whereof his mother is to have the profit during her life, so as the same be not payed by myself in my lyf time.

“The litle cabinet, wherein is a purse with some peeccis of gold, the number quherof I doe not remember, I leave likewise to him, he giving some peece thereof to his sister of Roslin, one to his gudsister, the President’s wyf, and a principall one to my best beloved brother, Mr Jhon Maxwell, Bishop of Rosse, whom I appoint the principall executor of my Will, commending to his fidelitie the edition of my Historie, if the same be not done by my self, and the presenting thereof to his Majesty, for whose service and the Churches, I did only tak these panis.

“If my opinion, touching the providing of my successour may have any place with his Majesty, I leave it to the said

Bishop of Rosse, as of all o^r number he is the most fit man, and most qualifeit. Entreating him to hold his M^y in minde of the two thousand lib. promised by his father of blessed memory, and resting of the foure thousand that he gave me in the year 1621, for paying some debts that I contracted in his father's service, and made my sonnes to engage them selfs for payment thirrof.

“To my said brother, the Bishop of Rosse, I ordain the Manuscripts that I left at Roslin and Edinburgh to be delivered, containing the letters of his Majesty's father, and other memorialls, together with the letters sent by his Majesty that now is, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and himself to me at divers times, which may serve him for some good vse.

“Lastly, submitting myself with all humilitie to the good pleasure of my most mercifull God, I humbly cōmit my soule in his handis, and if it fall out that I doe end my dayis without the country, I desire, if any way it may be cōmodiously done, that my corps be transported into Scotland and interred besides my wyf, qhere I appointed the same to be layd in the church of Darsiy, which I will to be done without all maner of pompe, and in the presence of a few loving freinds, with the greatest secrecy that may be. And if it shall be God his good pleasure to return me home, the like course I desire to be kept in my buriall. If otherwise, the good will of my God be done. Written with my hand, and subservyed at Newcastle, the 14th of January 1639.

(Signed) “SANCT. ANDROIS.”

The character of the Archbishop, as may be clearly perceived by every reader of the “History of the Church,” has been impartially described by his first biographer, and all who can compare the tone and spirit in which Spottiswoode wrote with that of contemporary authors whose opinions were opposed to his, will give full credit to the commenda-

tion bestowed upon him by the Bishop of Winchester, when he states that in all his encounters with his antagonists "he borrowed his weapons from the armoury of his Saviour, from whence he was furnished with humility to oppose their pride, and meekness to answer their choler."

That this eminent Prelate was bounteous in alms-giving, pious and devout both in his private and public capacity, will not be doubted by any one who has studied his character as it appears in his writings; and the testimony of Dr Brian Duppa to his many Christian excellencies, is scarcely required to prove that the same gentle, charitable, and amiable spirit which is manifested in every word of his History, was displayed by him in his daily life and conversation. Dr Duppa states, that "besides the dispensing of his private charity, where the right hand was not to know what the left hand did, he publicly, and upon his own charges, built and adorned the church of Darsey after the decent English form; which, if the boisterous hand of a mad Reformation hath not disordered, is at this time one of the beautifullest little pieces of church-work that is left to that now unhappy country.¹ Nor is it to be buried in silence what he did in a time of famine for the relief of the Isles of Orkney, when he did not only incite others to a liberal contribution, but led the way to them by his own example in such a proportion as suited rather with the largeness of his mind than of his fortune." As Archbishop Spottiswoode left two sons and one daughter, his eldest son was Sir John Spottiswoode, who appears to have had his estate and fortune impaired by his loyal adherence to the cause of his unfortunate Sovereign. Sir Robert Spottiswoode, his second son, has several times been alluded to in this biographical notice. He was distinguished for his "many and rare abilities;"

¹ There is a view of it, and also of a house (now entirely demolished) which the Archbishop built near this church, in the last edition of Sir Robert Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross, Svo, Cupar-Fife. 1803.

and was, for his great wisdom and knowledge in the law, preferred first by King James to be Lord of Session extraordinary, and afterwards by King Charles, not only to be the constant President thereof, but to be his chief secretary for Scotland. For his loyalty and fidelity to his master he suffered a violent death upon the scaffold at St Andrews, in January 1646; boldly exhorting those whom curiosity had brought to behold his execution, to “keep fast their duties to God and to their King.” The Archbishop’s only daughter married Sir William Saint-Clair of Roslin, one of the ancient Barons of Scotland.

The wish expressed by the Archbishop in his Will respecting the conveyance of his remains to Scotland was not complied with, probably in order to enable the King to pay all due honour to the memory of his faithful counsellor, and to mark the esteem in which he held this mild and venerable servant of God. The interment took place at Westminster Abbey, which was “solemnly ordered;” for the corpse being attended by many mourners and torch-bearers, and the whole nobility of England and Scotland (then present at Court), was conveyed to the west door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendaries in their clerical habits, and “buried according to the solemn rites of the English Church, before the extermination of Christian burial was come in fashion.”

Above his corpse these words were engraven in brass:—

MEMORIE SACRUM.
 DOMINUS JOANNES SPOTISWOOD, ECCLESIE
 SANCTI ANDREE ARCHIEPISCOPUS, SCOTIE PRIMUS
 ET REGNI CANCELLARIUS,
 VIGINTI ANNOS PRESBYTER,
 UNDECIM ANNOS ARCHIEPISCOPUS GLASGOENSIS,
 VIGINTI QUINQUE ANNOS ST ANDREE,
 ET PER
 QUATOUR ANNOS REGNI SCOTIE CANCELLARIUS,
 EX HAC VITA IN PACE MIGRAVIT
 ANNO DOMINI 1639,
 SEXTO CALENDAS DECEMBRIS,
 REGNI CAROLI 15,
 ETATIS SUE 74.

Præsul, Senator, pene Martyr hîc jacet,
 Quo nemo Sanctior, Gravior, Constantior,
 Pro Ecclesiâ, pro Rege, pro Rectâ Fide,
 Contra Sacrilegos, Perduelles, Perfidos,
 Stetit ad extremum usque Vitæ Spiritum
 Solitumque talium Meritorum Præmium
 Diras Rapinas Exiliumque pertulit.
 Sed hâc in Urnâ, in Ore Posterûm, in Deo
 Victor potitur Pace, Famâ, Gloriâ.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

BEGINNING THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 203, AND CONTINUED TO
THE END OF THE REIGN OF KING JAMES THE VI.
OF EVER BLESSED MEMORY.

WHEREIN ARE DESCRIBED,

THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY, THE PERSECUTIONS AND INTERRUPTIONS OF IT, THE
FOUNDATION OF CHURCHES, THE ERECTING OF BISHOPRICKS, THE BUILDING AND
ENDOWING MONASTERIES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS PLACES, THE SUCCESSION OF
BISHOPS IN THEIR SEES, THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, AND THE FRE-
QUENT DISTURBANCES OF THAT NATION BY WARS, CONSPIRACIES,
TUMULTS, SCHISMS;

TOGETHER WITH GREAT VARIETY OF OTHER MATTERS, BOTH
ECCLESIASTICALL AND POLITICALL.

WRITTEN BY THAT GRAVE AND REVEREND PRELATE, AND WISE COUNSELLOR,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF S. ANDREWS, AND PRIVY COUNSELLOR TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST,
THAT MOST RELIGIOUS AND BLESSED PRINCE AND MARTYR.

RES IN EXITU ÆSTIMANTUR, ET CUM ABEUNT EX OCULIS, HINC VIDENTUR.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. NORTON, FOR R. ROYSTON.
MDCLXV.



TO THE KING HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY,

CHARLES,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND
IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,



HERE is not amongst men a greater help for the attaining unto wisdom than is the reading of History. We call experience a good mistress, and so she is ; but, as it is in our Scottish proverb—" It seldom quites the cost"—History not so : it teacheth us at other men's cost, and carrieth this advantage more, that in a few hours' reading a man may gather more instructions out of the same than twenty men, living successively one after another, can possibly learn by their own experience. Therefore hath History with all wise men been ever held in good estimation, and none thought to deserve better of the Church and State wherein they lived, than they who have taken the pains to record unto posterity the things fallen forth in their days. For there is no new thing under the sun: " what hath been, or is, the same also shall be," saith the Preacher.

To know the success and event of every course, there needs only the knowledge of things past, and a fit comparing of them with the present. Now this knowledge is chiefly got by History, the want whereof hath bred in our Church many strange mistakings ; for did men understand how things went at our Reformation, and since that time,

they would never have been moved to think that Episcopacy was against the constitutions of this Church, one of the first things done in it being the placing of Superintendents with Episcopal power in the same, and no act so often iterated in the General Assemblies of the Church as that ministers should live obedient to their Superintendents, under pain of deprivation. Then for the Consistorial Discipline brought from Geneva some sixteen years after the Reformation—did men know the troubles raised thereby both in Church and State, with the necessity that your Majesty's father, of blessed memory, was put to for reforming that confused government, they would never magnify nor cry it up as they do. To remedy this want, and let all that desire to be truly informed of things fallen out in our times, I took the pains to collect this History, which I do now humbly present unto your sacred Majesty. If the same shall be graciously accepted, as I cannot but presume upon your accustomed humanity to all, I have that I desire. For with me it is a small thing to be judged of others. God knoweth I have followed the truth, and studied to observe the laws of History.

The collection premitted in the two first Books, concerning the planting and progress of Christian Religion in this kingdom, with the worthy instruments that God raised to propagate the true faith, both here and in the neighbouring countries, containeth no great matters; as of those first ages whereof we have few or no records remaining, how should any great things be truly affirmed? Yet the little I have found and brought together may let us see the exceeding goodness of God toward this nation, having, so soon after the ascension of our Saviour unto the heavens, made the Gospel here to be preached, and a Church thereby gathered, which to this day hath found a safe harbour under your Majesty's royal progenitors. Fourteen hundred years and above we reckon since King Donald, the first of that name, his embracing the Christian faith; all which time there hath not been wanting in the royal stock a most kind nursing father to this Church; or if a careless and

dissolute King (which in so long a succession of Princes is not to be wondered), happened to reign, the same was ever abundantly repaired by one or other of the Kings that followed. Neither did this bring them less happiness than honour; for give me leave, Sir, to speak it, which I hold not unworthy of your Majesty's consideration, the Scottish kingdom, once the least of nine kingdoms that ruled in the Isle, by the wonderful providence of God is now so encreased, first in the person of your Majesty's blessed father, and now in your own, as the sceptre of the whole is put into your Majesty's hands; which, that you may long happily sway, and your posterity after you, to the world's end, is the hearty wish of all loyal subjects. For my part, next to God his undeserved love, I do ascribe this happiness to the piety and devotion of your princely ancestors, and to their zeal in maintaining the rights and liberties of this Church. Your Majesty keeping the same course, which, blessed be God you hold, you may be confident of God his protection against all dangers whatsoever, for he will honour them that honour him, and never turn away his face from his anointed.

God Almighty I beseech to multiply his blessings upon your Majesty and your royal progeny, to give you the desire of your heart, and clothe all your enemies with shame. So he prayeth that is

Your Majesty's most humble subject and servant,

JO. SANCTANDREWS.

From the place of my peregrination,

15 Novemb. 1639.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.



HIS History being wrote in calm and quiet times, and by a person whose temper and disposition was not unsuitable to them, had the ill hap to have an hideous storm tread upon the heels of it; which, among other greater wrecks and ruins, might very likely have buried this, never to have been raised up again; but Providence had so disposed of it, that a copy of it lighting into more ingenuous and noble hands, it was thought a sin by them to stifle and conceal it from the world, which now being in dotage, and infinitely in love with change, may read here (if they do not feel it already) the sad effects which an unruly and a misgoverned Reformation, ushered in by tender consciences, brings upon them.

Nor doth it come forth now to cast any obloquy upon that Church or Nation famous in former times for so much piety, that the devotion of the natives under so cold a clime (whether you consider the rich endowments or magnificent structures of places dedicated to God's service) can hardly be matched; but to shew rather the variation of all human things, and how easy it is to slide from something that might look like superstition into the contrary vices of sacrilego and profaneness, for which they have felt so remarkable a scourge, that unless it be in the same Island (and all circumstances considered scarce in that), cannot the whole world and the stories of it suit them with a parallel.

But there is less to be said of this, because, if the times become patient of hearing the truth, you may possibly, by the industry of some good hand, have the latter and more fatal

part of the story ; for though this cloud in the north was at first no bigger than a hand, and might have been grasped and easily dispersed by the authority then in being (had it not miscarried in being too tender towards it), it hath since, for the sins of both nations, rolled itself into a more universal darkness, and poured down such a sweeping rain upon us, as hath carried away all that is sacred with it. And for us that live to see the desolation on all hands, our only portion left us is to mourn in secret, for

—Nihil, præter plorare, relictum e

And that you may know to how innocent and unbiassed a person you owe this story, do but impartially read it, and you shall find it woven with so even a thread, and so much of the spirit of meekness in all the passages of it, that neither the rage of the first Reformers, nor the fury of them who in after-times did second them, could tempt him to dispense so much with his own nature as to pass any bitter reproof upon them, but leaves them upon the stage with the bare narrative of their actions, and trusts the judgment of the reader either to condemn or acquit them.

What the life of this Author was, hath been diligently and faithfully collected by a reverend person of that nation, who, out of the midst of the ruins of his Church, hath gathered out of the rubbish of it the substance of these following particulars ; that this world of ours, being now grown barren of such examples, might at least have an excellent copy set before them, which, if they have not the will to imitate, yet let them use it as they do their pictures, and commend the hand though they neglect his virtues.

There is no more to say to thee but this, that if there be so much devotion in thee as to melt thee into prayers and tears for the sufferings of thine own Church, let there be so much charity too as to bestow some of them on our neighbour-nation from whom our ruin came, and which hath since so deeply smarted for it, that a discrete and a very considerable person among them hath so far, in my hearing,

expressed his penitence for it as to say, that it was true that he, with the rest of his nation, had buried Episcopacy and their ancient monarchy in one and the same grave ; but upon the sad consequences of it they could be content to tear up the very earth of that grave with their teeth, so that they might raise up both again.

And when this single vote shall come to be the vote of the whole nation, God is where he was, and without the attending the revolution of Plato's great year, can when he pleaseth, and by what means he pleaseth, restore them to their former happiness.

Non, si male Nunc, et Olim sic erit.

THE

CONTENTS OF THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

The First Book containeth the Planting and Progress of Christian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the subversion of the Picts, which fell out about the year of our Lord 840.

The Second Book containeth the Succession of Bishops in the several Sees of this Kingdom, especially in the See of St Andrews, with other principal things that happened in their times.

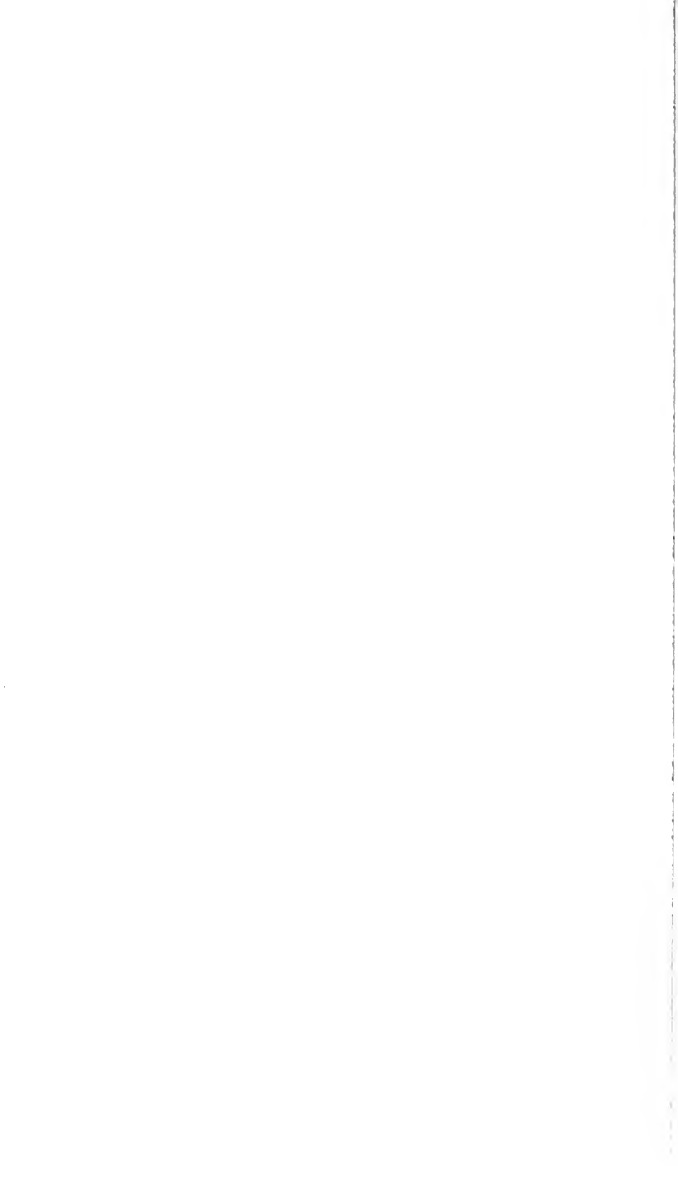
The Third sheweth the History of our Reformation, and means how it was wrought.

The Fourth Book sheweth the things that fell out after Queen Mary her coming from France into this Kingdom, unto her resignation of the Crown to King James, her Son.

The Fifth declareth how matters passed in the State and Church during the Government of the four Regents, his Majesty being yet minor.

The Sixth containeth the things that happened after his Majesty's assuming of the Government in his own person, unto his happy Succession to the Crown of England.

The Last and Seventh Book rehearseth the proceedings, being after his Majesty's going into England, unto his dying.




THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE CONTENTS.

THE PLANTING AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN
THIS KINGDOM UNTO THE SUBVERSION OF THE PICTS, WHICH
FELL OUT ABOUT THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 480.

AVING purposed to write the History of this Church, I have thought meet to begin at the time in which this kingdom did first receive the Christian faith ; for albeit we have few or no records left us of those first times, yet as much is to be found in stories as will shew what was the condition of this Church in every age ; and herewith we must content ourselves till we come to the times that yield greater plenty of matter. When I shall come to our own time, I purpose to set down at length the things that have happened both in the Church and State, together with the counsels and cause of those events, without which the History should be of little use ; for, take away from story the causes whereupon, the manner how, and the purpose wherefore, things were done, that which remaineth is more like a fable than

an history, delighting the reader, it may be, for the present, but giving little or no instruction at all. I am not ignorant how unsafe it is to write of matters so recent, and what offence it may give to divers persons; but the desire I have to give posterity a true information of things, and to have them made wise by our errors, weigheth down with me all such fears; wherefore, without further prefacing, to begin.

IN the year of our Lord 203, which was the fourth of Donald the First his reign, the faith of Christ was in the kingdom first publicly embraced—King Donald, with his Queen and divers of his nobles, being then solemnly baptized. Yet was not that the first time wherein Christ was here made known; for Tertullian, who lived some years before, speaking of the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world, doth reckon among the countries the parts of Britain unto which the Romans could not find access; and what these parts were we cannot doubt, all the inland of Britain being then made subject to the Romans, and no part free but that little corner of the isle which the Scots did inhabit. Moreover, it cannot in reason be thought that the conversion of this kingdom was all wrought at one instant, great alterations, such as that must needs have been, not being made but by little and little; so as we may well think that numbers of people have been won to the Christian profession before the same was publicly embraced by the king and his nobles.

But who they were that God used as instruments in that work is not certainly known. Nicephorus writeth that Simon Zelotes (after he had travelled through Egypt, Cyrene, Afric, Mauritania and Libya) came at last *ad occidentalem oceanum insulasque Britannicas*, to the western ocean and British islands, and there preached the Gospel: Dorotheus addeth that he was crucified in these parts. There be authors likewise of no small credit who write that St Paul the Apostle, after his first imprisonment at Rome, did visit this isle, and preach the Gospel in the utmost parts thereof.

The opinion most commonly received is, that Pope Victor, upon the entreaty of King Donald, did send hither some

preachers, and that these were the men that wrought our conversion. But this cannot hold, for divers reasons ; as first, if the king did move the Pope in any such business, it must needs have been upon some knowledge and liking he had of the Christian profession ; and if so, the preachers that he sent hither could not be the first that taught us the faith of Christ. Again, the estate of the time maketh this opinion improbable ; for the year in which the king is said to have sent that legation to Rome, was the very last of Pope Victor, (for he suffered martyrdom in the year 203) and hardly we can think that in the heat of persecution, which then did rage in all the Roman provinces, the king would have employed any in such a message. Thirdly, if our conversion had been wrought by Pope Victor, how came it that our Church was not fashioned to the Roman in outward rites, especially in the observance of Easter, whereof Victor was so zealous as he excommunicated all the Churches of the East for their disconformity with the Roman in that point ? And it is clear, that for the space of many ages our Church did keep a form different from the Roman, and with much ado was brought to accept their customs and rites. Last of all, the learned Cardinal Baronius, although he will have our conversion to be made by some one of the Roman bishops, esteemeth this which is said of Victor no better than a fable ; “ for how is it,” says he, “ that neither Beda, nor Marianus, nor St Hierome, have made any mention of it ? In all likelihood, if any such thing had been, some one or other of them would have remembered the same.”

Leaving therefore this conceit, and not deeming those other opinions very warrantable, if place may be given to conjecture, I verily think that under Domitian's persecution, when the Apostle St John was relegated to Pathmos, some of his disciples have taken their refuge hither, and been the first preachers of the Gospel in this kingdom. And this I am induced the rather to believe, because in that hot contention moved about Easter some two hundred years after, I find our Church did still retain the custom of the Oriental, and maintain their practice by the authority of St John, from whom they pleaded to have received the faith. But whatsoever be in this, sure not long after the ascension of our Lord, at least whilst the Apostle Saint John yet lived,

the faith of Christ was known and embraced in divers places of this kingdom ; so as we may truly glory in this, that we were *inter primitias*, as Origen speaketh, amongst the first-fruits of the Gentiles gathered unto Christ. This made that venerable Abbot Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scots *antiquiores Christianos*, of greater antiquity than many others.

But to return to King Donald, it was his purpose to have rooted out paganism, and planted the Christian faith every where in his kingdom. But whilst he was about to do it, the Emperor Severus put him to other business ; for thinking to take in the whole isle, and join the same to the Roman Empire, he entered into Britain with a mightier army than had ever here been seen, and leaving his son Geta in the south, went himself in expedition to the north parts, making no stay (though he was gouty and compelled to travel in a litter) till he was come to the utmost ends of the isle. The Scots in the meantime keeping the marshes and mountains, though they durst not encounter the Roman forces because of their numbers, yet did annoy them much, taking them at advantages ; which Severus perceiving, and that there were no means utterly to subdue them, as he had first intended, he made offer of peace, if so they would quit what they possessed betwixt the wall of Adrian and the river of Forth. The condition, though hard and unreasonable, was yielded unto by the Scots, who desired to be freed of so mighty an enemy ; and he, to exclude them from the rest of Britain, did raise a wall of stone betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clyde, two and thirty miles long, fortifying the same with bulwarks and watch-towers in many places. Nor was it long after this peace obtained that King Donald departed this life ; whereupon the Christian religion for many years was little or nothing promoted.

For Ethodius, that succeeded, was a prince of no government, and the kings that came after him, all, unto Cratilinth, either wickedly inclined, or entangled with wars and troubles ; but Cratilinth coming unto the crown in the year two hundred and seventy-seven, made it one of his first works to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition, and expulse the Druids, a sort of priests held in those days in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate sacrifices and perform their other rites in groves, with leaves and branches

of oak ; and thence, saith Pliny, they were called Druids, for $\delta\rho\upsilon\delta$ in the Greek language doth signify an oak. Cæsar in his Commentaries doth farther write, that besides the managing of sacrifices which were committed to them, they were trusted with the decision of controversies private and public, and that such as would not stand to their judgment were interdicted from being present at their sacrifices and holy rites, which was taken for a grievous punishment. It is likewise testified of them, that they were well learned in all natural philosophy, men of moral conversation, and for religion not so grossly ignorant and superstitious as other heathenish priests ; for they taught “ that there was one only God, and that it was not lawful to present him in an image,—that the souls of men did not perish with their bodies,—and that after death men were rewarded according to the life they led on earth.” Some also have written that they did prophesy of the conception of a virgin, and of the birth of him who should be the Saviour of the world. But that such mysteries were revealed unto them, and so plainly as the prophets of God in the Old Testament had scarce the like, is not credible. They lived likewise in great respect with all sorts of people, and ruled their affairs very politiciely ; for being governed by a president, who kept his residence in the Isle of Man, (which then was under the dominion of the Scots), they did once every year meet in that place to take counsel together for the ordering of affairs, and carried matters with such discretion, that Cratilinth found it difficult enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the people.

But that which furthered not a little the propagation of the Gospel in these parts was the persecution raised by Diocletian, which at that time was hot in the south parts of Britain. This brought many Christians, both preachers and professors, into this kingdom, who were all kindly received by Cratilinth, and had the Isle of Man given them for their remaining, and revenues sufficient assigned for their maintenance. In this isle King Cratilinth erected a stately church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary ornaments, and called *Sodorensæ Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour ; hence it is that the Bishops of the Isles are styled *Sodorenses Episcopi*. For so long as that

isle remained in the possession of the Scots, the Bishops of the Isles made that church their cathedral. After their dispossession, the Isle Iona, commonly called Icolumkil, hath been the seat of the bishops, and continueth so until this day.¹

In this isle Amphibalus sate first bishop, a Briton born, and a man of excellent piety; he lived long, preaching carefully the doctrine of Christ both amongst the Scots and the Piets, and after many labours taken for promoting the Christian religion, died peaceably in the same isle. Our stories report that at the same time there lived in this kingdom divers zealous and notable preachers, of which number they name these six, Modocus, Priseus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, that seem to have been men of principal note; and of them all generally it is witnessed, that living solitary, they were in such a reputation for their holiness of life, as the cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into temples or churches. And of this it came that all the churches afterwards erected were called cells, which word I hear is yet retained amongst the Irish Scots. The priests they termed Culdees, which Hector Boeth thinks to have signified as much as *Cultores Dei*, the Worshippers of God: but it is more like this title was given them for their living in these cells, where people assembled to hear service. Somewhat it maketh for this, that in certain old bulls and rescripts of Popes I find them termed Keledei, and not Culdei.²

The same Boeth out of ancient annals, reports that these priests were wont for their better government to elect some one of their number, by common suffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whose knowledge and consent

¹ [The derivation of Sodor, given by the venerable author, may be questioned, both because *sodorensis* has no relation to any Latin term denoting Saviour, and because it may be referred to the local position of the southern isles on the Scottish coast; all of which were Sudorees, if compared with the more northern, the Hebrides and Orkneys. The Episcopal title was Bishop of Man and the Southern Isles; these last, including Arran, Bute, and those others which are surrounded by the sea which washes the shores of Argyle, southward of the point of Ardnamurchan. The title of Sodor and Man still remains, though the origin of it has become somewhat obscure.—E.]

² [It is now generally admitted that the name is derived from Kell, signifying cell, a place of religious retirement and worship.—E.]

nothing was done in any matter of importance; and that the person so elected was called *Scotorum Episcopus*, a Scottish Bishop, or a Bishop of Scotland. Neither had our bishops any other title whereby they were distinguished before the days of Malcolm the Third, who first divided the country into dioceses, appointing to every bishop the limits within which they should keep and exercise their jurisdiction. After that time they were styled either by the countries whereof they had the oversight, or by the city where they kept their residence.

But to return to Cratilinth. During his reign the Christian religion did prosper exceedingly; and Fincormachus, his cousin-german, that succeeded, keeping the same course, gave in his time a perfect settling unto it. So great a happiness it is to have two kings of qualities alike good succeed one to another; for what the one beginneth the other doth perfect and accomplish.

Yet this felicity endureth not long, the state both of the Kingdom and Church being within a few years after his death quite overturned by this occasion. Maximus, a man born in Spain, but of Roman education, being sent lieutenant into Britain, and presuming to bring the whole isle under his power, did practise secretly with the Picts for rooting out the Scots, promising that all the lands which the Scots possessed should be given to them. The Picts, a perfidious people, greedily embracing this offer, did join their forces with the Romans, and both made invasion upon the Scots; who, doing the best they could for their own defence, after divers sharp encounters, in a battle fought at the water of Dun, in Carrick, were wholly defeated, and King Eugenius with the most part of his nobility slain.

This defeat was followed with a rigorous edict, commanding all the Scots, of what age, sex, or condition soever, to depart forth of this isle before a certain day; which was so precisely executed, as neither man nor woman, young nor old, were permitted to stay; nay, not a churchman, though all of that profession were in good esteem among the Picts themselves at that time. Thus all the Scots went into exile, betaking themselves some into Ireland, others into the countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, or where it was in their fate to be cast; only some few churchmen, after they

had long wandered from place to place, got privately into Iona, one of the Western Isles, where, living in a poor condition, they laid the foundation of a monastery, which in succeeding ages became famous by the beneficence of our kings, and the sanctity of the monks that there professed. Never was any Church or Kingdom brought to a greater desolation; but how long it continued our writers do not agree, for Boeth will have the Scots to live in exile the space of forty-four years, and saith that they returned in the year four hundred and twenty-two. Buchanan casts their return into the year four hundred and four, and so maketh their exile to have lasted twenty-seven years only.

Now, whilst they lived thus exiled, it happened that one Regulus, a Grecian monk, arrived in these parts. This man (as they write) living in Achaia, had warning given him in a vision by night to forsake his country and go into Albion, an isle sited in the utmost parts of the world, and to carry with him the arm-bone, three fingers, and as many toes of St Andrew the Apostle. The man troubled at first with the strangeness of the vision, did after a little time resolve to follow the warning, and taking a little box in which he put those relics, went to sea, taking some persons in company with him. The story nameth Damianus, a priest; Gelasius, Thebaculus, and Mermacus, brother to Damianus, deacons; Nerinus, and Elisenius—a Cretian, Merinus, and Silvineus his brother, monks by profession. Some eight more are said to be in his company, but their names are not expressed. The ship wherein they sailed being tossed with grievous tempests, was driven at last into the port or haven called then Otholinia, now St Andrews.

Hergustus, king of Piets, under whose dominion that part of the country as then was, advertised of the strangers' arrival, and the relics they had brought with them, came thither, and pitying their losses (for besides the relics they had nothing saved), when he beheld the men, and the form of their service, did so like it, as he took order for their entertainment. Shortly after he gave unto Regulus his own palace, with certain lands adjoining, and nigh thereunto erected a church, the same whereof we see a part yet remaining on the south of the ruined cathedral, called to this day the church of St Reule. Here did Regulus and his

company abide, serving God devoutly, and, for the austere life they led, were in great reputation with all men.

Whether Regulus had such a vision or not, I leave it to those that list to believe. But that he did bring with him such relics is not improbable; for in those times Christians did hold the bones and relics of martyrs in a respectful reverence; which doth in no sort justify the abuses which afterwards crept into the Church, when from the keeping of relics they grew to worship and adore them; yea, and in many places, priests out of their covetousness did use impostures, foisting in the bones of asses and other beasts instead of the relics of martyrs and saints departed. These and the like abuses did justly bring the keeping and carrying about of relics to be detested. In the time of persecution, when the bodies of martyrs were thrown into the fields and cast into dunghills, it might be held a charitable and pious work to gather and preserve them; but now that those things are superstitiously used, and vile deceits therewith practised, no wise man will allow such follies. "Better it were," as Cassander advised, "to incite people to the imitation of the saints' virtues, than to reserve their bones, which can serve to no use, and savoureth only of vain ostentation."

But leaving this, let us follow the story. In the battle wherein King Eugenius fell, Echadius, or as others call him Ethodius, his brother, being sore wounded and found among the dead, was saved by the clemency of the Roman Prefect, and flying into Denmark with his young son Erthus, was received by the king of that country, and kindly entertained. This Erthus, matching with one Rocha, the daughter of a nobleman in those quarters, had by her a son called Fergus, a prince of much valour, who growing in years, and his father and grandfather both deceased, out of an innate hatred against the Romans, joined with the Franks in a war they made upon the Gauls that were subject to the Romans. That expedition not succeeding, he followed Alarie, king of Goths, and was with him at the sack of Rome. Alarie dying, he served under Athaulfus his successor, and by the fortunate exploits he made, purchased the reputation of a great captain: The fame whereof (with the news that were daily brought of the defection of the Roman provinces, and of the irruptions made upon the empire by the Goths,

Vandals, Franks, and other barbarians) gave the Scots encouragement, and put them in some hopes of returning to their country. Once or twice, by the help of the Irish, having sought to repossess themselves, still they were put to the worst. But Maximus in the end proclaiming himself Cæsar, and transporting beyond sea the whole power of Britain, they resumed new courage, and upon advertisement of Fergus his return to Denmark, did entreat him to take the opportunity, and do somewhat for himself and for his country. The Picts in the meantime being held in miserable subjection by one Victorinus, a new governor sent into Britain, and so repenting the course they had taken, did secretly reconcile with Fergus, offering restitution of all they possessed belonging to the Scots, and their assistance for recovering the rest.

Fergus upon these advertisements prepared to return; and with him divers voluntaries of the Danes, Norwegians, and others did join, besides the Scots that lived exiles in those parts. With this company taking sea, on the eighth day after his embarking he landed in the Firth of Murray; and from thence marching directly to Argyle, where the chair of marble was kept, was placed therein, and crowned with the rites accustomed. The news hereof dispersed, there gathered to him from all parts numbers of people, with whom in a short time he recovered all the countries out of which the Scots had been expelled. The Britons upon this sent to implore aid of the Romans, of whom they obtained the supply of a legion under the conduct of Heraclianus; but he making no long stay, one Placidius was left in place, whom Fergus overthrew in battle, and forced to seek peace. This concluded, Fergus dividing the lands among the Scots and strangers that had ventured with him, did re-order all things according to the ancient form. The churches that were ruined or defaced he caused repair, restored the churchmen to their places, and in the isle Iona erected a religious house, with a library furnished with the books that he had brought with him from Rome. Never was any prince more nobly given, nor in so short space performed greater actions, having regained the kingdom that was lost, and reduced it to a better estate than before; neither had he ceased there, if the Romans had not fallen

upon him with a fresh power, and sent one Maximianus hither, by whom he was in battle vanquished, and slain in the sixteenth year of his reign.

This overthrow did so terrify the Scots, that they looked for nothing but to have been chased again forth of the isle ; but the irruptions made upon all the parts of the empire did not suffer the Romans to make long stay, wherefore having repaired the wall of Severus, and made it much stronger than it was at first, they departed, advising the Britons to use their own forces without any more expectation of succour from them. Upon intelligence of their departure, Græme, a nobleman of Britain, who had lived long among the Scots, and whose daughter King Fergus had married, raised an army, and battering down the wall which the Romans had fortified, chased the Britons beyond the wall of Adrian an hundred miles more inward, and forced them to accept that for the march, and content themselves with the lands lying on the south of that wall. Peace on these terms made with the Britons, Eugenius the eldest of King Fergus his sons was declared king ; and because he was as yet within years, the regency of the realm was committed to Græme his grandfather, which he discharged so well, as whilst he lived there was no trouble either within or without the kingdom.

But he dying, Eugenius (who was then grown to some years) laying claim to his grandfather's lands, did repeat the same by his ambassadors ; and the Britons defending themselves by the conditions of the late peace, when after divers messages no satisfaction could be had, war was of new raised. The Picts assisting the Scots, a sore overthrow was given to the Britons, and they compelled to resign all the lands lying betwixt Tyne and Humber, which the Scots and Picts did peaceably enjoy unto the coming of the Saxons about the year 450.

The Church notwithstanding these wars did flourish all this time by King Eugenius his favour. Ninian (he who with the posterity had the reputation of a Saint) was of great fame at that time. This man was born in Britain, and had his education in France under Martin, Bishop of Tours, his grand-uncle. Having remained there some years, and made good profit in letters, he returned into Britain,

and became a zealous preacher of the Gospel. His chief residence was amongst the Piets in the country of Galloway; there he built a church all of white stone (a sort of structure not usual in those parts), and called the same by the name of St Martin; not meaning to have him taken for the tutelary saint of that place, (which in after ages, when superstition prevailed, was the conceit of the people), but to preserve the memory of his virtues, and incite others to the imitation thereof. This was the chief respect in those first times that Christians had in denominating their churches by the names of saints departed; that other they utterly disclaimed. “*Nos martyribus nostris,*” saith St Augustin, “*non templa sicut diis fabricamus, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus.*” That is, “we do not build temples to our martyrs as unto gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living.”

Bede, in his ecclesiastical story speaking of this Ninian, saith that he learned at Rome, and was there taught the mysteries of truth. But we cannot think that he went a novice thither, being trained up under so kind and learned an uncle. However that was, he proved a notable instrument in the Church, for he converted the southern Piets to the faith of Christ, and for his continual labours in preaching (not among them alone, for he travelled also among the Scots and Britons), but especially for his innocency and holiness of life, he was in so great regard, as to which of the three soever he came, they did reverence and accept him as the messenger of Christ. Among the Bishops of Galloway he is reckoned the first, and thought to have been the founder of that college; for from that church which he built all of white stone (as we said) the Bishops of that See have still been, and to this day are, styled *Episcopi candidæ casæ*.

It was in the time of this Eugenius that Palladius came into Scotland, employed, as they write, by Celestine Bishop of Rome, for resisting the Pelagian heresy, which began to spread in this Church. This man, a Greecian by birth, learned, moderate, and singularly wise, as appeared in all his actions, did purge the Church from those errors, and won such love and credit, as by the space of twenty-four years

he governed all ecclesiastic affairs in these parts without any grudge or opposition.

Buchanan is of opinion, that before his coming there was no bishop in this Church, "Nam," saith he, "*ad id usque tempus, Ecclesiæ absque episcopis per monachos regebantur, minore quidem cum fastu et externa pompa, sed majore simplicitate et sanctimonia ;*" that is, "the Church unto that time was governed by monks without bishops, with less pride and outward pomp, but greater simplicity and holiness." What warrant he had to write so I know not, except he did build upon that which Joannes Major saith, speaking of the same Palladius, "*Per sacerdotes et monachos, sine episcopis, Scoti in fide erudiebantur ;*" "the Scots" (he says) "were instructed in the Christian faith by priests and monks, without any bishops." But from the instruction of the Scots in the faith, to conclude that the Church after it was gathered had no other form of government, will not stand with any reason. For, be it as they speak, that by the travels of some pious monks the Scots were first converted unto Christ, it cannot be said that the Church was ruled by monks, seeing long after those times it was not permitted to monks to meddle with matters of the Church, nor were they reckoned among the clergy. As to the pride and pomp which he taxeth in bishops, of later times it might be truly spoken, but after Palladius's coming, for the space of six hundred years and more, there was no such excess to be noted in them.

But, to return to Palladius, he was a man most careful in promoting the Christian religion, and the first that made Christ to be preached in the Isle of Orkney, sending Servanus, one of his disciples, thither. Another, called Tervanus, he employed among the Northern Piets, and ordained both of them bishops. His own remaining for the most part was at Fordoun in the country of Mernis, where he built a little church, which from him is to this day by a corrupted word called Padie Church ; there was his corpse after his death interred. In the year 1494 William Shevez, Archbishop of St Andrews, visiting that church, did in reverence of his memory gather his bones, and bestow them in a silver shrine ; which, as the report goeth, was taken up at the demolishing of the churches by a gentleman of good rank who dwelt near unto that place. The people of the country

observing the decay which followed in that family not many years after, ascribed the same to the violation of Palladius's grave.

Much about this time was Ireland converted to the faith of Christ by the labours of Patrick a Scotchman, born upon the river of Clyde, not far from Glasgow. They write of him, that being thirteen years of age only, he was taken prisoner by some Irishes at an invasion they made upon the west parts of Scotland, and sold to Molue, one of their kings. Being kept there as a slave the space of four years, he was ransomed by his parents, and sent to school; where having made a reasonable progress in letters, he went to France, and there remained eighteen years in the company of German, Bishop of Auxerre, under whom he attained to a great perfection of knowledge, especially in the Holy Scriptures. Thereafter travelling to Rome, Pope Celestine, (the same that sent Palladius to Scotland) hearing of his qualities, and how he had lived some years in Ireland, made choice of him as the fittest person to work the conversion of that people. Patrick accepting the employment, addressed himself shortly after to the journey, and in his way by Scotland took with him Columba, who came afterwards to be in great esteem. Divers, upon the report of his good success, followed him thither, and ere many months passed, all the country almost was brought to embrace the profession of Christ.

He was doubtless a notable person, and most worthy to be remembered. Some idle and ignorant monks have pitifully wronged his memory by their legends. But what a singular man he was, and what pains he took to do good in his life, the churches he founded, reckoned to three hundred and sixty-five, and the priests he ordained, numbered to be three thousand, may sufficiently witness. He lived one hundred and twenty-two years, and ended his days in the city of Down within the province of Ulster, in the year of our Lord 491. That fabulous purgatory (the invention whereof is falsely ascribed to him) was the device of a monk of Glastonbury Abbey in England, who bare the same name, but was of a much later time, and lived about the year 850. For the opinion of a fiery purgatory, in which souls are tormented after their going forth of the body, was not as then

known among Christians, nor did the ancient Irish believe any such matter.

In our Church at the same time one Hildebert, a bishop, was in great account for his learning and piety. Cælius Sedulius had his education under him, a man of excellent qualities, as his works yet extant both in prose and poesie do witness. How long Hildebert lived he abode in his company, but after his death he betook himself to travel, and journeying through France and Italy, sailed unto Greece; there he wrote certain explanations upon the Epistles of St Paul, and returning from thence to Rome, made his abode in that city. In a synod gathered by Gelasius, Bishop of Rome in the year 494, in one of the Canons then made touching books allowed, we read these words—"Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paschale Opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude proferimus;"—"we esteem the Paschal work, that venerable Sedulius composed in heroic verses, worthy of singular recommendation." And even at this day, in the Church of Rome, certain hymns compiled by him are sung in the festivals of the Nativity and Epiphany, which sheweth in what esteem he was held.

Some Irish writers contend that this Sedulius was their countryman born, as the like they affirm of all that were of any note in our Church in those first ages. And albeit in divers of his works he doth entitle himself Sedulius Scotigena, and that Sixtus Senensis, Trithemius, Baronius, and divers others, do all witness him to be of the Scottish nation, yet they will have him to be an Irishman, because, forsooth, in those elder times the name of Scoti was common to the inhabitants of the greater and lesser Scotland. But this reason is naught; for, granting that the countries were so distinguished of old, and that Ireland was called Scotia Major, and the part of Britain which the colony deduced from thence did inhabit, Scotia Minor, whereof there is some appearance, yet that will not infer him to be an Irishman more than a Scot. This I trust they will not deny, that Scotland was Christian long before Ireland, and that Sedulius, of whom we speak, was come to a good age before Patrick went about their conversion. Now if he had been Irish by nation, would not he much rather have employed his travels to instruct his countrymen in the truth, than

have spent his time abroad among strangers? Farther, I should desire these who plead so earnestly to have our men esteemed to be of their country, to name any one or other worthy of credit, that, since the Scots were reduced from their exile by Fergus the Second, did ever call Ireland Scotland the Greater. They will not find any of trust; the name of Scots being long before appropriated to the colony reduced from thence, and quite extinct among the Irish. It is true that we often find the Scots called Irishes, like as yet we term commonly our Highlandmen, in regard they speak the Irish language, and retain divers of their customs. But that the Irish were called Scots, or the country of Ireland called Scotland, since they grew to be different nations, and were known to be so, I am confident will not be shewed. To close this, howsoever Ireland be the mother and Scotland the daughter, as a reverend Prelate hath written, and we deny not (for our first progenitors we hold came from that country), there is no reason why the sons which the daughter hath brought forth should be reckoned the sons of another mother, and she thereby robbed of her honour.¹

But to our story; the condition of this Church in those times was most happy, all the care of preachers being to win souls unto Christ. Avarice and ambition, the two main pests of the Church, had not as yet seized upon them, so as they were held with all people in great veneration. Beda saith that "whosoever did meet them by occasion either in the streets, or otherwise in journeying by the way, they would not depart without their blessing." And which increased greatly the felicity of the time, the kings who then reigned were all wise and religious.

Congallus the Second deserves by the rest to be mentioned.—"Vir ob egregias virtutes (saith Buchanan) omnium seculorum memoria dignus; nam præter æquitatem in jure dicundo, et animum adversus avaritiam invictum, certabat moderatione vitæ cum monachis, qui eâ ætate severissima disciplina utebantur." That is, "he was a man for his notable virtues worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance; for

¹ [The argument pursued by the learned author is ingenious, but not conclusive. Scotland did not receive its present name till the ninth century. See CALEDONIA, by George Chalmers, and Pinkerton's "*Enquiry into the early History of Scotland*."—E.]

besides his equity in the ministration of justice, and the uncorrupt mind he carried, being free of all covetousness, in moderation of life he was nothing inferior to the monks, who in that age observed a most strict discipline. This good king considering how easily people are brought to condemn ministers that stand in need of their supply, and that the contempt of ministers breedeth ever contempt of religion, did carefully provide for their necessities, appointing to them mansion-places at the churches where they served, with a competent portion of land thereto adjoining, and declaring the tenth of all corns, fruits, herbs, and flocks, which did either produce or nourish, to appertain properly to the Church. He did farther enact for the safety of their persons, “that if any should happen to smite a churchman, his hand should be cut off; and if the churchman was killed, that the murtherer should lose all his goods, and be burnt alive.” For the greater reverence of Church censures, it was likewise his ordinance, “that whosoever were by the Church excommunicated, should not be admitted to stand in judgment, nor credit given to their testimony.”

The fame of this king's pious disposition drew Columba back from Ireland, where he had lived a long time. There came with him some twelve in company, of whom the principals were Sibthacus and Ethernanus, his nephews by his brother—both of them presbyters—Domitius Rutheus and Comineus, men of excellent learning and good behaviour, who were all well accepted of the king. But of Columba he made such accompt, as he did nothing in any matter of importance till he had first consulted with him. By his advice the monks, that in former times lived dispersed, were gathered into cloisters or colleges, and had rules prescribed unto them; which falling afterwards to be neglected, in place of religious monks there crept in a sort of idle-bellies, that disordered all things, and made the profession, which in the beginning was well devised, to be misliked and hated of all.

King Congallus after a little time sickening, sent Columba into Ireland to bring home Aidanus, the rightful heir of the kingdom (who had fled thither after the murther of his father Goranus), that he might possess him with the Crown before his death; but ere he returned the king was dead,

and his brother Kinnatellus crowned king. This accident troubled Columba, and made him doubtful what to do; for if he should send Aidanus back, he knew not how Kinnatellus would take it, and to go on (not knowing how the king stood affected towards Aidanus), he held it dangerous. After a little debating with himself, he resolved to hold forward, and taking Aidanus in company, did present him to the king, who, against the expectation of most men, accepted him most lovingly, bidding him be of a good heart, for that he should in a short time inherit his father's Crown; meanwhile, because of his own age and infirmity, he committed to him the administration of affairs, and designed him his successor. After a few days Kinnatellus dying, Aidanus was crowned king, Columba performing the ceremonies; at which time he is said to have made a most pithy and eloquent speech, exhorting "the king to the love of justice, the nobles to the observance of peace, the people to obedience, and them all to constancy in the Christian profession;" wherewith the whole assembly was so much affected, as by holding up their hands they did solemnly swear to continue loyal subjects to the king, and to be obedient to himself as their spiritual pastor.

The coronation ended, Columba retired to the Isle Iona (for he loved to remain in that place), and Aidanus applying himself to order the estate, went through the countries of Galloway, Caithness, and Lochaber, holding justice-courts in all these parts, and reforming what he found amiss. But, as no prosperity is lasting, it happened in a sport of hunting, that some noblemen falling at discord, there was a great slaughter committed, the authors whereof, fearing the severity of law, fled to Breudeus, king of the Piets, and being demanded according to the conditions of the league, were after some delays directly refused. Aidanus taking this to heart, whilst he sought to recover them by force, had his son Arthur (Buchanan calleth him Griffin), a prince of great hopes, and Brenden his nephew, with divers of his nobles, killed. Columba grieved with this accident, came to the king, and rebuked him bitterly for making war with his neighbour upon so light an occasion, wherewith he is said to have been no less moved than with the loss he had received; for Columba striving to be gone, he caught him by the hand,

and confessing he had been too hasty, entreated his best advice and counsel how to repair things. But he replying that no advice could redress the harm that was done, the king burst forth into tears. Columba fell also a-weeping, and after a little space, said that he would counsel him to make peace, which he was content to do at his sight. The matter moved to Breudeus, he likewise agreed to remit all to Columba, who shortly after brought them to be friends. But the heart-burning between the two people ceased not, which Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland (a wicked and avaricious man) craftily entertained, stirring the Piets to make fresh incursions upon the Scots, so as Aidanus was compelled to take arms. Columba being advertised of the necessity the king was put to, gave order that private supplications should be made for his safety, and the overthrow of his enemies; which falling out according to their wishes, was generally ascribed to Columba his devotion. For, as the report went, in the same hour wherein the enemies were defeated, he did call his colleagues together, and willed them to turn their prayers into thanksgivings, for that the king had obtained the victory; yet was the place of the conflict distant from Iona, where Columba lived, two hundred miles at least.

The year following, which was the year of our Lord 603, Columba died, being of a good age; neither did the King Aidanus long survive him. The Irish contend that Columba died in the city of Down, and was buried in St Patrick's tomb; and for verifying the same, allege an old distich which was (they say) engraven upon the tomb, and defaced only in the days of King Henry the Eighth.

Hi tres in Duno tumulto tumultantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.

But it carrieth no likelihood that Columba, being so far in years, would make a journey into Ireland, or that Aidanus, who loved him so dearly, would suffer him to depart whilst he lived. It may be that upon some occasion his bones were translated thither; yet the pilgrimages made in superstitious times to the Isle Iona for visiting his grave, do show what the received opinion was of his death and burial.

Kentigern, commonly called St Mungo, was famous also at this time, and one most familiar with Columba. He was the son of Thametes, daughter to Loth, king of Piets, begotten (as was supposed) by Eugenius, the third king of Scots, his father not being certainly known. Posterity not being willing that his birth, whom they so greatly esteemed, should be in any sort stained, gave out that he was born of a virgin; which was believed of simple and credulous people. But the reproach which lay upon him that way he overcame by his singular virtues. In his younger years being trusted to the education of Servanus, Bishop of Orkney, he gave tokens of his rare piety; for he was in prayer more frequent than young ones are usually seen to be; of a spare diet, and so compassionate of the poor, as all that came in his hands he distributed among them. Servanus his master loving him beyond others, was ordinarily wont to call him Mongah, which in the Norish tongue signifieth a dear friend; and this way came he to be named Mungo.

After Servanus' death he went to the country of Wales, in England, where living a solitary life, he founded a monastery betwixt the rivers of Elwid and Edwy. They write—"that in his monastery there were daily entertained six hundred threescore and three persons, of which number three hundred were kept at some manual work within the monastery; other three hundred did labour in the fields and practise husbandry; and the rest being appointed for Divine service, had the day and night divided among them, so as, one company succeeding to another, there were some always in the church praying, and praising Almighty God." Having staid there a few years, he resigned his place to Asaph, a godly and virtuous man; and returning to Scotland, he made his abode at Glasgow, where he laid the foundation of a stately church, and was therein at his death interred. It is affirmed that after he came to years of understanding he did never eat flesh, nor taste wine or any strong liquor; and when he went to rest, slept on the cold ground, having a stone for his pillow; and that notwithstanding he lived thus hardly, he did attain to the age of ninescore and five years. Many lying miracles have been ascribed unto him; but certainly he was a man of rare parts, and worthy to have been made a subject of truth to

posterity, not of fables and fictions, as the legends of monks have made him.

Baldred and Convallus were his disciples, and zealous preachers of the truth. The first served for the most part in Lothian, which as then was under the dominion of the Picts, and was so beloved and honoured in his life, as after his death the parishes of Aldham, Tuningham, and Preston did contend who should have his corpse to bury. As they grew to some heat, the bishop of the bounds (the story doth not express his name) intervened, and willed the people to defer the funeral to the next morrow, and in the meantime be earnest in prayer with God, that he would declare his will in that business. The next day, when they returned, they found three coffins with as many corpses, betwixt which no difference could be perceived; and interpreting this for a miracle, went away each of them with a coffin well satisfied and pleased. What policy the bishop used in this is not known, but hereby we may see how easily people were in those times led by their teachers. The other, Convallus, lived at Inchynnan, some seven miles from Glasgow, and made the oration at the funeral of King Aidanus; in which he foretold many things, that came afterward to pass, touching the state of the kingdom.¹

There lived at this time in the isle of Iona one Convalanus, who was governor of that monastery, a man of excellent holiness and learning; from under his hand, as they write—"prodierunt examina sanctissimorum virorum;" that is—"hives or multitudes of holy men came forth." Among these are named Mornanus a bishop, Cormachus a presbyter, Hebred, Dunstan, Jonas, Gabrianus, Gallus, and Columbanus, all famous men for their holiness of life. Gallus travelling into Switzerland was in great esteem, and having converted many to the faith of Christ, laid there the foundation of a monastery, which was afterwards greatly enriched, and to this day is called by his name St Gall. Columbanus in Burgundy did found the abbey of Luxeuil, resolving to make his abode in those parts; but the licentiousness of King Theodoric, whom by no means he could

¹ [Aldham and Tuningham are now united into one parish under the name of Oldhamstocks. The latter was more commonly known as Tyningham.—E.]

reclaim from his unchaste life, did enforce him to change, so that going to Italy, in the borders thereof he settled himself, and there erected the monastery of Bobbio.

Neither lacked there in the female sex examples of rare piety. Brigida, commonly St Bride, was above the rest renowned both among the Scots and Picts: this woman was born in Caithness of honourable parents, and the heir of a fair patrimony, which she voluntarily forsook, that she might be consecrated to God. Divers virgins moved by her example did in like sort apply themselves to the solitary life; not as the votarists that in aftertimes rose up, for they did not bind themselves by vows to that which was not in their power, nor did they think to merit thereby at God's hands; and the chastity they professed they kept inviolate. Did the times wherein we live afford us such virgins, so far are we from disliking that state of life, as we think it should bring a great benefit to the kingdom. But the bondage of vows, with the opinion of merit and perfection, is what we discommend, things unknown to the holy women of those primitive times. Another Brigida, or rather Brigitta, there was born in Sweden, who, as Trithemius writeth, came to Avignon in the year 1362, to sue for the Pope's confirmation to an order of nuns by her invented. But our Brigida was of a much older time, and died at Abernethy in the year 518, where she was also interred.

Now are we come to the time in which Augustin the monk was sent into Britain. Gregory, Bishop of Rome, did choose this man for planting religion among the English Saxons, who had at that time subdued the Britons, and driven them beyond Severn, into narrow bounds. At his first arrival he converted King Ethelbert to the Christian faith, and wrought much good. But whilst he strove to conform the British Churches to the Roman in rites ecclesiastic, and to have himself acknowledged for the only Archbishop of Britain, he did cast the Church into a sea of troubles. After divers conferences, and much pains taken by him to persuade the Britons unto conformity, when he could not prevail, he made offer, that if they would yield to minister baptism, and observe Easter according to the Roman manner, and be assisting to him in reforming the Saxons, for all other things they should be left to their ancient customs.

But they refusing to make any alteration, he fell a threatening, and said, “that they who would not have peace with their brethren, should find war with their enemies.” This falling out as he foretold—for Edelfrid, King of Northumberland, invading them with a strong army, slew at one time twelve hundred monks that were assembled to pray for the safety of their countrymen—made Augustin to be suspected of the murther, and did purchase him a great deal of hatred. Whether he foreknew the practice or not is uncertain, but, shortly after the murther of these monks, he himself died.

There succeeded to him Laurentius, a Roman also, who followed the business of conformity no less earnestly, and with his fellow bishops, Mellitus and Justus, wrote to the Church of Scotland in this manner :—“*Dominis charissimis, fratribus episcopis et abbatibus per universam Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus, Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. Dum nos sedes Apostolica, more suo, sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad prædicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc insulam, quæ Britannia nuncupatur, contigit introisse, antequam cognosceremus credentes, quod juxta morem universalis Ecclesiæ ingrederentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam Britones quam Scotos venerati sumus: sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos meliores putavimus: Scotos vero per Dagamum episcopum in hanc quam supra memoravimus insulam, et Columbanum abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare à Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Dagamus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vesebamur, sumere voluit.*” In English thus—“Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, bishops, servants of all the servants of God, to our lords and dearest brethren the bishops and abbots through all Scotland. Whileas the Apostolic See, according to the custom it hath observed in the rest of the world, did send us to preach the Gospel unto the heathen in these western parts, and that it happened us to come into this isle which is called Britain, we held in religious reverence both the Scots and Britons, believing that they did walk after the custom of the universal Church: but after we had known the Britons, we judged the Scots to be better-minded; yet

now we perceive by Dagammus, the bishop who is come hither, and by Columbanus the abbot in France, that the Scots differ nothing in their observations from the Britons; for Bishop Dagamus being here, refused not only to eat with us, but even to stay in the same inn or lodging."

I find no answer returned to this letter. Some thirteen years after, Honorius, Bishop of Rome, did move the matter of new, and in his letters directed to the Church of Scotland, exhorted them—"Ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiores antiquis sive modernis quæ per orbem terræ erant Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent; néve contra Paschales computos, et decreta synodalia totius orbis pontificum, aliud Pascha celebrarent;" that is—"That they being a few, and seated in the utmost borders of the earth, should not think themselves more wise than the ancient or modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they should not celebrate another Easter contrary to the Paschal compts, and synodal decrees of the bishops of the whole world."

Pope Honorius dying, Severinus that succeeded, insisted for an answer, which was sent; but he also departing this life before the same came to Rome, the clergy there replied as follows:—"Dilectissimis et sanctissimis, Thomiano, Columbano, Chromano, Dimao, et Bathano, episcopis; Chromano, Hermanno, Laustrano, Stellano, et Sergiano, presbyteris; Sarano, cæterisque doctoribus seu abbatibus Scotis; Hilarius archipresbyter, et servans locum Sedis Apostolicæ, et Johannes diaconus in nomine Dei electus, item Joannes primicerius, et servans locum sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, et Joannes servus Dei, consiliarius ejusdem Sedis Apostolicæ. Scripta quæ latores ad sanctæ memoriæ Severinum adduxerunt, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea quæ postulata fuerant siluerunt. Quibus reseratis, ne diu tantæ questionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, reperimus quosdam provinciæ vestræ contra orthodoxam fidem novam de veteri hæresin renovare conantes, Pascha nostrum in quo immolatus est Christus nebulosâ caligine refutantes, et quartadecimâ lunâ cum Hebræis celebrare nitentes, &c. Deinde expositâ ratione Paschalis observantiæ, de Pelagianis subdunt, et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus Pelagianæ hærescos apud vos denuo reviviscat: quod omnino

hortamur, ut à vestris mentibus hujusmodi venenatum superstitionis facinus auferatur. Nam qualitur ipsa quoque execranda hæresis damnata est, latere vos non debet; quia non solum per istos ducentos annos abolita est, sed et quotidiano nobis anathemate sepulta damnatur: et hortamur, nè quorum arma combusta sunt, apud vos eorum cineres suscitentur." That is, "Hilarius the archbishop, conservator of the privileges of the Apostolic See, and John the deacon, in the name of God elect of the same See, likewise John the pronotary and conservator of the said privileges, and John the servant of God, counsellor of the Apostolic See, to our best beloved and most holy bishops, Thomianus, Columbus, Chromanus, Dimaus, and Bathanus, and to the presbyters, Chromanus, Hermannus, Laustranus, Stellanus, and Sergianus, also to Saranus, and the rest of the doctors or abbots of Scotland. The letters which were brought unto Pope Severinus of blessed memory have to this time received no answer, by reason of his decease. We having now unsealed them, lest questions of such consequence should be too long unsatisfied, do perceive some of your province to be renewing an old heresy against the orthodox faith, and ignorantly refuse to celebrate our Easter, in which Christ was offered, observing the fourteenth day of the moon, after the manner of the Hebrews." Then shewing how and when Easter should be observed, they subjoin touching the Pelagians these words—"We farther understand that the poison of Pelagian heresy is again breaking out among you; wherefore we exhort you to beware, and keep your minds free of that venomous superstition; for ye should not be ignorant how that execrable heresy is condemned, and by us every day anathematized, notwithstanding that two hundred years have passed since the same was abolished; therefore we beseech you not to stir the ashes of those who have had their arms once burnt and consumed."

Beda, setting down this letter, saith "that it was full of learning, and contained evident proofs that Easter should be kept upon the Sunday which falleth betwixt the fifteenth and twenty-first of the moon; whereas it was the custom of the Scots Church to keep it upon the Sunday falling betwixt the fourteenth and twentieth," which he calleth an heresy, and taketh our Church to have been newly infected

therewith ; neither yet the whole Church, but some certain in it only. But in this last he doth not agree with himself ; for, speaking afterwards of Bishop Aidan, he thus excuses his disconformity with Rome in the keeping of Easter, “ *quod suæ gentis autoritate devictus esset ;* ” that is, “ that he was overcome with the authority of his own nation.” “ *Et contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant facere non potuit ;* ” that is, “ and could not keep Easter contrary to the custom of them who had sent him.” So he acknowledgeth it to have been the custom of the Scots Church, and not of certain persons in it only. And whereas he says that it was an error or heresy newly sprung up, he greatly mistaketh ; for in the contention about the keeping of Easter, which grew afterwards very hot, we shall hear them plead the antiquity of their custom, and derive it from the very first times of the Church. But that we may know how this contention grew, and who they were that withstood the alteration desired, we must make a little digression.

The Saxons having overcome the Britons, and brought the country of England to an heptarchy by the partition they made of it, were never quiet, but encroaching still one upon another’s state, till at last one got all. Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, the mightiest of the whole, after he had reigned twenty-two years with great avarice and cruelty, was killed by Redwald, King of the East-Angles, and Edwin (whom he had expelled) placed in his room. This Ethelfrid left behind him seven sons, Eufred or Eanfred, Oswald, Ossaus, Oswin, Offas, Osmond, Osik or Osrick, and one daughter named Ebba, who, upon their father’s death, fled into Scotland, and were liberally entertained by King Eugenius the Fourth, notwithstanding the enmity betwixt him and their father whilst he lived. Eighteen years they remained in Scotland exiled from their country, and were, by the care of the same Eugenius, instructed in the knowledge of Christ, and baptized.

Edwin being killed in the seventeenth year of his reign by Penda, King of Mercia, they returned all home, Ebba only excepted, who remained still in Scotland. The successor of Edwin, named Osrick, parting the kingdom with Eufred the eldest son of Ethelfrid, was made King of the Deirians, and Eufred, King of the Bernicians ; these two turning apos-

tates, and forsaking the Christian profession which they had once embraced, were the summer following deprived both of their lives and kingdoms.

Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrid, did, upon their deaths, succeed in both the kingdoms, a noble and virtuous prince, whose chief study was to promote the Christian religion. To this effect he sent his ambassadors unto Donald the Fourth, then reigning in Scotland, and entreated him, by the old familiarity that had been among them, to help him with some worthy and learned man that could instruct his people in the faith of Christ. The king recommending the matter to the clergy, one Cormanus was elected to go thither. But his labours proving unprofitable, he returned about the end of the year, and, in a Synod of the bishops and clergy, informed that they were a people indocile and froward, that the pains taken upon them were lost, they neither being desirous nor capable of instruction.

It grieved the Synod exceedingly to hear this, and while they were consulting what to do, Aidanus, a learned and reverend preacher, is said to have advised them “not to give over the work at any hand, for that the bad success of Cormanus’ labours might possibly proceed from himself, that had not used the people tenderly, nor according to the Apostles’ rule, fed them at first with milk; and therefore desired some other approved man might be employed of new, who would possibly do good among them.”

This opinion allowed by all, none was thought fitter for this service than he who had given the advice; and so with common consent was Aidanus ordained bishop, and appointed to that charge. Being come thither he set himself to amend the fault which he supposed Cormanus had committed, and so tempered his doctrine, as multitudes of people daily did resort unto him to be instructed. It was a great hindrance unto him at first that he was not skilled in the Saxon tongue, neither did the people understand his language; but this defect the king himself supplied, interpreting to the auditory all that Aidanus delivered in his sermons. So by the king’s zeal and Aidanus his diligence, such numbers were brought to the Christian profession, as, in the space of seven days, fifteen thousand persons were by him baptized.

Whether this people was more happy in their king or in this bishop, it is difficult to say. For the king, he did so excel in piety and prudence that, as Beda writes, "all the nations and provinces within Britain were at his devotion ; and not the less his heart was never lifted up within him, but still he shewed himself courteous and affable, and of the poor most compassionate." Among examples of his liberality towards these, the same Beda relateth, "that sitting at table on Easter-day, and Aidanus by him, when it was told that a number of poor men were at the gate expecting his alms, he commanded to carry the meat that was set before him unto them, and the platter of silver wherein it was, to be broke in pieces, and distributed among them. Aidanus beholding it, took the king by the right hand, and kissing it, said, "*nunquam marcescat hæc manus,*" that is "never let this hand consume or wither." Which, as he writeth, came also to pass. "For being killed in battle, and his arm and his hand cut off, the same was enclosed in a silver shrine, and remained for many years uncorrupted in the church of St Peter at Bambourgh." This, and the other miracles he reporteth, I leave upon the credit of the writer, who is too lavish oftentimes in such fables and fictions.

As to Aidanus, he was an ensample of abstinence, sobriety, chastity, charity, and all other episcopal virtues ; for as he taught, so he lived, was idle at no time, nor did he permit any of his retinue to be so, but kept them in a continual exercise, either reading Scripture, or learning the Psalms of David by heart. If he was invited to any feast (as rarely he went), he made no stay, but, after a little refreshment taken, got himself away. In preaching he was most diligent, travelling through the country, for the greater part on foot, and instructing the people wheresoever he came. In a word he was deficient in no duty required of a good pastor ; and having governed the Church in those parts most happily the space of seventeen years, died in the isle of Lindisfarne, (now called Holy Island) the place he chused for his residence, where he was also buried.

After his death, which happened in the year 651, Finnanus was ordained bishop, and sent to the Northumbers from Scotland. He followed his predecessor in all things, and was greatly troubled by Romanus, or Conanus (as

others name him), about the observing of Easter. This Conan, born in Scotland, had lived some years beyond sea, and was much taken by the Roman rites ; for advancing whereof (so zealous he was that way) he left his station in Kent, and coming to Northumberland, did challenge the bishop to a dispute. The bishop answering, that he would not refuse to dispute, but to admit an alteration in Church rites, whilst he lived, he would not, the dispute ceased ; and so for the time that he sate bishop, Easter was celebrated after the ancient manner of the Scots. Finnanus in the meantime applying himself to better exercise, did work the conversion of the East Saxons and Mercians. For having baptized Penda the Prince of Mercia, he sent with him four preachers, who reformed all that part of the country. Divina or Duina, a Scottishman was one of those preachers, and consecrated bishop by Finnanus in the year 656. In the catalogue of the Bishops of Lichfield I find him first placed. There succeeded to him Kellach, a Scottishman also ; but he renouncing his charge, because of the contentions that arose, returned to his own country.

Now Finnanus, having governed the Churches of Northumberland the space of ten years, died in Lindisfarne, and was buried in a church which he himself had there erected. So great was the affection of these Northumbers to these preceding bishops, as they would accept of no other but a Scottishman : whereupon Colman was brought, and placed in that see. In his time the controversy of Easter was again awakened, and more hotly followed than before ; great dealing there was to work him to a conformity, but he would not forsake the course that his predecessors had kept. After divers conferences, a public dispute was in the end condescended to for deciding the question. The place was chosen at Whitby, (Beda calleth it Sternshalt) a religious house in Yorkshire, whereof Hilda, a learned and devout woman was abbess : she was a professed adversary to all the rites of Rome, especially to clerical tonsure, which made Colman more willingly to agree unto the meeting. Oswy, King of Northumbers, with Elfred, his son, were present in person, and many ecclesiastic men of all degrees. The reasoners were Colman on the one part, who was assisted by the Scottish clergy, and Hilda, the abbess ; on the other part, Agilbert,

a Frenchman born, Bishop of the East Saxons, Wilfrid and Agatho, presbyters, with Jacob and Romanus, two learned men. Cedda, lately consecrated a bishop by the Scots, was chused to be *partis utriusque interpretes*, that is, (as I take it,) the recorder of all that should be spoken by either party, or enacted in that conference and meeting. The king himself did incline to Colman, but his son favoured the other party, for that Wilfrid had been his tutor.

When all were placed in their seats, the king using a short speech, said, "That it was meet they who served one God, and looked to be heirs of one kingdom in the heavens, should keep one rule and form, and not vary in their rites and ceremonies; therefore he desired, seeing they were come together for composing of differences, especially touching the celebration of Easter, that they should calmly enquire what was the most ancient and best form, to the effect all might observe and follow the same." Then turning towards Colman, he willed him to deliver his opinion and reasons; who answered as followeth—"The Easter which I observe I received from my elders, who did send me hither, and ordained me bishop; all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated Easter in the same manner that I do; and if any think light of this, the blessed Evangelist St John, the disciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the Churches whereof he had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is a warrant sufficient."

Agilbert being desired next to declare his mind, excused himself by the want of the English tongue, entreating the king that Wilfrid might be allowed to answer for them all; which granted, Wilfrid began in this sort—"The Easter which we keep, we have seen observed at Rome, where the holy Apostles Peter and Paul did preach, and suffered martyrdom. As we travelled through France and Italy, we saw the same order everywhere kept; and by relation, we hear that the Churches of Africa, Asia, Egypt, Greece, and to be short, the whole Christian world doth observe the same time; only these men and their followers, the Britons and Picts, with some remote islands, and not all these neither, do foolishly contend in this point against the whole world."

Here Colman interrupting his speech, said—"It is a

marvel you should call our doing *foolish*, seeing we follow the ensample of that great Apostle who was held worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom, and is known to have lived most wisely."

Wilfrid replying, said—"Far be it from me to charge St John with folly; he observed the rites of Moses' law according to the letter, the Church as yet Judaizing in many things, and the Apostles not being able to abdicate upon the sudden the whole observations of the law which God had ordained; for this cause did St Paul circumcise Timothy, offer sacrifices in the Temple, and shave his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla; which things he did only to eschew the offence of the Jews. In this consideration, St James said to the Apostle St Paul, thou seest, brother, that many thousands of the Jews do believe, yet are they all zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospel now shining throughout the world, it is not lawful for a Christian to be circumcised, or to offer carnal sacrifices to God. Thus St John, keeping the custom of the Law, began the celebration of Easter upon the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, not caring whether it fell upon the Sabbath day or any other day of the week. But St Peter preaching at Rome, when he considered that the Lord did rise from the dead on the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to institute Easter on that day. And that this is the true Easter to be observed by all Christians, it is clear by the Nicene Council, which did ratify and confirm the same by their decree. But you neither follow the example of St John nor St Peter, nor doth your celebration of Easter agree either with the Law or Gospel. For St John, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day after the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first after the Sabbath. Saint Peter did celebrate Easter from the fifteenth of the moon to the twenty-first, which you do not; for you keep Easter from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, and often you begin Easter on the thirteenth day at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention; neither did our Lord, the author of the Gospel, eat the Passover on the thirteenth day, but upon the fourteenth at night, and at the same time he did celebrate the Sacrament of the New Testament in remembrance of his death

and passion ; so, as I have said, you neither agree with Law nor Gospel, with St John nor with St Peter, in the celebration of the greatest festivity."

To this Colman answered—"And did Anatholius then, who in the Ecclesiastie History is so highly commended, go against both the Law and the Gospel, when as he said that Easter ought to be kept from the thirteenth day to the twentieth? or shall we think our most reverend Father Columba and his successors, who were all dear unto God, did transgress in observing Easter after that manner? They were men of great piety and virtue, as their miracles have declared, and I, making no doubt of their holiness, will endeavour to follow their order and discipline."

Then said Wilfrid—"It is known that Anatholius was a godly and learned man ; but what have you to do with him that observe not his customs? for he followed the true rule of keeping Easter, and observed the cycle of nineteen years, which either you know not, or if you do, ye set at nought, although the same be observed in the universal Church of Christ. He did so account the fourteenth day, as he acknowledged the same to be the fifteenth at night, after the manner of the Egyptians, and so the twentieth day he believed to be the twenty-first in the evening ; which distinction you know not, as appears by this, that sometimes you keep Easter on the thirteenth day, before the full moon. As to your Father Columba and his followers, whose rule and precepts, confirmed by miracles, you profess to follow, I may answer, that in the day of judgment the Lord will say to many that prophesied in his name, did cast out devils, and wrought other miracles, I know you not ; but God forbid I should speak this of your Fathers, seeing it is better to believe good of those we know not than ill ; therefore, I will not deny them to have been the servants of God and beloved of him, seeing they served God with good intent, though in simplicity ; neither do I think the order they keep in Easter did hurt them much, so long as they had none among them that could shew the right observation thereof. If the truth had been shewed them, I doubt not they would have followed the same as well in this matter as in others which they knew. But if you and your associates should refuse the decrees of the Apostolic See, or rather of the whole

Church allowed by Holy Scripture, now after you have heard the same, without all question you sin heavily; howbeit your Fathers were holy men, you must not think that a few dwelling in the corner of a remote isle are to be preferred to the universal Church of Christ; and if Columba your Father, yea, and ours also, if he was of Christ, was mighty in miracles, yet is he not to be equalled to the prince of the holy Apostles, unto whom the Lord said—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; and will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

The king, who had hearkened diligently unto all which they spake, taking hold of these last words, asked Colman "if it was so that the Lord had spoken these words unto Peter?" he answered "that it was truth." "And can you shew," says he, "that the like authority was given to your Father Columba?" Colman answered, "No." Then said the king—"do both agree in this, that these words were spoken to St Peter, and that the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him?" They answered "that they did." Then said he—"seeing St Peter is the door-keeper of Heaven, I will follow his rule in everything, lest when I come to Heaven's gate the doors shall be shut against me." These speeches of the king, full of simplicity, were seconded with the acclamations of many of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the adversaries of Colman.

But he, nothing moved therewith, retained still his opinion, and would not change; yet fearing that some trouble might arise if he should make longer stay in those parts, he resigned his bishopric, in which one Tuda a Scottishman succeeded, who was content to submit himself to the Roman observation of Easter, and to receive the clerical tonsure, but he lived not one whole year, and died of the plague.¹

Colman returning into Scotland, was welcomed by his countrymen; for he was in great esteem, and bare no small authority, both in the Church and State, before he went into England, as appeared in the insurrection made against King Ferghard. The nobility having consulted to depose

¹ [See note at the end of this Book, on the Pascal Canon.—E.]

him from his kingdom for the detestable cruelties he had committed, by Colman his authority they were only kept back, who told them, "that the punishment of kings belonged to God, and that he, ere it were long, would take vengeance of his wickedness," which, as he foretold, came to pass; for the king, after a few days being at hunting, happened to be bitten by a wolf, and falling into a fever, such a putrefaction ensued in his body, that out of every part there issued abundance of lice and vermin, which made him abhorred of all men. Languishing in this consumption a long space, and touched with a bitter remorse for his wicked life, he sent for Colman, to whom he expressed a great sorrow for the ill life he had led, entreating the help of his prayers; and, to testify his humiliation, would needs be carried forth to the next fields, wrapped in sackcloth, where, after an open confession made of his wickedness, he was absolved by Colman, and shortly after yielded up the ghost.

The memory of this, which was yet fresh in the minds of people, together with the report of his constancy, (for so it was interpreted,) did purchase unto him great love and reputation; but he, making short stay at home, went soon after into Ireland, where he built a monastery for the English and Scots that followed him thither. They not well agreeing, he bought a piece of ground, and founded a religious house for the English apart. Bishop Lesly, in his chronicle writeth, that after this he passed into Germany, and having travelled through Bohemia, Hungary, and a great part of Greece, as he returned by Austria, he was killed by some pagans in those parts. For this he citeth Johannes Stabius, the historiographer of Maximilian the First; but whatsoever became of him, he was certainly a man of great integrity, and therefore much respected of all men.

After this time we find a continual declining in the Church, for the decision taken in that conference of Whitby, touching the controversy of Easter, increased the dissension, and put all out of frame; they that were in place urging the rites more strictly than was convenient, and others chusing rather to quit their places than to give way unto them. Theodorus, then Archbishop of Canterbury, is blamed for

exercising the authority of his place too peremptorily about these things, and forcing the British bishops to conform themselves. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, dealing in like sort with the Scottish preachers that had planted the Gospel among the English, thrust them from all their places. “*Nam optione datâ, maluerunt loco eedere, quam Pascha Catholicum cæterósque ritus canonicos Romanæ Ecclesiæ recipere;*” that is, “it being given to their option whether they would stay and admit the observation of Easter and other rites of the Church of Rome, they made choice to leave their places and depart.” The clergy at home became also divided; for Adamannus or Adamnanus a bishop, who had been tutor to Eugenius the Sixth, being sent in ambassage to Alfrid King of Northumberland, fell in such a liking of the rites he saw there used, as at his return he became an earnest persuader of his countrymen to receive them, and prevailed with many. Yet the monks of Iona, whose governor he had sometime been, did strongly oppose; others that loved not to be contentious, retired themselves, among whom Disybodius and Levinius, both bishops, are said to have been two. Disybodius going into Germany, lived a monk in the Abbey of Fulden many years.

Adamnanus, whom even now I named, is much commended for the care he took to keep the Picts and Scots in peace; which albeit he did not effect according to his desire, (for they were ever making incursions one against another,) yet so far he prevailed, as during his life no public war arose amongst them. To bind the two people in friendship, he was a means to make Eugenius the Seventh take to wife Spondana, daughter to Granard, King of Picts; but she not long after being killed, as she lay in bed, by two Athol men, that had conspired to kill the king, and were mistaken in the execution, the friendship contracted had almost turned into deadly enmity, because of a rumour that went, that she was made away by the king’s knowledge. The Picts complaining of the injury done to their blood, and many of the subjects apprehending it to be the king’s own fact, he was forced, with some indignity to his person, to plead his innocency in a Parliament called to that purpose. It happened that in the meantime the murtherers were discovered and taken, and by the punishment they suffered, the king’s

innocency was sufficiently cleared ; wherewith, he not contented, would needs be avenged of his subjects, that had called his name in question. This raised a great stir, and had doubtless burst forth in a civil war, if Adamnanus by his wisdom had not mitigated the king, and wrought the subjects reconciliation. Beda, speaking of this Adamnanus, saith, “ that he was *vir unitatis et pacis studiosissimus* ;” that is, “ a man most careful to preserve unity and peace.” And indeed he shewed as much ; for having the favour of the king, although he stood divided in opinion from his brethren, he never moved him to use his authority in these matters, as easily he might have done, judging, as he did rightly, uniformity to be the work of time, and that constraint and violence are not the means to bring it to pass.

Chilianus, or Kilianus, a man of great learning, taking a contrary course, fell into the dislike of many for his too great forwardness in advancing the Romish ceremonies ; and out of indignation, conceived against those that maligned him, left his place, betaking himself to travel with Colonatus, or Columbanus a Presbyter, and Theotrianus a deacon. After a view taken of England and France, he took journey into Germany, and coming to Herbipolis, now called Wirtzburg, where one Gosbertus governed as deputy for Theodoric, King of France, he was informed that the governor had lately taken Geilana his brother's widow to wife ; which he esteeming a great wickedness, and not to be endured where Christianity was professed, he went to Rome, and meant the matter to Pope Conon, who liking well the zeal of the man, did consecrate him Bishop of Wirtzburg, and sent him back thither. At his return, shewing the governor what an unlawful match he had made, he laboured earnestly to have him dimit Geilana, and was in likelihood to prevail ; whereupon the malicious woman having conduced some murderers to make him away, both he and his two companions were strangled in their chambers ; and, lest the fact should be disclosed, their bodies, books and vestments, were all hidden under the ground. But God, who never suffereth murder to be long concealed, brought the same shortly after to light, by the means of one of her maids ; whereupon Burchardus his successor made the corpses to be raised, and laid in

the great church of the city, with these verses appended nigh unto their sepulchre.—

Hi sunt, Herbipolis, qui te docuere magistri,
 Quâ verum coleres religione Deum.
 Impia quos tandem jussit Geilana necari,
 Celavitque sub hunc corpora caesa locum.
 Nè turpi, sine laude, situ defossa jacerent
 Corpora, Burchardus sub monumenta locat.

But, to proceed, as it falleth out commonly at such times. there were not a few that, upon hope to raise their fortunes and gain preferment, were after this still gadding to Rome. Baronius telleth us in his Annals of two of our countrymen. Wiros and Plechelmus, that came to Rome to visit, as he speaketh, *limina Apostolorum*. Wiros, he saith, had been earnestly entreated to accept the charge of a bishop; but it being a custom in the Scottish Church first to elect their bishops, then to send them to Rome for seeking confirmation, he took this occasion to visit the holy city. But by the cardinal's leave, our Church had no such custom before that time; nor will it be shewed that before these two any did go to Rome, either to be consecrated or confirmed. They indeed obtained what they sought, and were consecrated by Pope Honorius, who used them with much respect, that upon the report they should make, others might be allured to keep the same course. Wiros returning, made an ample discourse of their entertainment, and incited many to try the same way, yet made no long stay at home; for we find him shortly after turn confessor to King Pepin, with whom he found such favour as he did build a monastery in Franconia, to the memory of St Peter, and, retiring thither in his age, did there end his days. What became of Plechelmus I read not; only I find both him and Wiros present at a Synod in Utrecht, called by Pope Sergius in the year 697, and in the records, Plechelmus styled *Episcopus candidæ casæ*.

There came about the same time into Scotland an Italian named Bonifacius, a grave and venerable person, as he is described, and was judged by the vulgar sort to be the Pope. Some have written that he was elected successor to Gregory the Great, but declined the charge out of a desire to promote religion in these northern parts. I rather think he

came hither to confirm our acquaintance with the Roman Church. As ever that was, for the pains he took in preaching the Gospel, and the churches he erected in this kingdom, he deserveth of us an honourable remembrance. For landing in the river of Tay, at the mouth of a little water that divided the countries of Angus and Mearns, he there built a church to the memory of St Peter the Apostle; another, not far from thence, he built at Telin, and a third at Restennoth: and having finished these works, he did visit the countries of Mar, Buchan, Murray, and Bogieland, preaching the Gospel whithersoever he came; neither did he rest till he came to the country of Ross, and chusing Rosmarkie for the place of his residence, erected there a church, where, after his death, he was buried. Molochus, a learned bishop of this country, taking delight in his company, followed him in all these ways; and that he should not be separate from him in death, gave order that he should be interred in the same church, and near unto Boniface; for he outlived him many years, and died in the ninety-fourth of his age. His bones were afterwards translated to Lismore in Argyle, because of his labours employed in reforming that church.

Whether or not I should mention among these that Boniface who was by Gregory the Second preferred to be Bishop of Mentz, I know not, so many writers affirming him to have been born in England. But of what country soever he was, none did ever adventure more for the Pope than he did; for he is said to have brought the Bavarians, Thuringians, Hessians, and a great part of Germany more, to submit themselves in all matters ecclesiastie to the See of Rome; yet was he therein greatly opposed (besides some Germans) by two of the Scottish nation, Clemens and Sampson, who at the time remained in those parts. These did openly in their sermons inveigh against him as a corrupter of Christian doctrine, charging him—"1. For that he studied to win men to the subjection of the Pope, and not to the obedience of Christ; 2. That he laboured to establish a sovereign authority in the Pope his person, as if he were the only successor of the Apostles, whereas all bishops are their successors as well as he; 3. That he went about the abolishing of priests' marriage, and extolled the single life beyond measure; and, 4. That he caused masses to be said for the

dead, erected images in churches, and introduced divers rites unknown to the ancient Church." For this Clemens, in a council holden at Rome, was excommunicated and condemned for an heretic. The sentence is to be seen in the Third Tome of the Councils, wherein none of these particulars is mentioned, but other false aspersions are cast upon his fame, as hath been the custom of handling those that oppose the corruption of the Roman Church. Bonifacius always going on in his course, and seeking to make the like reformation amongst the Frizons, was, with fifty-four of his followers, killed in the sixtieth year of his age, and hath therefore a chief place in the Roman Martyrology.

But this did so little terrify others, as about the same time certain Scottish monks did adventure upon the Saxons, to bring them under the Pope's obedience. Palto, Tanco, Korvila, and Haruehus, (so they name them,) being consecrated Bishops of Verden in Saxony, one after another, did all of them lay down their lives in that quarrel. "*Quasi exoptantes coronam martyrii*," says Baleus; that is, "Longing for the crown of martyrdom," and counting it their glory to suffer in the Bishop of Rome his cause. Nor were they monks only that were so given, but even of the bishops, Sedulus and Pergustus were vehemently set that way; and having assisted in a Synod called at Rome by Gregory the Second in the year 721, (as their subscriptions extant in the Books of Councils do testify,) after their return made great disturbance in the Church for the erecting of images, and put divers preachers from their livings for resisting that course.

In all this time, which is not a little to be admired, the eremitical life was in such esteem, not with clergymen alone, but with the greatest nobles and princes, that they, forsaking their honours and dignities, betook themselves thereto, as the most contented and desirable sort of life. Of these last our stories do name Drostanus, the uncle, or as others say, the nephew of King Aidanus, Prince Fiacre, the second son of Eugenius the Fourth, and Florentius, a gentleman of honourable birth and estate, who did all, nigh at one time, sequester themselves from the world, not out of any grief or discontent, whereof they had no cause, but upon a mere apprehension of the vanity of worldly greatness. The story of Fiacre, as

Boeth rehearseth it, is especially memorable. This prince being committed to the education of Conanus, Bishop of Man, after he came to some years, did steal away privately to France; and his intention being discovered to Pharo, Bishop of Meaux, he had by his gift a little cell in a solitary place appointed for him. There separating himself from all company, he spent his time wholly in prayer and divine contemplation. It happened after a little time his elder brother King Ferquhard to be deposed for his tyrannical government, whereupon commissioners were sent to recal him, as being the next heir of the kingdom. He getting intelligence of their coming, did betake him to his prayers, and, with many tears, besought God to confirm his mind in the resolution he had taken, and divert them by some means from disturbing his rest; so as when they came unto him he appeared unto them leprous, and looked so deformed as they were amazed to behold him. But they, notwithstanding this, did not judge him unfit for government, and resolved to deliver their commission, entreating him to return to his country, where he would find the air more healthful, and in a short time, by the help of physicians, recover his health. Fiaere at first excusing himself by his infirmity, when he perceived them insist for his return, and relinquishing that sort of life, did cut them off with this answer—"I have," said he, "made choice of this condition of life which you see, and am contented with this little cell for my dwelling; these garments (pointing to his apparel) serve me for clothing, and my food is a simple pottage of herbs, which I dress to myself; more I desire not, nor would I change this state of life with the most fortunate king in the world. I seem to you deformed, yet is my body sound, and my blood uncorrupted: but it is the will of God I should look so, that I may be kept humble, and learn to amend my life. Go you therefore home, and shew my brother and the noblemen that sent you hither, that I live content in this private manner, and will not change it with any state whatsoever; and from me desire them to serve God purely, to live justly, and entertain peace among themselves; which if they do, they shall be always victorious over their enemies." This said, he withdrew himself into his cell; and they, finding that there was no means to prevail with him, departed.

The commissioners at their return making report of that they had seen and his resolution, his only sister, Syra, was so much moved with it, as taking with her some virgins in company, she went to visit him, and, after some conference, rendered herself and those that came with her, religious in the city of Meaux. This Fiacre is the same to whose memory divers churches in France are dedicated, and is said to have died in the year 665.

Florentius, (whom I named,) taking the like resolution, went into Germany, and in the country of Alsatia, upon the river Hasel, built a little chapel for his private use, where he lived retired from all company, and purchased to himself great reputation. It happened Rathildis, the daughter of Dagobert, King of France, to fall sick in the time, of a disease that deprived her both of sight and speech, and being recommended to Florentius' prayers, she within a little while recovered. Whereupon King Dagobert did build a magnificent abbey, called yet the Abbey of Haselach, and committed the government thereof to Florentius. There was difficulty enough to win him from his solitary life; yet so earnest were the solicitations used unto him, that in the end he yielded, and was after that made Bishop of Strasburg, upon the death of Rotharius. Twelve years he governed that see most wisely, giving proof of his virtue and worth, as well in the active as contemplative life. Before his death he founded a monastery for Scottishmen at the river Bruschius, in Alsatia, and placed therein Argobastus, Theodotus, Hildolphus, who had accompanied him from Scotland. His body, according as he directed, was there interred after his death.

Never did this country abound more in learned men than at this time. Our writers speak of Macharius, Glacianus, and Gervadius, bishops of great reputation; they name likewise Divinius, Conganus, Dunstanus, Medanus, and Modanus, as famous men all for their piety and learning. But they that King Achaius sent to Charles the Great, upon his earnest entreaty, did excel all the rest, namely, Joannes Scotus, Claudius, Clemens, Rabanus Maurus, and Flaccus Albinus, otherwise called Alcuinus. These four he sent with Prince Gulielme, his brother, into France, at the time of the league made with that people, which to this day re-

maineth inviolate ; and by them it was that the University of Paris was first founded. Scotus, after he had staid some years at Paris, was employed by the same Charles for founding an university at Pavia, and was in great respect with all, the Roman Church excepted, who could not away with the liberty he used in his reproofs of the errors then springing up. His treatise of the Eucharist, a pious and learned work, was by Pope Leo the ninth condemned in *Synodo Vercellensi*, in the year 1030, long after his death. Claudius Clemens was afterwards preferred to the bishopric of Auxerre, where he lived to his death in great esteem.

Alcuinus, commonly held to be Charles the Great his master, was made his clemosynar, and lived in special credit with him. The book that came forth under Charles his name against images, was thought to be penned by him ; for he was a man of great learning, as the many books left by him to posterity do shew. “ Ubique pius, ubique doctus,” says Bakeus, “ succinetus, gravis, et ante multos alios præcipue dignus qui in manibus hominum habeatur.” The English writers will have him born in their country, not far from the city of York. To which I only say, that the English at that time being adversaries to the French, and the league contracted betwixt the French and Scots, speaking of them as common enemies to both people, it is not probable, if he had been of the English nation, that he would have been so inward with Charles the Great.

Rabanus Maurus was his auditor many years, and under his hand grew to such perfection of learning, that it is said, “ quod nec Italia similem, nec Germania æqualem peperit ;” that is, “that neither did Italy breed his like, nor Germany his equal.” “ Tantam viri eruditionem,” says Bruschius, “ omnes bibliothecæ nobis commendant ; et quantum ingenio valuerit, edita ab eo volumina demonstrant. Bibliothecam enim Fuldensem tanta librorum multitudine locupletavit, ut dinumerari vix queant ;” that is, “ All bibliothèques do witness the rare erudition of that man, and what a fertile ingenie he had the volumes published by him do shew. The library of Fulden he enriched with such multitudes of books as can scarce be numbered.” And certainly who shall but read the catalogue of his works will wonder how any one man should in his life have penned so much, and upon so divers subjects ; for

besides that he did illustrate the whole books of Scripture with his expositions, he left a number of profitable tractates in every science to posterity. After Clemens was gone from Paris he continued in the university some years; and being made Abbot of Fulden, upon a displeasure he conceived against the monks, he went to the Court of Ludovicus the Emperor, where he had not long attended, when, upon the death of Otgaricus, Archbishop of Mentz, he was elected to the government of that see. Ten years he sat bishop, having no opposition made to him nor to his doctrine, though he taught no other than what is with us in these times taught and professed, as in his works yet extant may be seen.

In this reckoning we must not forget our countryman Maidulphus Scotus, who was of great fame in those days for his skill in training up the youth in letters, and kept a public school at Caerbladon in Wiltshire, there being as yet no university in England. He is also said to have been a strong defender of the Bishop of Rome his authority, and placed in that part by Eleutherius, Bishop of the West Saxons, for withstanding the British doctors that opposed the Roman rites. After some time bestowed that way, embracing the monastical life, he erected an abbey at Malmsbury, which Aldelin, his disciple and successor, did much increase; and from him it is thought that Malmsbury took the name, being at first called Maidulphsbury, or Maidulph's city.

We are now at the 800 year, or thereabout, when as the wars were renewed between the Scots and the Piets, which brought, in end, the utter subversion of that people, I mean the Piets. Their kingdom had continued near twelve hundred years under the reign of sixty-five kings, and was fortunate enough till the days of King Feredith, who I know not by what ill counsel, bare an heavy hand upon the Church, and made spoil of her rents, especially of the ornaments bestowed by his predecessor, King Hungus, upon the church of St Andrews. The occasion of these troubles I shall briefly set down, after I have remembered the magnificence of Prince Gulielme, which ought never to be forgotten. After the league contracted with France, which he was sent to ratify, he followed Charles the Great in all his wars, performing notable services, especially in Italy, where he was

made lieutenant for the king. Upon the end of the wars, being grown in age, he went to Germany, resolving to bestow his means (which were very great) in founding religious houses, which he did at Colen, Francford, Vienna, Herford, Luneburg, Wirtsburg, Muleren, and Ratisbone. Fifteen abbeyes and hospitals they reckon founded by him, some in Italy, but the most part in Germany; all which he endowed with a reasonable proportion of lands and rents, but with this proviso, that none should be admitted therein but Scottishmen born. This for many years according to his appointment was observed; and even at this time, notwithstanding the manifold alterations that have happened, there be some of these foundations that are no ways changed from their first institution. These also may possibly decay, yet the magnificence of that noble prince shall ever be recorded to his everlasting honour.

And now to the occasion of these troubles I mentioned. There reigned in the time of King Achaius amongst the Piets, Hungus, a prince well inclined, and a great lover of religion and justice. Athelstane, king of the West Saxons, having usurped upon divers of his neighbours, and enlarged his kingdom by subduing the Northumbers, did likewise invade the Piets, intending the conquest of that part of their kingdom which lay next unto his. Hungus hereupon did move King Achaius, who had married Fergusiana his sister, for some supply; and he, no less offended with Athelstane's oppressions than was Hungus himself, sent to his aid ten thousand men, under the leading of Prince Alpin his son. Hungus, supplied with this power, entered into Northumberland, and having made great depredations, returned home with a rich booty. Athelstane, following upon his heels, overtook him at a little village not far from Haddington, which put Hungus in a sore fright, for a great part of his army was dismissed and gone home; yet not seeing a way to eschew the fight, he gave order for the battle against the next day, and in the meantime betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. A little before day falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the Apostle St Andrew stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which vision being related to the army did much encourage them. The history

addeth, that in the joining of the battle there appeared in the air a cross, in form of the letter X, which so terrified the enemies, as presently they gave back. King Athelstane was himself there killed, whereupon the village took the name, which at this day it enjoyeth, of Athelstane Ford.

Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the victory, gave to the church of Regulus, now called St Andrews, divers rich gifts, as chalices, basons, the image of Christ in gold, and of his twelve Apostles in silver. He gave likewise a case of beaten gold for preserving the relics of St Andrew, and restored to the spirituality the tithes of all corns, cattle, and herbage within the realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal judge. Farther, he did appoint the cross of St Andrew to be the badge and cognizance of the Piets, both in their wars and otherwise; which as long as that kingdom stood was observed, and is by the Scots as yet retained. But all this was spoiled, as we said, by Feredith, the third in succession from Hungus, after which time nothing prospered either with him or with that people.

For the line masculine of their kings failing, Alpin the son of Achais did claim the Crown as next in blood, by virtue of an old covenant betwixt the Scots and Piets. The Piets refusing to accept him, as being a stranger, made choice of this Feredith whom we named; and thereupon war was denounced. The first encounter was at Restennoth in Angus, where in a cruel fight, which continued from the morning until night, Feredith was killed. His son Brudens, who succeeded, was made away by the Piets themselves, in the first year of his reign, and Kenneth, his brother that succeeded to him, came to the like unfortunate end. After Kenneth, another called Brudens was elected king; and he, in a battle fought not far from Dundee, took King Alpin and many of his nobles prisoners; which victory he used most foully, putting all the nobles to death, killing the king, and causing his head to be set upon a pole in Abernethy, or as others write, in the city of Camelon.

The Piets upon this victory supposing that they had utterly broken the courage of the Scots, did purpose nothing less than their extermination; which, after the death of Brudens, his brother Drusken that succeeded went ear-

nestly about. But Kenneth the Second, the son of Alpin, a prince of a brave and heroic spirit, pursued so hotly the revenge of his father's death, as having defeated the Picts in divers battles, he drave them all in the end forth of the kingdom, and united that Crown to his own of Scotland. This Kenneth was a most wise and valiant king, and so circumspect in his business, that from that time forth none of the Picts were ever heard to resume the title of a king. The countries which they inhabited he divided amongst the nobles, and others whose labours in these wars had merited a recompence. He established good and wholesome laws for the government of his people, which were in great account with the posterity, and called M'Alpin's laws. To the Church he gave another face, and a greater outward splendour than the former ages had seen, translating the Episcopal See (which whilst the Pictish kingdom stood was settled in Abernethy) to the church of St Rule, and ordained it from thenceforth to be called the church of St Andrews, and the bishop thereof *Maximus Scotorum Episcopus*, the *Principal Bishop of Scotland*. Churches, chapels, and oratories, with their priests and all sorts of religious men he caused to be held in great reverence; and, in a word, did so nobly perform all actions both of war and peace, as he may rightly be placed among the best kings, and reckoned the third founder of the Scottish monarchy.

NOTE ON PASCHAL CANON.

[THE precise day on which the Paschal Feast ought to be observed, became originally a question among the Jews, and, at a later period, as connected with the resurrection of the Messiah, divided the opinions of the Christian Church in the East as well as in the West.

According to the institution of Moses, the Passover was to be kept on the evening of the fourteenth day of the moon, at the vernal equinox ; but as, according to the reckoning of the Jews, the day terminated at sunset, the evening of the fourteenth was, in point of fact, the beginning of the fifteenth. "From even unto even," said their inspired legislator, "shall ye celebrate your Sabbaths ;" and this rule applied to all their solemn feasts as well as to ordinary days. In addition to this source of ambiguity, the Jews, in the latter period of their state, had innovated so far on the ancient rule as to prevent the Passover from being observed on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, postponing it to the following day. The year in which our blessed Lord suffered death upon the Cross, the Passover, according to the original appointment, fell on Friday, which, agreeably to the principle just stated, began at sunset on Thursday evening. Our Redeemer, who preferred the authority of Moses to that of the Scribes and Pharisees, ate the Paschal Supper with his disciples, on Thursday, after the going down of the sun, that is, at the commencement of the sixth day of the week, among us called Friday.

But it is manifest from the evangelical narrative, that the Jews were not to observe that sacred rite till the following evening ; and hence, as the early part of Friday was the preparation, they would not go into the judgment-hall "lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover." For the same reason they besought Pilate that the bodies might be removed from the Cross, intimating that the day which was to begin at sunset, was to them a "high day," being not only the weekly Sabbath, but also the greatest of their annual feasts, both held extremely solemn by every true Israelite.

The circumstance now mentioned of what has been called a "double Passover," led to the earliest difference of opinion among Christians as to the day on which the Passover should be held by them ; that is, in the language of those times, whether they should keep the feast with Christ or with Caiaphas. St John, chapter xix. verse 42, alludes to the distinction now stated, and calls Friday the "Jews' preparation ;" having previously related that his master had kept the Passover on the preceding evening.

It appears that, during the first and second centuries, the Christians celebrated a feast similar in some degree to that of the Passover, in remem-

brance of the death of their Redeemer. They observed a strict fast during the great week, and afterwards held a sacred solemnity, at which they ate a Paschal Lamb in remembrance of the Last Supper. By the churches in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor this solemn observance was kept on the fourteenth day of the first month, and three days afterwards they commemorated by a rite, properly Christian, the resurrection of the triumphant Saviour. The Asiatic rule for keeping the Paschal feast was attended with two inconveniences to which the Christians of the West refused to submit; for it not only interrupted the fast of Passion Week, but in addition, as Easter was solemnized on the third day afterwards, this great festival frequently fell on other days than Sunday. The believers at Rome, Alexandria, and other cities of the West, thought it unlawful to keep Easter on a common day; maintaining, that as our Lord rose from the dead on Sunday, the commemoration of this great event should be confined to the first day of the week.

The controversy which had respect to the Jewish practice of occasionally keeping the festival on the fifteenth day of the moon, instead of the more ancient rule which confined it to the fourteenth, and was adopted by our Lord the evening before his death, soon gave way to the more important question, whether Easter should be celebrated on any other than the Lord's day. In the year 197, Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, obtained a synodical decree in favour of the fourteenth-day men; and in the year following, Victor, the Bishop of Rome, declared in behalf of the others, and excommunicated the Eastern Churches, in a tone of great severity.

It should seem that the question which, at this early period, divided the opinions of the Church in the East and West, had respect to the celebration of the Paschal Feast, which, as has been stated, was observed in a modified manner by the early Christians in remembrance of the Last Supper. This impression is confirmed by the circumstance, that the two antagonist parties were distinguished by the names of *quatuor-decimans* and *quinta-decimans* (fourteenth-day men and fifteenth-day men), according as they respectively kept the festival with Christ, or with Caiaphas, the Jewish high priest. Each party claimed for their usage Apostolical authority—the first referring to the practice of St John, the other to that of St Peter and St Paul. It was not till a later period that a discussion arose in regard to the day on which Easter should be solemnized—a matter which was finally determined by the General Council held at Nice, in the year 325. By the holy men who met on that occasion, it was decreed that the Christian festival should be celebrated on the Sunday next after the full moon, following the vernal equinox; because it is certain that our Saviour rose from the dead on the first day of the week succeeding the Jewish Passover. To find more easily the first day of the moon, and consequently the fourteenth day, the Council ordered that the Church should observe the cycle of nineteen years; because, at the end of that term, the new moons return nearly on the same days of the solar year. This cycle had been fixed about seven hundred and fifty years before by an Athenian mathematician named Meton; and it was called the Golden Number, because they had been accustomed to mark in their calendars with letters of gold the days of the new moons, according to his calculation.

The particular error which Meton corrected, in the year 430 before the Christian era, arose from the fact, that the ancients calculated at once by lunar and by solar years; for as the lunar year is eleven days shorter

than the solar, it became necessary to insert or intercalate seven lunations in nineteen lunar years ; by which means they were brought so nearly to a correspondence in length with nineteen solar years, that the times of celebrating the national festivals, or games, could, by means of his tables, be adjusted both to the new and full moons, and to the equinoxes and solstices.

But it was afterwards found that his cycle was imperfect ; for in nineteen years there are at least four leap years, and sometimes five. Hence, the new and full moons, computed on his principle, sometimes varied a day from the truth on leap years ; and it was accordingly proposed to extend the cycle to seventy-six years, or four times nineteen, in which there are nineteen leap years exactly. This cycle adopted or proposed by Calippus, in B. C. 330, was adopted as an improvement on the Metonic.

Notwithstanding these corrections, there was still a small source of error which, prior to the New Style introduced in 1752, occasioned sometimes the difference of a whole week between the true Easter and the ecclesiastical Easter. But since the New Style, that inconvenience has been remedied, by giving tables in the Prayer-Book to find Easter for limited periods, not "for ever," as in the older editions of the Liturgy.

Leaving these minute points, we are now in a condition to understand the object of the dispute or conference which took place at Whitby in the presence of King Oswy, as related by Archbishop Spottiswoode at page 29.

It will be observed that Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne, referred to the authority of the Apostle John as the ground on which the Scots and Britons continued to observe Easter. The reply of Wilfred is very much to the point, and shews that he understood the real merits of the question. "St John," said he, "observed the rites of Moses' Law according to the letter—the Church as yet judaising in many things, and even the Apostles not being able as yet to relinquish all the observances which God had ordained under the Levitical economy." For this reason, he remarks, St Paul circumcised Timothy, offered sacrifices in the Temple, and shaved his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla. "Thus," he adds, "St John, keeping the custom of the Law, began the celebration of Easter upon the fourteenth day of the first month at even, whether it fell upon the Sabbath day or any other day of the week ; but St Peter when he was at Rome, considering that the Lord did rise from the dead the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to institute Easter on that day. And that this is the true Easter," he adds, "to be observed of all Christians, it is clear from the Nicene Council which did ratify and confirm the same by their decree. But you," continues Wilfred, "follow neither the example of St John nor of St Peter, nor doth your celebration agree either with the Law or the Gospel ; for St John, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day after the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first day after the Sabbath, and you often begin it on the 13th of the moon, at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention, neither did our Lord, the author of the Gospel, eat the passover on the thirteenth day but on the fourteenth at night."

Upon the whole, it is manifest that the Scots and Britons who opposed what they deemed an innovation, were willing to believe that they were treading in the steps of the "beloved disciple," and of the Asiatic Churches, which were imagined to have received from his mouth the rule for ascertaining with precision the return of Easter Sunday. But the ad-

vocates for this venerable tradition were not aware that, on this head, they differed more from the Christians of the East than they differed from those of Rome. The former, as has been repeatedly stated, had resolved to keep the festival on the fourteenth day of the moon, in compliance with the Jewish practice, on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall; whereas the British Church uniformly solemnized it on the Sunday which occurred between the thirteenth and twentieth day of the moon, following a cycle of eighty-four years. This period which, according to Epiphanius, was originally Jewish, had been adopted by the Western Church; and it was retained as the basis of the Christian calendar till after the middle of the sixth century, when Victorinus of Aquitain constructed a new cycle of 532 years, an account of which may be found in his Prologue, and in the Epistles of Ambrose, Paschasinus, Cyril, and Pope Leo, published by Bucherius.

But even prior to the time now indicated, the Romans had made more than one alteration on their original scheme. Before the era of Christianity, the vernal equinox, on the faith of certain calculations which had received the sanction of Julius Cæsar, was fixed to the 25th of March; which date the Christians never anticipated in their festival, unless when they were compelled by the narrow limits of the Paschal month. This they chose to confine within the interval which begins with the 25th of March, and ends with the 21st of April inclusive; while the cycle was so contrived as to point out for Easter the Sunday which happened between the fourteenth and the twentieth day of the moon.

It was this most ancient method of computation to which the Britons and Irish adhered: and that it was used by the Church of Rome before the Council of Nice, is evident from the "Paschal Table of a Hundred Years," preserved by Buchedus in his "*Doctrina Temporum*," and by Eecarilus in his "*Writers of the Middle Age*;" for in the earlier part of that formula, Easter is found noted on the fourteenth day of the moon, in the two years A. D. 316 and 320. At a somewhat later period, as the equinox was carried back to the 21st March, the paschal season was extended to a corresponding length: and as to the moon's age, instead of celebrating, as formerly, from the fourteenth to the twentieth day, it was decreed that the festival should be held on the Sunday which occurred between the sixteenth and twenty-second.

From the facts now stated, it seems sufficiently clear that the Britons must have received their cycle, in its first or oldest state, from the Roman and not from the Asiatic Church; because their calendar was the very same with that of the former communion prior to the Council of Nice, which was held, as already mentioned, in A. D. 325. This fact, at the same time, points out the early conversion of our ancestors, as well as the instruments by which it was accomplished, with much greater certainty than could be derived from the writings of historians who did not live till many centuries afterwards.

It is manifest that in the famous conference which took place at Whitby, Wilfred had the larger share of knowledge as well as of eloquence; and his reputation, as an historian and logician, would have been higher than it is, had he not owed his triumph, in no small degree, to the simple speech of King Oswy, who preferred the patronage of St Peter, as porter at heaven's gate, to the authority of St Columba, who, it was acknowledged, had no such power committed to him.—E.]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE CONTENTS.

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS IN THE SEVERAL SEES OF THIS KINGDOM, ESPECIALLY IN THE SEE OF SAINT ANDREWS, WITH OTHER PRINCIPAL THINGS THAT HAPPENED IN THEIR TIMES.¹



HAVING made a collection of such things as I found dispersed in stories, and warranted in any sort, for the first six hundred years of our Church, and being now come to the time wherein this Church, by the enlarging of the kingdom, received a farther extension in bounds, and therewith an addition of more wealth and state, I will, as beginning with a new account, follow the story thereof by the Succession of Bishops, especially in the See of Saint Andrews, upon which the rest did depend.

1. The first bishop who sate in this see was Adrian, killed by the Danes in the Isle of May, in the year 872, with Stolbrandus a bishop, Monanus an archdeacon, Glodianus a

¹ [For a corrected list of the Succession of Bishops in Scotland, see note at end of this Book.—E.]

presbyter, and a number of other churchmen who fled thither for their safety. Whilst this bishop lived, Constantine the Second, the son of Kenneth, did keep a convention in Scone, for reforming the disorders which the loose and dissolute government of his predecessor Donald the First had caused. In that convention beginning was made at the clergy, and concerning them it was ordained—"That they should reside upon their charges, and have no meddling with secular business: that they should instruct the people diligently, and be good ensamples in their conversation: that they should not keep hawks, hounds, or horses for pleasure: that they should carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of civil causes, but live contented with their own provisions: and that, if they were tried to transgress in any of these points, for the first fault they should be fined in a pecuniary mulct, and for the second deprived from their office and living." Thus was it not held, in that time, a diminution of ecclesiastical authority for princes to give laws to the clergy, and to punish them if they were found guilty of any offence or crime.

Divers other statutes for redressing abuses crept into the realm were then also concluded, as, "That drunkenness should be punished with death; that none should eat above one meal a day, nor accustom themselves to lie softly, or use any recreations but such as might inure them to sufferance and labour." Whereby that good king did banish all riot and luxury, and in a short time brought the kingdom again to a flourishing estate. But the Danes (as we said) invaded the country, and practising many cruelties, whilst he did pursue them who had entrenched themselves not far from the town of Crail, he was unfortunately with all his army overthrown, and, being taken prisoner the day following, beheaded at the mouth of a little cave, which in detestation of that fact is to this day called the Devil's Cave.

2. Unto Bishop Adrian succeeded Kellach; how long he lived I find not.

3. After him Malisius governed the see by the space of eight years. This bishop had the happiness to live under Gregory, called the Great, a king endowed with all the virtues that can be wished for or desired in a king. The privileges and immunities granted by him to the Church do wit-

ness his piety; for in a convention held at Forfar, by an unanime consent of his Estates, he ordained—"That all priests should from thenceforth be exempted from paying tribute, keeping watch, and going in warfare: that they should not be drawn before temporal judges for any civil cause, but that all matters concerning them should be decided by their bishops. The judgment of matrimonial causes, right of tithes, testaments, legislative actions, and all things depending upon simple faith and promise, should be committed to the bishops, with power to them to make canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, to try heretics, blasphemers, perjured persons and magicians, and censure such as they did find delinquent in that kind. And that all kings succeeding should at the time of their coronation take oath for maintaining the Church in its liberties." These favours had the clergy in the following ages used with that moderation and equity which they ought, we should not have seen nor felt the irruptions that have been made upon church liberties, with the encroachments which in our time have been justly complained of.

In this time lived that famous scholar Joannes Scotus, called *Ærigena*, from the place of his birth, which was the town of Ayr, in the west parts of Scotland. This man being very young, went to Athens, and following his studies there some years, attained to great perfection in the Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic languages. Returning afterwards to France, at the request of Carolus Calvus, he translated into Latin the work of Dionysius, "*De Cœlesti Hierarchia*;" at which Pope Nicolaus the First took exception, and wrote to King Charles on this manner—"Relatum est apostolatu nostro, quod opus Dyonyssii, Areopagitæ, quod de Divinis nominibus, vel cœlestibus ordinibus, græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir, Joannes genere Scotus, in Latinum transtulit, quod juxta morem, nobis mitti, et nostro debuit judicio approbari; præsertim cum idem Joannes, licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur, olim non sane sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore dicatur." That is, "we have been informed that one called John, of the Scottish nation, hath translated the work which Dionysius the Areopagite did write of the names of God, or of the heavenly orders, in the Latin tongue; which book ought, according to the custom, have

been sent to us, and approved of by our judgment; especially since the said John, albeit he be esteemed a man of good learning, hath been of long time held to be unsound in certain points of doctrine." Now the point which the Pope did chiefly quarrel was his opinion of the Sacrament; for he had published a treatise, "*De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*," wherein he maintained Bertram his doctrine of that point. Scotus having knowledge of this, and thinking he could not be safe in those parts because of the Pope's dislike, came into Britain, and was welcomed by King Alfred, a great favourer of learned men, by whom he was employed to teach the languages at Malmesbury Abbey, and by some scholars, who could not endure the severity of discipline, was stabbed to death in the year 884, and buried in the same abbey.

4. Bishop Malisius dying, Kellach the Second, the son of one Ferlegus, succeeded in his place. He was the first bishop of this kingdom that went to Rome to seek confirmation, and lived to a great age, for he sate bishop thirty-five years. In his time Constantine, the third king of that name, wearied with the troubles of a public life, renounced his temporal dignity, and betook himself to solitude among the Culdees in St Andrews, with whom he spent his last five years, and there died.

After this Kellach these successively were bishops—

5. Malmore.

6. Malisius the Second.

7. Alwinus, who sate three years only.

8. Maldwin, the son of Gillander; and,

9. Tuthaldus.

In this time the cœlibate of the clergy was violently urged, and married priests thrust from their livings, which raised great stirs in the Church; but the particulars are not recorded, nor the broils which thereupon ensued. I read in the "*Antiquities of the Britannie Church*," that in the year 977 a council was gathered at Calne, in Wiltshire, for that business, to which Boernellus, a bishop of Scotland was called, by Alfrith, the widow of King Edgar, who favoured the cause of married priests. This bishop, a man of great learning and eloquence, is said to have defended the conjugal life of priests by solid reasons, taken out of Scripture, and to have

put all the opposites to silence ; but Dunstan the Archbishop, who presided in that council, when he saw that reason could not bear out the errand, fell a threatning, and said, that notwithstanding all their arguments, they should not carry away the victory ; which he had no sooner spoken, than the beams of the house wherein they sat at council bursting asunder, all were overturned, and fell headlong to the ground ; many were bruised, and some killed with the fall. Dunstan himself only escaped without harm, the beam whereon he stood remaining whole and entire. Such as favoured the cause of monks did interpret this accident to be a sentence given by God on their side ; others said that Dunstan had wrought this mischief by sorcery, for many supposed him to be a magician. However it was, the married priests, though repining, were forced indeed to yield and submit themselves. What became of Boernellus, I read not, nor whether he returned to his country.

The names of some other bishops we have, who were in good account at that time ; such as Blaanus, Englatius, Colmocus, and Moveanus, confessor to King Kenneth the Third, a wise and valiant king, and one who might have been reckoned amongst the best princes, if, about his latter end, he had not stained his fame with the murder of Malcolm his nephew, whom he made away with poison. But the ambitious desire he had to settle the succession in his own posterity, led him to work this villany, which he carried in so covert a manner, as no man did once suspect him thereof, the opinion of his integrity being universally great. But as wicked facts can never be assured, though possibly they may be concealed, his mind was never after that time quiet, the conscience of the crime vexing him day and night with continual fears. In end, (whether it was so in effect, or that if his perplexed mind did form itself such an imagination,) whilst he lay asleep, he heard a voice speaking to him in this sort :—" Dost thou think that the death of Malcolm, that innocent prince, treacherously murdered by thee, is hidden from me, or that thou shalt pass any longer unpunished ? No, there is a plot laid for thy life, which thou shalt not escape ; and whereas thou didst think to transmit the crown firm and stable to thy posterity, thou shalt leave the kingdom broken, distracted, and full of trouble."

The king, awaked with the voice, was stricken with great terror. In the morning early, calling Moveanus, he laid open to him the grief and vexation of his mind, who giving the king his best counsel for the pacifying of his conscience, did advise him to bestow alms upon the poor, visit the graves of holy men, have the clergy in greater regard than he was accustomed, and perform such other external satisfactions as were used in those times. The king following his directions, did carry himself most piously, not thinking by these outward deeds of penance to make expiation for his sin; for men were not become as yet so grossly ignorant as to believe that by such external works the justice of God is satisfied. Albeit some idle toys, such as the visiting the graves of the saints, kissing of relics, hearing of masses, and others of that kind, which avarice and superstition had invented, were then crept into the Church; yet people were still taught that Christ is the only propitiation for sin, and by his blood the guilt thereof is only washed away. This being still the doctrine of the Church, to think that Kenneth's faith was any other, is scarce charitable. Always, as he was visiting the grave of Palladius, being invited to lodge in the castle of Fettercarne, he was there treacherously murdered. But to return to our bishops.

10. Fothadus succeeded next after Tuthaldus, a man greatly respected for the opinion conceived of his holiness. In the competition which Grimus had with Malcolm the Second for the succession of the crown, by his wisdom, and the trust which they had reposed in him, they were brought to an agreement, and a most perilous commotion stayed. How long he sate bishop is not recorded; in his time lived Vigiamus a monk, an eloquent preacher, Coganus an abbot, and Onanus a deacon, men of especial account.

11. After the death of Fothadus, Gregorius was elected and consecrated bishop. He lived in a troublesome time; for soon after his election, the Danes did of new invade the country, and landing in Murray, had such success at first, as they did think to make conquest of the realm. But Malcolm the Second having repulsed them in a battle fought at Pambridge in Angus, did pursue them unto Buchan, where, at a village called Mortlach, he gave them an utter overthrow, and forced those that escaped to swear, that

during the reign of Malcolm and the life of Swane their king, they should never return into Scotland.

To memorize this victory, the king did found an episcopal see at Mortlach, endowing the same with rents forth of the adjacent lands ; and calling the clergy to an assembly in the town of Bertha, (now Perth,) he enacted, by the advice of Bishop Gregorius, divers canons for their better government. At the same time, in a convention kept at Scone, to reward those who had deserved well in the late wars, he gave away all the crown lands, reserving little or nothing to himself. The barons, to requite his liberality, did grant to him and his successors, kings of Scotland, the ward of all their lands, with the benefit that might accrue by the marriage of the heir. But this being casual and uncertain, proved insufficient for maintaining his royal estate, so that necessity (the sure companion of immoderate largition) did force him to make unlawful shifts, whereby he came to be as much hated in end as he was loved at first ; and by some villains, that thought themselves wronged by him, was murdered in the Castle of Glamis, after he had reigned thirty years. Before his time the titles of Thane and Abthane were the only titles of honour and dignity in the realm ; whereas he, to give a greater splendour to the State, did introduce all those offices which are now in use, and are commonly called offices of estate.

Duncan the First, his nephew by Beatrix his daughter, succeeded to the crown, whose weakness and simplicity made way to Macbeth, his cousin-german's usurpation ; for he, conspiring with Bancho, a man of great place, deprived the king both of his crown and life, in the seventh year of his reign. The King's two sons, Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, and Donald Bane, fearing the cruelty of the tyrant, withdrew themselves and fled, Malcolm into Wales, and Donald into the West Isles. Thus none being to oppose, Macbeth did assume to himself the crown, and for the first ten years governed the kingdom with better justice than he got it. Afterward growing suspicious, and seeking to rid himself of those that might prove his enemies, he began his cruelty at Bancho, who had a hand with him in the king's murder ; and inviting him on a night to supper with his son Fleanche, as they were returning to their lodgings, made some lie in

the way to murder them. Bancho, doubting no harm, was killed ; but his son Fleanche, through the darkness of the night, escaped. The nobles, detesting this treachery, and fearing it might turn to be their own case, retired home to their dwellings. Macbeth finding himself forsaken of his nobles, and knowing that he was hated by the people, fell then to practise open tyranny, and forging quarrels against the better sort, did upon light causes put divers to death.

The Thane of Fife, called Macduff, a man of great power, out of a suspicion he conceived, fled into England, where meeting with Malcolm, the lawful heir of the crown, after he had expounded the misery whereunto the country was brought by the cruelties of Macbeth, and the reasons of his own flight, he persuaded him to return and repeat his father's kingdom. Malcolm, who often before had been solicited to return by such as Macbeth did suborn, made answer—"That he understood all these things to be true which were related ; but if," said he, "ye knew how unfit I am for government, you would not be so earnest as you seem to call me home, for, not to dissemble with you, whom I esteem my friend, the vices which have overthrown many kings, lust and avarice, do reign in me : whilst I live obscure and in a private sort, these faults are not espied ; but if I were in place of rule, the same would soon appear and break forth." Macduff replying, "that these were no reasons to keep him back, for that marriage and time would quench lust ; and for avarice, when he should have abundance, and be out of fear of want, it would cease." "That," said he, "possibly may be, but I have an imperfection greater than these ; for I can trust no man, and have found such falsehood in the world, as I am jealous of every one, and upon the smallest suspicions (for I measure every man by myself) I break and alter all my courses." "Away, then," said Macduff, "I am unfortunate, and thou unworthy to reign ;" and with this word he made to depart. Then Malcolm taking him by the hand, said—"I do now know thou art a man worthy of trust, and will not refuse to undergo any hazard with you ; for as to those vices we have been talking of, I thank God none of them do reign in me, only I speak this to discover your mind and disposition." Thus both agreeing upon the enterprize, they gave private notice to

their friends of their coming ; and obtaining a supply of ten thousand men from King Edward, under the leading of Sibard Earl of Northumberland, Malcolm's grandfather by the mother, they entered into Scotland. The rumour of this army did cast Macbeth into a great terror, and not knowing what to do (for he was deserted of all), he shut up himself at first in the Castle of Dunsinnan, a fort that he had lately built. The army marching thither, how soon they came in sight, Macbeth, out of a new fear, forsook the fort, and made to fly by horse ; but being pursued by some of Malcolm's friends, he was overtaken and killed.

Upon this victory Malcolm was declared king, and crowned in Seone the twenty-fifth day of April 1057. Soon after his coronation, calling the Estates together at Forfar, he restored the children of those that Macbeth had forfeited ; and to correct the intemperances of the people, and to recall them unto the ancient frugality, made divers good statutes, repealing that beastly Act of Eugenius the Third, which appointed the first night of the new-married woman to appertain to the lord of the ground, and granting the husband liberty to redeem the same by payment of an half-mark of silver, which portion they call *marchetus mulierum*, and is as yet disposed by superiors in the charters they give to their vassals.¹

In this convention likewise, the bishops, who, as we shewed before, did indifferently administrate their functions in all places to which they came, had limits appointed to them for the exercise of their jurisdiction. To St Andrews was committed the oversight of Fife, Lothian, Merse, Stirlingshire, Angus, and Mearns. Glasgow had the charge given him of the west parts and Borders ; Galloway the county which beareth yet the name ; and Mortlach all that is now of the Diocese of Aberdeen. Besides these, the king did erect Moray and Caithness into bishoprics, appointing able men for the discharge of the service, and providing them with maintenance sufficient. To Gregorius, Bishop of St Andrews, and his successors, he gave the lordship of Monymusk, the superiority whereof belongs as yet to that see. The church

¹ [For an explanation of this supposed law of Eugenius, or Evenus, as he is more commonly called by ancient authors, see a Dissertation by Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 395.—E.]

of Dunfermline he built from the ground, and laid the foundation of the cathedral in Durham, advancing great sums to the perfection thereof. In all which he was much furthered by that blessed lady, Queen Margaret his wife.

That we may better know this lady, and how she came to be married unto Malcolm, I must relate a few things belonging to that purpose. Edmond, King of England, surnamed Ironside, being treacherously killed at Oxford, Canutus, a Dane, who reigned in a part of that kingdom, attained the absolute dominion of the whole. This Edmond left two sons, Edwin and Edward, whom Canutus, in the beginning, entertained very kindly, but afterwards seeking to establish the Crown in his own posterity, he sent them to Volgarus, the governor of Swain [Sweden], to be murdered. The governor pitying the state of these innocent youths, conveyed them secretly unto Solomon, king of Hungary, giving out to Canutus that they were made away. Edward (surviving Edwin his brother) married Agatha, sister to the Queen of Hungary, and daughter to the Emperor Henry the Second, by whom he had a son called Edgar, and two daughters, Margaret and Christian. After Canutus his death succeeded Harold his eldest son, whose reign was cruel and short, of four years only. And after him Hardicanutus, who died suddenly in the second year of his reign, and was the last of the Danes that ruled in England.

Upon his death, Edward, brother to Edmond Ironside, living then in Normandy, was recalled and crowned King of England at Winchester, in the year 1042. This is he that is called Edward the Confessor, a most pious king; who having no issue, sent to Hungary for his cousin Edward, and for his children. Edward soon after his coming died, so Edgar surnamed Atheling remained, to whom king Edward would willingly have resigned the Crown; but such was the modesty of that young prince, as he did absolutely refuse to reign during the king his life. That lost him the Crown, for upon the death of the king, Harold, son to Earl Goodwin, was preferred, and Prince Edward his right utterly misknown. But Harold his reign continued not long. William Duke of Normandy, commonly called the Conqueror, having killed him in a battle fought in Sussex the next year, usurped the kingdom to himself. Edgar, fearing the Con-

queror's cruelty, took sea with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christian, intending to return into Hungary, but were by tempest driven upon the coast of Scotland, where King Malcolm, who had learned by his own sufferances to compassionate the distresses of others, did most courteously receive them, and shortly after their coming took Margaret, the eldest sister of Edgar, to wife—a lady of great virtue, who, though she brought him little or no portion, made both him and his kingdom happy.

How soon the Norman had settled his dominion in England, he sent to King Malcolm to require Edgar his competitor and fugitive (as he termed him) to be rendered. Malcolm refused, holding it an unseemly deed in a king to deliver any person that took refuge with him, much more to betray a prince allied to himself unto his mortal enemy. Hereupon war was proclaimed, and one Roger, a nobleman of Normandy, sent to invade Northumberland, which was then in the possession of the Scots. Richard, Earl of Gloucester did second him with a greater power; but both these were put to the worse. Odon the Norman's brother, who of a bishop of Bayeux was made Earl of Kent, as likewise his own son Robert, whom he employed with several armies, did prosper no better; so as wearied of the wars, he began to think of peace, neither was Malcolm unwilling unto it. And after some treaty it was accorded, that King Malcolm should retain Cumberland with the same right that his predecessors did enjoy it; and that the subjects of each kingdom might know their limits, and how far they were to pass, a stone cross was erected in Stanmore, which was called the Ree Cross, that is, the Cross of Kings; for on the north side thereof the arms of the King of Scotland were graven, and, upon the south, the arms of the King of England.

This peace held firm all the Conqueror's time; but William, called Rufus, his son succeeding, it quickly dissolved; neither could it be otherwise, considering the contrary disposition of the two kings. For as Malcolm was religiously given, and a great benefactor to the Church, so Rufus in all his carriage manifested no affection that way; for, to enlarge his forest at Winchester, he demolished thirty churches, and forced Anselm, that good Bishop of Canterbury, to quit the king-

dom, for the liberty he used in his reprehensions. It was also thought that the interview of the two kings at Gloucester did farther their dislike, as hath been often observed to fall out in the meetings of princes. For Malcolm departing from him in displeasure, Rufus by some secret practice got the Castle of Alnwick, whereupon arose the war in which King Malcolm and Prince Edward his son did both perish.

A little before the beginning of this war, Bishop Gregorius died, and, in his place, one called Edmundus was elected, who deceased before his consecration.

12. After him Turgot, Prior of Durham, was chosen Bishop. He wrote the history of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret, who some few days after the death of the king her husband departed this life in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was buried in the church of Dunfermline; whither also the bodies of Malcolm, and Edward his son, were afterwards translated, for at first they were buried in Tinmouth Abbey.

Never was more lament made for the death of two princes than was for this Queen and her husband Malcolm. If we should speak of his piety, justice, and magnanimity, he outwent in all these the princes of his time; and for courage, he gave a noble proof of it in the first entry of his reign, when, upon a conspiracy detected against his life, riding one day in the fields, he called the chief conspirator, and taking him aside from the rest of the company unto a secret place, he did challenge him as a traitor, willing him, if he had any valour, to shew the same, and rather take his life in an honest manner than treacherously. The man confounded with the boldness of the king, fell upon his knees and entreated pardon; which the king granted, retaining him still in his service as before. The magnificence of his court whilst he lived was great; and in the State, to distinguish the degrees of honour, he introduced the titles of Earl, Baron, and Knight, in the place of Thane and Abthane, which were the titles before in use.

His Queen, Margaret, was, in her place, no less famous in all the virtues that became women—devout towards God, charitable to the poor, and exceeding liberal in the advancing of public works. The church of Carlisle she built upon her own charges, and was esteemed not to be the least cause of

all that the king her husband bestowed that way. By her the king had a fair issue, six sons and two daughters. The first, called Edward, died with his father at Alnwick; the second, called Edmond, did render himself religious; Etheldred, the third, deceased young; the other three, Edgar, Alexander, and David, reigned successively one after another, continuing all of them in the same course of goodness. The names of the two daughters were Maud and Mary. Maud entering into the cloister wherein Agatha, her grandmother, and Christian her aunt, lived retired, was with much difficulty won to descend into the world, and to be joined in marriage with Henry the First, King of England; a lady of incomparable virtues, and of so good a disposition, as she was commonly termed *Maud the good Queen*. Having lived seventeen years with her husband in great love, she deceased at Westminster the 1st of May 1118, and was buried on the right hand of Edward the Confessor his tomb, with this epitaph affixed—

“ Prospera non lætam fecere, nec aspera tristem :
Aspera risus ei, prospera terror erant.
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptræ superbam :
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.
Maii prima dies nostrorum nocte dierum
Raptam perpetuum fecit inire diem.”

The other sister, Mary, was married to Eustathe, Earl of Bologne, who went to the recovery of the Holy Land with that noble prince Godfrey his brother. She bare to him one only daughter, named Maud, who was afterwards matched to Stephen, King of England, and departed this life at London three years before her sister, having her corpse interred at Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark, with this inscription—

“ Nobilis hic tumultata jacet Comitissa Maria :
Artibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vigebat ;
Compatiens inibi, vivat in arce poli.”

Thus much we owed to the memory of those good and glorious princes. And now to return—Turgot, after he had governed the See of St Andrews with good commendation some twenty-five or twenty-six years, died in the year of our

Lord 1117. His corpse, according to his appointment, was honourably conveyed to Durham, and there interred.

In his time lived Veremundus, Archdeacon of St Andrews, a Spaniard by nation, and well learned according to those times. He wrote the history of Scotland, from the beginning of the kingdom unto the reign of Malcolm the Third, and is greatly commended for his diligence and fidelity in that work; but by the injury of time the same is lost.¹

In Germany, much about the same time, lived Marianus, Paternus, Ammichadus, Sigebertus, and Helias, all of them Scottishmen, and well respected. This last had the government of two monasteries in Colen, called St Pantaleon and St Martin. The severity and rigour that he used toward his monks brought him into dislike with Piligrinus, archbishop of the city, who upon some false informations determined to expulse him and all the Scottish monks that were in it, after his return from the emperor's court, where he was for the time. This being reported to Helias, he is said to have uttered these words—"Si Christus in nobis peregrinus est, nunquam v' us Coloniam veniet Piligrinus;" which falling out according to his prediction purchased to him the reputation of a prophet. After that he lived many years in peace, and died at Colen in the year 1042.

Sigebertus having governed the monastery of Fulden some years, was preferred to the archbishopric of Mentz, and being urged by Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand, to depose the married priests that would not separate from their wives, was in danger to be detrued by his clergy, and had much ado to cause that law of single life to be embraced by them.

Ammichadus, a man nobly born, and greatly affected to the solitary life, lived a recluse in the Abbey of Fulden, spending his time in the meditations of mortality, and died in the year 1043.

Paternus was a monk in the city of Podelbrum, which in the year 1053 was consumed with fire. "Ambiens Martirium," saith Marianus, in a foolish affectation of mar-

¹ [The existence of this historian is very doubtful, though referred to by Hector Boethius as his chief authority for early events. See Nicolson's Scottish Historical Library, page 71, edition 1702.—E.]

tyrdom, refusing to come forth of the monastery, he was therein burnt alive.

Marianus, he was first a monk in the monastery of St Martin at Colen, founded by Ebergerus, the archbishop of that city, for a seminary of Scottish students, in the year 976; and having continued there two years, went to the Abbey of Fulden, where he lived ten years. After that he went to Mentz upon the archbishop's visitation, and staid there some fifteen years. All this time he employed in the study of letters, especially of story and chronology, wherein he attained to such a perfection, as he was accounted the only chronologist in his days. The chronicle he wrote from the beginning of the world unto the year of Christ 1183, yet extant, doth testify no less. He died at Mentz in the year 1186, and was buried in the church of St Martin within the city. And thus much for the learned men of our country that lived in the time of Turgot.

13. Next after Turgot, Godricus succeeded in the See of Saint Andrews. This bishop did anoint King Edgar the son of Malcolm, in the year 1098, after the manner of other Christian princes; which rite had not been formerly used in the coronation of our kings, and (as they write) was obtained from Pope Urban the Second at the request of Queen Margaret: for the popes of Rome having as then advanced themselves above kings, did take on them the conferring of these ensigns of majesty to whom and where they pleased. This Edgar was a good king, and greatly beloved of all his subjects. The Abbey of Caoldingham, which in former times had been a sanctuary of virgins, he gave to the church of Durham; but upon the ungrate behaviour of Ranulph, bishop of that see, a man noted of much corruption, he recalled his gift, and erected the same into a priory.

Upon the death of Godricus, King Alexander, surnamed the Fierce, sent to Radolph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to have his advice for the promoting of some worthy person unto the place; and in his letters directed to that effect, complained of the Archbishop of York his encroaching upon the Church of Scotland, through the oversight of Lanfrank, Archbishop of Canterbury, that had given way to the consecration of some of the Bishops of Saint Andrews at York, whereas in old times they were not wont to receive conse-

eration but either from the pope himself, or from the Archbishop of Canterbury. He therefore desired his assistance in redressing that abuse, which he said he could not any longer tolerate. Now this Radolph was at the same time in question with Thurstan the elect of York for his consecration, to which by no means he would assent, unless Thurstan would make profession of obedience to the See of Canterbury. And about that was so much business made, that Radolph, though he was then both aged and sickly, did undertake a journey to Rome to debate his right. At his return, which was some four years after (so long did the See of Saint Andrews remain void), the king sent to him Peter, Prior of Dunfermline and one of his own gentlemen, to congratulate his safe return, and request that Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, a man well reported of, might be sent hither, for filling the place. Radolph knowing that Eadmerus had neither by himself, nor by any other indirect means moved the business, and so taking it to come of God, howsoever it grieved him that the church of Canterbury should lack the benefit of his service, gave his consent, and having obtained King Henry's licence (without whose knowledge he would not have him go into a strange country), sent him to Alexander with an ample recommendation, in substance this—"We give unto God (said he) everlasting thanks, for that it hath pleased Him to open the eyes of your mind, and make you know and seek that which you should; and to your Highness self we esteem ourselves greatly bound, because of your friendly and familiar usage: for albeit your desires tend to our hurt, and are not less grievous to us than if you should pull out our eyes or cut off our right hand, we cannot but commend your desire, and so far as we may in God obey the same. Therefore unwilling, and yet willing, we yield unto all your will: willing in so far as we perceive it is God's will, which we dare not withstand, nor will we in any thing willingly displease; yet unwilling, for that we are left alone, and deprived of his fellowship, who as a father ministered unto us consolation in time of grief, giving us sound advice in many perplexed cases, and was to us a most helpful brother in this our infirm and old age. If any other should have required him of us, we would no more have parted with him than with our own

heart ; but there is nothing which in God we can deny you. Thus we send unto you the person that you desired, and so free, as you may lay on him what charge you will, so as it be to the honour of God, and to the credit of the mother-church of Canterbury. Do therefore what you purpose wisely, and remit him unto us with diligence to be consecrated, because delay in that errand may breed impediments that we desire to eschew," &c.

Eadmerus bringing with him this commendatory letter, was the third day after his coming elected bishop by the king's licence, and with consent both of the clergy and laity ; but the next morning, whilst the king conferred with him apart touching his consecration, he began to magnify the church of Canterbury, and the authority it had over all the churches of Britain ; declaring that, by his leave, he would seek the episcopal benediction from that bishop, and not receive it at the hands of any other. Which offended the king greatly ; for by no means could he endure to hear of this church's subjection to the English. Thereupon the monks who had been trusted in the years preceding with the intromission of the rents, were charged to uplift the same, and to impede the elect his possession. Yet within a few days the king going on an expedition against some rebels in the country of Ross, by the intercession of noblemen it was agreed that Eadmerus should receive the ring out of the king's hand, and the crosier being laid upon the altar, he should take up the same, and that way be invested into the bishopric. In this sort was he entered to his charge, the clergy and people accepting him for their bishop.

Meanwhile Thurstan the Archbishop of York, who was then beyond the sea, ceased not to solicit King Henry of England by his letters to impede the consecration ; for which effect three several messages were sent to King Alexander. Eadmerus, upon the distaste the king had taken of him, was not much respected ; which he perceiving, and withal considering that the king being his unfriend, his service could not be very profitable to the church and kingdom, resolved to go unto Canterbury, and seek the advice of his brethren and friends in those parts. This signified to the king, he said that the bishop had nothing to do with Canterbury,

nor so long as he lived should any bishop of Scotland profess subjection to that see. Which being reported to the bishop, he replied in passion, "that not for the bishopric, nay not for all Scotland, would he deny himself to be a monk of Canterbury."

Falling thus more and more in the dislike of the king, and jars daily encreasing, he employed the Bishop of Glasgow to try the king his mind towards him; who told him that he found the king greatly displeased with his courses, and if he continued in the same mind, he was not to expect his favour. Hereupon Eadmerus resolving to depart, delivered back the ring which he had received from the king, and laid down his crosier upon the altar, with a protestation that he was forced thereunto, and so went away. The king did by his letter purge himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring that it was not his fault, but wilfulness on Eadmerus his part, which made him relinquish his charge. But the archbishop, a man of courteous nature, not willing farther to enquire of the reasons of Eadmerus his departure, passed over the business with a gentle answer to the king for that time. I find upon better advice, that Eadmerus made offer to return, and give the king satisfaction in all he required; but herein he was prevented by a new election, which the king had caused to be made.

15. For how soon it was advertised that Eadmerus had a purpose to return, the king for his own peace did think it most sure to have one of his subjects preferred to the place; and so recommending to the Chapter Robert, Prior of Seone, he with an uniform consent was chosen bishop, and stood elect two years, for before King Alexander his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1124, he was not consecrated. Then he received the benediction at the hands of Thurstan, bishop of York, with reservation of the privileges of both churches; which if the king had lived, would not have been permitted, for he was a prince that stood much upon his royalty, and would not endure at any hand the least eneroachment either upon his kingdom, or upon the Church. The abbeyes of Seone and St Columba were founded by this king. To the See of St Andrews he was a great benefactor, and gave the lands called *Cursus apri*—the

Boar's Chase; and was resolved to do more in that kind, if he had not been taken away by death.¹

But what may be thought lacking in him was abundantly supplied by his brother and successor King David, whose beneficence that way exceeded all others; for besides the repairing of those monasteries which were either by age become ruinous, or were defaced by injuries of war, he erected the bishoprics of Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and

¹ [The following is taken from the Register of St Andrews. "Omni-bus sanete matris ecclesie filiis, Robertus Dei gratia minister humilis ecclesie Sancti Andree, Salutem et episcopalem benedictionem. Sciant omnes, tam presentes quam absentes, nos dedisse et concessisse ecclesie Sancti Andree et Roberto Priori, abbatiam Insula de Lochlevin, cum omnibus ad eam pertinentibus, ad Canonicos regulares constituendum in ea; hoc est, cum Findahin, et omnibus suis appendiciis; et cum Portemuoek et suis appendiciis, et cum molendinis ad pontem; et cum uno molendino in terra Fundathin; et Chirtnes cum suis appendiciis omnibus; et cum dimidia villa de Ureechehem cum suis appendiciis; et villa ecclesiastica de Seonin et suis appendiciis; et cum viginti melis casei, ut uno porco de Markinge; et cum x melis et iiii melis de Breis; et uno porco de Etmor; et cum xx melis ordeï [hordei] de Balchristin; et cum viginti melis casei et uno porco de Bolgin filii Thorfini; et cum decimis de domo nostra de Insula; et cum decimis totius redditus que recepturi sumus ad eandem domum; et cum vestimentis ecclesiasticis que ipse *Cheldei* habuerunt; et cum hiis libris, id est; cum Pastoralis, Graduali, Missali, Origine Sententiis Abbatis Clare Vallensis tribus quaternionibus de Sacramentis, cum parte Bibliothecæ cum Lectionario, cum Actibus Apostolorum, Textu Evangeliorum, prosperotibus libris Solomonis Glossis de Canticis Canticorum, Interpretationibus Dictionum. Collectione Sententiarum, Expositione super Genesim, Exceptionibus Ecclesiasticarum Regularum. Hiis testibus, Gregorio Episcopo de Dunkelden, et Gulielmo Abbate de Sancta Cruce, et Thoraldo Archidiacono, et Matheo Archidiacono, Ajulfo Decano, Mag^o. Thoma, Mag^o. Herberto, Riccardo Capellano Episcopi."—Reg. Sti Andr. pp. 44, 45.

By *Origine* we are, most probably, to understand a copy or some part of the works of Origen. The next is a work doubtfully ascribed to the celebrated St Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. Its proper title is *Liber Sententiarum*. The title of the following has been, *Tres Quaterniones de Sacramentis*, i. e. Three Quires or Books concerning the Sacraments. Instead of *Prosperotibus libris Solomonis*, we ought certainly to read *Prospero, Trilus libris Solomonis*; that is, "with a copy of the works of Prosper" of Aquitain, one of the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century. The title of the book next mentioned has been *Interpretationes Dictionum*; but whether it was an explanation of terms used in Scripture, or a Dictionary of the Latin language, does not appear. The *Collectio Sententiarum* must have been an earlier work than the celebrated *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, who did not flourish till some years after the subversion of this priory.—Jamieson's History of Culdees, p. 377.—E.]

Dunblane, with the Abbeyes of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbottle, Halvudhouse, Kinlosse, Cambuskenneth, Dundrennan, and Holmceultram in Cumberland; he founded likewise two religious houses at Newcastle, one for the Benedictines, another for the White Monks; and for professed virgins two monasteries, one at Berwick and another at Carlisle, all which he provided with competent revenues.

Some of our writers have taxed this most worthy king for his immoderate profusion, as they call it, on these monasteries; and Hollinshed saith that his unmeasurable liberality towards the Church made his successors oppress their nobles at home, lay impositions upon the people, and do many other things prejudicial to the commonwealth, that they might have wherewith to maintain their royal estates. But herein he erreth greatly; for let an examination be taken of the behaviour of our kings in the ages succeeding, it will appear that their proceedings either with their own subjects at home, or with their enemies abroad, have been more justifiable than the doings of any of their neighbours; neither can it be shewed that any one of them did ever take those indirect courses which he mentioneth for penury or want. But it is easy to speak ill, and deprave the actions of the best princes.

It is true, that profuseness in any person, especially in a king, is not to be allowed, for that it bringeth a great mischief both to himself and his subjects; but the bestowing of six score thousand franks (that is the highest estimate they make of his donations) cannot be called an immoderate profusion. He was certainly a most wise king, and knew well his own work, and could proportion his gifts to his revenues. Neither was his liberality an hinderance to his successors in the doing of the like pious works. For Malcolm, who succeeded, did erect the Abbeyes of Couper in Angus, Sautrey in Lothian, and a religious house at Manwell for professed virgins. King William erected the Abbey of Aberbrothock, and his Queen Emergarda the Abbey of Balmerinoch. The like did the following kings in their own times, which shewed that he did not leave his successors destitute of means to support their royal estate. This farther will I boldly affirm, that if there be any profusion excusable in princes, it is this; for besides that these foundations are

the most lasting monuments to glorify their memories, they are the readiest helps which they shall find to supply their necessities at all occasions.

Now, whereas some have disapproved these donations because of the fruits that ensued, meaning the abuses that crept in by the corruption of the persons who did afterwards enjoy them ; if this reason should hold, the best of God's creatures, and the most pious institutions which ever were in the world, should be all condemned. For what is it that was ever put in the hands of men to use that hath not been corrupted ? And to cast the faults of men upon the things themselves, is a great iniquity.

But this superfluous enriching of monasteries whereof they speak came not by this mean. The foundations at first were moderate, and no way excessive ; but in after times, the prelates growing sluggish, and shaking off the care of preaching as a work not be seeming their dignity, they, to flatter the predicants, who had then all the sway among the popular, and to be recommended of them for charitable and devout prelates, gave away almost all their own churches, and impropriated them to abbeys, leaving a poor priest to do service in the parish : and of this did spring a world of evils, which since that time could never be remedied. This I thought needful to be said for vindicating the fame of that good king, who in all his actions, both private and public, lived beyond all censure ; so as it is truly said of him—"that the most learned wits who have gone about to frame the character of a good king, could never devise nor imagine such a one as he did express himself in the whole course of his life."

But to follow our purpose—Bishop Robert living under this king, and some six years after, did carry himself in all the parts of his charge commendably ; he founded the Priory of St Andrews, and obtained to the city the liberties of a burgh royal, placing therein one Mainard a Fleming to be provost, and departing this life in the year 1159, after he had sate bishop thirty-five years, was buried in the church of St Rule, the cathedral not being as yet built.

There flourished in this time two of our countrymen, Richardus de Sancto Victore, a canon regular of the order of St Augustine, and David a presbyter. This David lived

in Germany, and was chosen by the Emperor Henry the Fifth to accompany him in that expedition which he made into Italy against Pope Paschal; the story whereof he wrote, as likewise a Treatise *de Regno Scotorum*, both of which are perished.

Richardus was a professor of divinity at Paris in the Abbey of St Victor, a great philosopher, and left many books that witness his learning, the titles whereof you may read in Baleus. He died in the same abbey, and was buried with this epitaph—

Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus et arte,
 Pulvereo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, situ,
 Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica partu,
 Te fovet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
 Nil tibi Pareo ferox nocuit, quæ stamina parco
 Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu.
 Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,
 Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.
 Segnior ut lento sceleratas mors petit ades;
 Sic propere nimis it sub pia tecta gradu.

16. Bishop Robert deceasing, Walthemius, Abbot of Melrose, was earnestly entreated to accept the charge, but would not forsake the monastery, saying, “that he had washed his feet, and could not contaminate them again with the dust of earthly cares; whereupon Arnold, Abbot of Kelso, was elected, and in presence of King Malcolm the Fourth consecrated by William, bishop of Murray. This bishop had been the year preceding directed to Rome with one Nicolaus, the king’s secretary, to complain of the Archbishop of York his usurpation upon the Church of Scotland, and being then returned, carried himself as legate to the pope; which power he resigned to Arnold after his consecration, as he was enjoined by Eugenius the Third, who then held the chair.

In a convention of the Estates kept the same year, Arnold did earnestly insist with the king to make choice of a wife for assuring the royal succession, and to that effect made a long speech in the hearing of the Estates; but the king had taken a resolution to live single, and would not be diverted. Edward, bishop of Aberdeen, was much blamed for confirming him in that course, and for that cause hated of many. The Cathedral of St Andrews, a fair and stately

church whilst it stood, was founded by this Arnold; but before the work was raised to any height, he died, having sate bishop one year, ten months, and seventeen days only.

17. Upon Arnold his death, the king did recommend his chaplain Richard to the place, who was immediately elected by the convent, but not consecrated for the space of two years after, because of the Archbishop of York his pretensions. One Roger held at that time the See of York, a man ambitious beyond all measure, who, from being Archdeacon of Canterbury, was by the means of the Archbishop, Thomas Becket, preferred to that place. No sooner was he advanced, but he procured of Pope Anastatius the Fourth a bull, whereby he was designed Metropolitan of Scotland; but the king and the clergy (notwithstanding the pope's authority was in those days greatly respected) refused to acknowledge him. Anastasius dying, by whom the Archbishop Roger had been maintained, the Prelates of Scotland did convene, and by themselves performed the consecration. Roger, incensed herewith, sent to Rome, and complaining of this contempt, found the favour to be made Legate of Scotland; by virtue whereof, he caused cite all the Scottish clergy to appear before him at Norham in England, whither he came in great pomp.

Angelramus, Archdeacon of Glasgow, (accompanied with Walter, Prior of Kelso, Solomon, Dean of Glasgow, and some others of the clergy,) went and kept the diet, and in the name of the Church of Scotland appealing to the pope, took journey to Rome; where the business being debated before Pope Alexander the Third, sentence was given against Roger his pretended legation, and the Church of Scotland declared to be exempted from all spiritual jurisdiction, the apostolic see only excepted. This exemption Angelramus, who in the meantime was promoted to the See of Glasgow by the death of Bishop Herbert, and consecrated at Rome, brought back and presented to the king. The bull is yet extant, and begins thus:—

“ Alexander P. servus servorum Dei Malcolmo Regi,” &c.

A few days after the bishop's return, King Malcolm died at Jedburgh, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and twelfth of his reign; a sweet and meek prince, uncourteously used

by King Henry the Second, king of England, but more rudely by his own subjects. This Henry, by nature ambitious, and one that could not keep himself within bounds, took many ways to wrong this good king, and make him despised of his own people ; yet, for that he had sworn to King David, Malcolm's grandfather, that he should never molest him nor any of his posterity in the possession of the lands they held in England, and could not for shame go against his oath, he stirred up the bishop of York to place a bishop at Carlisle, thinking the king of Scots would not endure that wrong. John, bishop of Glasgow, under whose charge the country of Cumberland then was, did exceedingly offend with this ; and finding that the king would not break with Henry for so light a cause, nor seeing a way to repair himself, abandoned his charge, and went into the monastery of Tours in France, where he abode till he was forced by the pope's authority to return.

King Henry finding this injury dissembled, went afterwards more plainly to work ; for having desired Malcolm to come to London to do homage for the lands he held in England, he compelled him to follow him in the war he made upon France, thinking thereby to alienate the mind of the French king from the Scots. Again, when he had returned home, inviting him of new to a Parliament kept at York, upon a forged quarrel, as if he had crossed King Henry his affairs in France, he was declared to have lost all his lands in England. And not content to have wronged him in this sort, to stir up his own subjects against him, made the report go, that King Malcolm had voluntarily resigned all those lands. Which did so irritate the nobles, as presently after his return putting themselves in arms, they did besiege the town of Bertha,¹ where the king remained, and had not failed to use violence, but that by the intercession of some wise prelates matters were composed. The nobility being grieved to see the king so abused, did urge him to denounce war ; but he loving rather to have matters peaceably agreed, was content to accept Cumberland and Huntington, and suffer Northumberland to go to King Henry. This displeased the subjects, and

¹ Perth.

diminished much of the regard that was formerly carried to him ; which he took greatly to heart, and shortly after died, as was thought, of displeasure.

The good king being thus taken away, his brother William succeeded in the year 1165. The first thing he undertook, was the repetition of Northumberland ; for which ambassadors were sent to King Henry. His answer was, that he should have right done him at his coming to London, after he had performed his homage for the counties he held in England. King William taking journey thither with David his younger brother, found the king at his Easter in Windsor, where, insisting for the restitution of Northumberland, he had many good words given him, and promise made, that at the meeting of the Parliament a course should be taken to his content. In this hope he followed King Henry, going then in expedition to France, and staid there with him some months ; but when he perceived the king was not shortly to return unto England, and that he was fed only with fair promises, he took his leave and came home. Presently after his return, he sent an herald to denounce war, unless Northumberland were restored. King Henry being then engaged in the French wars, and not willing to make himself more business, was content to quit that part of Northumberland which King William, his great grandfather, had possessed. Yet suddenly forethinking what he had done, he stirred up underhand those that lived on the Borders to make incursions upon the Scots. This being complained, and no redress made, King William raised an army, and went into England, and at Alnwick, as he was taking the air, suspecting no enemy to be at hand, he was surprized by some English, and sent prisoner to King Henry in France, who put him in the Castle of Falaise in Normandy, where he was some months detained. A great disaster this was, and how grievous to the whole State, may appear by the articles condescended upon for obtaining his liberty, which were :—

1. That for his redemption there should be paid one hundred thousand pounds sterling money, the one half in hand, the other half after a short time ; and for assurance thereof, the counties of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland, be mortgaged to King Henry.

2. That the Scots should move no war against England for retention of these counties.

3. And, for the more security, the Castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling, should be delivered to the king of England, or unto such as he should appoint to receive the same.

Hollinshed setteth down other conditions besides these; as, that the King of Scots should acknowledge the king of England for his supreme lord; that the Prelates of Scotland and their successors should be subject to the Church of England; and that the lords and barons of Scotland should swear fealty to the king of England and his successors; which are mere forgeries, it being certain that the Scots, howsoever they loved their king, and for his liberty would not refuse to undergo very hard conditions, yet would never have renounced their liberties, maintained so long and with so much blood, and yielded themselves in any case to such a slavish subjection. Always the agreement, concluded in Normandy the eighth of December 1175, by Richard Bishop of St Andrews and divers noblemen sent thither to treat in that business, was in August thereafter confirmed at York by both kings, nearly all the bishops, abbots, and nobility of Scotland being present.

In January thereafter at a meeting at Norham, where King William was also in person, the king of England dealt earnestly to have the clergy of Scotland accept the Archbishop of York for their metropolitan; but they pretending the absence of many of their number, and the want of the inferior clergy's consent, deferred to give any answer at that time. The next year the same matter was renewed, and followed earnestly by a legate sent from the Pope, with commission to reform the abuses he should find in the churches both in England and Scotland. This legate called Hugo, and styled Cardinal de Sancto Angelo, having sent his apparitors with a citation to the Bishops of Scotland for their appearing before him on a certain day at Northampton, they went thither with a great number of their clergy. The assembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the cardinal (who had his seat somewhat higher than the rest,) made a long speech in commendation of humility and obedience, shewing what excellent virtues

these were, and how much to be desired of men of spiritual profession. Whereof when he had talked a while, he came in end to persuade the clergy of Scotland to submit themselves to the Primate of York; which he said was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their ease and commodity; for having no superior amongst themselves, nor metropolitan to decide controversies that possibly might happen, there could none be fitter than their neighbour the Archbishop of York, a prelate of great respect, and one whose credit in the Court of Rome might serve them to good use; therefore besought them to lay aside all grudges and emulations, and dispose themselves to live in all times after as members of one and the same Church.

The bishops who feared to offend the legate made no answer, and after a long silence, a young canon named Gilbert, rose up, and spake to this effect—"The Church of Scotland, ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdom, hath been a free and independent Church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our metropolitan, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will; for notwithstanding the present peace, which we wish may long continue, wars may break out betwixt the two kingdoms; and if it shall fall out so, neither shall he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely and without suspicion resort to him. For the controversies which you, my lord cardinal, say may arise amongst ourselves, we have learned and wise prelates who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious king, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so as we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us. And I cannot think that either his Holiness hath forgotten, or you, my lord, that are his legate, can be ignorant of the late exemption granted unto Malcolm our last king; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore, in the name of all the Scottish Church, we do humbly entreat the preservation of our ancient liberties, and that we be not brought under subjection to our enemies." These speeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in so passionate a manner,

that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the English themselves commending his courage and the affection he shewed unto his country. But the Archbishop of York, who looked not for such opposition, called the young canon to come unto him, and laying his hand upon his head, said, “*Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta,*” meaning that he was set on to speak by some others of greater note. So the legate, perceiving that the business would not work, and that the opposition was like to grow greater, brake up the assembly. After which the prelates returning home, were universally welcomed; but, above the rest, the canon Gilbert was in the mouths of all men, and judged worthy of a good preferment, and soon after was promoted to the Bishopric of Caithness, and made Chancellor of the kingdom.

The year following, one Vibianus, a cardinal, (*titulo sancti Stephani in monte Celio*) came into Scotland, in shew to reform abuses, and do some good to the Church, but in effect, to extort moneys from churchmen. For at this time it was grown to be an ordinary trick of the popes, when they stood in need of money, to send forth their legates unto all countries, sometimes under a colour of reforming abuses, sometimes for the recovering of the Holy Land, and sometimes upon other pretexts. This cardinal, having staid a while in Scotland, took his journey into Ireland, and in his return would needs make a new visit of this Church; for which effect, he convened the clergy at Edinburgh in the month of August, and established divers canons; which the clergy esteeming prejudicial to their liberties, did, incontinent after he was gone, revoke and disannul; but what these canons were, our writers do not remember.

18. It was a fatal year this to many of our churchmen, both bishops and abbots; amongst others Richard, bishop of St Andrews deceasing, King William recommended Hugo, one of his chaplains (whom he much favoured) to the convent. But they taking another course, made choice of the Archdeacon John Scot, who was an Englishman born. The king displeased therewith, did swear by the arm of St James (this was his ordinary oath) that, so long as he lived, Scot should never enjoy that place. So he sent a command unto the canons to make a new election, appointing Joceline, bishop

of Glasgow, their assistant ; and thus was Hugo his chaplain elected.

The archdeacon appealed to Rome, and going thither, complained of the wrong done unto the Church, entreating the pope for redress. Hereupon Alexius, Sub-dean of the Roman See, was dispatched to try and examine the cause. At first the king made difficulty to admit him, but afterwards yielding—the two elections being tried by the legate—sentence was given for the first ; and Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, with the rest of the clergy that assisted the second, excommunicated. This done, the legate called an assembly of the bishops, abbots, and whole clergy, at Halvudhouse, and made Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen, publicly to consecrate the archdeacon upon Trinity Sunday, 1178.

He not the less fearing the king's displeasure, left the realm and went to Rome, where he was honourably entertained by Pope Lucius the Third, who sent letters to the king, admonishing him not to usurp upon the Church, and to permit the bishop, who was lawfully elected and consecrated, to enjoy his place with quietness. This letter, the story saith, was conceived in mild terms, for the pope feared to incense the king, lest he should follow the ensample of his cousin Henry, king of England, that some eight years before had made away Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, for his obstinate and wilful opposition in some matters not unlike ; yet the king nothing moved with the letter, to make his displeasure the better known, did confiscate all the revenues pertaining to the See of St Andrews, and banished those whom he understood to favour the bishop's cause.

The pope advertised hereof, resolved to put the realm under interdiction. But the bishop, prostrating himself at his feet, besought him not to use any such rigour, saying, “ that he would much rather renounce his dignity, than have so many Christian souls for ought that concerned him defrauded of spiritual benefits.” The pope highly commending the goodness and patience of the bishop, held him from that time forth in more regard, and at his request forbore the interdiction. Meanwhile it happened that Walter, bishop of Dunkeld, departed this life ; whereupon the king

taking occasion sent to recal the bishop with offers of great kindness, protesting that if it had not been for the oath he rashly made, he would willingly have consented to his enjoying of the See of St Andrews; but seeing it did touch him in honour and conscience (as he esteemed) to be yielding thereto, he requested the bishop to accept the benefice of Dunkeld, which was then fallen void, and was in value not much inferior to the other.

This the bishop communicated to the pope, who desiring to have the matter quieted, advised him to return and accept the offer. Thus was the archdeacon, by the pope's consent, preferred to Dunkeld, having the rents of the archdeaconry reserved to him during his life, in recompence of his losses. Hugo this way coming to be possessed of St Andrews, took journey to Rome that he might be reconciled to the pope, and being absolved for his intrusion, in his return died some six miles from the city of Rome, the 6th of August 1188, ten years and ten months after his election.

At this time news were brought from the East, of the prevailing of Sultan Saladine of Egypt against the Christians in the Holy Land, which moved Philip the Second of France, and Henry, king of England, to undertake the recovery of the Holy Land, and to employ all their credit and means, as well in their own countries as with other Christian princes their neighbours, for the furtherance of that enterprise. To defray the charges of the voyage, both kings, by consent of their clergy and nobles, ordained that all their subjects, both clergy and laity, (such excepted as went in the voyage,) should pay the tenth of all their moveables either in gold or silver. King Henry having laid this imposition upon his subjects at home, sent Hugh Pesar, then bishop of Durham, with other commissioners, to collect the tenths of the clergy and laity in this kingdom, which the king and states interpreting to be an encroachment upon their liberties, would not permit; yet for advancing that holy action, they did offer a supply of five thousand marks sterling, which King Henry refused. But the enterprise, upon a quarrel that arose betwixt the kings of France and England, was at that time dashed, and so the collection was no farther urged.

King Henry, a little after this, ended his life, and Richard,

his son, who succeeded, resolving to pursue the action of the holy war, to assure the king of Scotland, who he feared would take some advantage of his absence, restored all the castles which were delivered to King Henry his father, and released him and his posterity of all covenants made and confirmed by charter unto King Henry, as extorted from him being then his prisoner, reserving only such rights to himself as had been, and were to be performed by Malcolm his brother to his ancestors kings of England. King William, to requite his kindness, gave unto Richard ten thousand marks sterling, and caused his brother David (to whom he resigned the earldom of Huntingdon,) go in company with him. There went under his charge five hundred gentlemen, who were all in their return cast away by a tempest at sea; only the earl himself, having his ship driven upon the coast of Egypt, was taken prisoner, and led to Alexandria, where being redeemed by some Venetians, he was brought to Constantinople, and freed by an English merchant in the city, that had known him in former times. From thence he returned safe unto his own country, the fourth year after his setting forth, to the great joy and contentment of the king his brother, who took him to be lost. The part where he arrived being, as Boethius writeth, before that time called Alecetum, had the name changed, and upon that occasion was called Dei Donum. But the opinion of Buchannan is more probable, that the town now called Dundee is a compound word of Dun and Tay. As ever this was, the town there situated received many privileges of King William at that time for his brother's happy arrival, which to this day they enjoy. Likewise, in memory thereof, was the abbey of Lindores founded for the Benedictine monks, and divers lands gifted thereto by the king and the earl his brother.

The king of England, after many distresses, being returned home, King William, to congratulate his safety, went into England, where he contracted a great sickness; the rumour whereof being dispersed, and his death much suspected, gave occasion to divers insolencies at home. Amongst others, Herald, earl of Orkney and Caithness, upon a malice conceived against the bishop of that country, (who, as he alleged, had impeded the grant of something he demanded of the king,) took him prisoner, put out his eyes, and cut

forth his tongue. This inhumanity the king at his return punished most severely ; for the earl being apprehended and brought to his trial, had his eyes in like sort pulled out, and was thereafter publicly strangled by the hands of the hangman ; all his male children being maimed, to extinguish his succession. His kinsmen and others, accounted accessors to the fact for not rescuing the bishop, were fined in great sums of money. This exemplary justice reported to Pope Innocent the Third, he sent unto the king by his legate Joannes Cardinalis de Monte Cœlio, a sword richly set with precious stones, a purple hat in form of a diadem, and a large bull of privileges, whereby the Church of Scotland was exempted from all ecclesiastical censures, the pope himself and his legate *à latere* only excepted. It was also declared, “ that it should not be lawful to any to excommunicate the king and his successors, nor yet to interdict the kingdom, but the pope or his legate ; and that no stranger should exercise any legation within the realm, except a cardinal, or such a one as the conclave did appoint.” This bull is yet extant, and beginneth thus—“ Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo filio in Christo, Gulielmo illustri Scotorum Regi ejusque successoribus.”

This cardinal, before his departing forth of the realm, kept a convocation of the clergy at Perth, in which all the priests were deposed who were found to have taken orders upon Sunday. The abbot of Dunfermline, called Robert, was removed from his place, (the cause whereof is not mentioned,) and one Patrick, sub-prior of Durham, appointed abbot in his stead. In this convention also it was decreed, “ that every Saturday from twelve of the clock should be kept as holyday, and that all people, at the sound of the bell, should address themselves to hear service, and abstain from all handywork until Monday morning.” After this meeting he took journey into Ireland, taking with him Radolph, abbot of Melrose, a man of good respect, whom he preferred to the bishopric of Down, which at his coming thither happened to fall void.

19. Bishop Hugo dying, Roger, son to the earl of Leicester, succeeded. He had been chancellor to the king, and at his election to the bishopric resigned the office to one of the king his chaplains ; for in those days the office of a chancellor

was not in that reputation to which afterwards it grew. In some old records I find at one time two officers of that kind, the one called *cancellarius regis*, the other *cancellarius regni*; but which of the two was in greatest dignity I know not, nor in what their charge did differ; only my conjecture is, that he who is now the writer of the great seal, and is called the director to the chancery, was then styled *cancellarius regis*.

But remitting this to others of greater skill, ten years this Roger stood elect, and was not consecrated before the year of God 1198, at which time Richard, bishop of Murray performed the ceremony: the reason of the delay is not mentioned by writers. Four years only he lived after his consecration, and died at Cambuskenneth the 9th day of July 1202. His corpse with much solemnity conveyed to St Andrews, was interred in the old church of St Rule.

20. William Malvoisin, bishop of Glasgow, a Frenchman born, was, after the death of Roger, by the king's recommendation, translated to St Andrews, a man of singular wisdom and courage. He lived a long time, (for he sate bishop after his translation thirty-five years), and governed the Church most happily. The rents alienated by his predecessors, or lost by their negligence, he recovered to his see; advanced the fabric of the church (which was then a-building) more than any that went before him; and suffered no man, of what quality soever he was, to usurp upon the church or the possessions of it.

Some years after his translation, King William died at Stirling, to the great regret of all men, especially those of the clergy, to whom he had been very beneficial. For besides the Abbey of Aberbrothock, which he founded to the memory of Thomas Becket, then generally held to be a martyr and saint, he gave divers lands to the see of Argyle, which had been in his time erected; and to the monasteries of Newbottle, Halyrudhouse, and Dunfermline, many rich gifts; as likewise for the Trinity monks at Aberdeen, an order lately invented, and then confirmed by Innocentius the Third, he made a competent provision. Never were the funerals of any of our kings performed with greater solemnity; all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom attending the corpse from Stirling to Aberbrothock, where he had

appointed his body to be buried. There they continued fourteen days, spending that time in the devotions accustomed; and before their parting, by a common consent ordained, that for a year thereafter no public plays or feasts should be made in any part of the kingdom: such a sorrow they shewed, notwithstanding he had reigned long, and died being of a great age, for it was the seventy-fourth of his age, and the forty-ninth of his reign, when he departed this life.

The funerals ended, his son, Alexander the Second, accompanied with all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom, went to Seone, and received the crown by the hands of the bishop of St Andrews. This king did no ways degenerate from the virtues of his predecessors, and was a great protector of the Church against the rapines and extortions of Rome. Guallo, others call him Waldo, a cardinal, sent legate into England by Pope Innocentius the Third to assist King John, who was then become his vassal, did put the kingdom of Scotland under interdiction, because the king had supplied the French in the invasion of England, and, as he pretended, robbed some churches and religious places in his return from that war. The churchmen ceasing by this occasion from their ordinary services, no religious exercise was performed by any through the whole realm, but the White monks, whose privilege did warrant them to celebrate at such times; which the legate hearing, did suspend, inhibiting them by one Westbeck, archdeacon of York, to do any service, under pain of the highest spiritual censures, till the rest of the clergy were absolved.

But King John dying, and Henry his son crowned, by mediation of certain prelates peace was made betwixt King Alexander and him upon the conditions following: That Joan, the sister of Henry, should be given in marriage to Alexander, king of Scots, and Margaret his sister to Hubert de Burgh, justiciar of England, the man who then ruled all affairs: That Berwick should be rendered to the Scots, and Carlisle to the English: The king of Scots absolved from the legate's censures, and his kingdom released from the interdiction. For performing the last article, the bishops of York and Salisbury, by whose means especially the peace was concluded, had commission given them by the legate, which presently they discharged. But Guallo being dis-

pleased that the interdict had passed so easily, (for he was a man extremely avaricious, and one who made his profit of every business), since he could not retract what was done, took him to the clergy, saying, that the absolution granted did not comprehend them, and thereupon did summon them to appear before him at Alnwick. The diet was kept, and thither went all the bishops, abbots, priors, and beneficed men, in great numbers; absolution was offered, but not without the payment of large sums, which were at first denied, but after some menacings that he should make them answer it at Rome, the most out of fear did transact. A few prelates only standing out, went afterwards to Rome to justify their cause.

With the inferior churchmen he took a course, in shew beneficial and for their ease, that some one or two should go with commission and absolve them in their own provinces at home, but it turned to their great molestation; for the prior of Durham, and Westbeck the archdeacon, who were employed in that business, beginning at Berwick, went through all the realm, and making the priests and canons convene at the principal city of the bounds, caused them to take oath that they should confess themselves, and answer truly unto every particular inquired of them; which done, and their several depositions taken, what by terrifying some with deprivation from their places for faults confessed by themselves, what by wearying others with the protraction they made from day to day, great sums were extorted from them, and the poor priests forced, notwithstanding all this oppression, to go barefooted to the door of the principal church where they were convened, and ask their absolution in a most base and abject form.

The clergy, offended herewith, sent Walter, bishop of Glasgow, Brice, bishop of Murray, and Adam, bishop of Caithness, to complain at Rome; where finding Pope Innocent dead, and Honorius the Third preferred in his room, they exhibited, in name of the Church of Scotland, a grievous complaint against Guallo, charging him to have been the especial cause of those miserable combustions which both the kingdoms had endured; to have abused his legation unto his private commodity; and to have extorted moneys from churchmen and others under colour of absolution.

Guallo brought to his answer, because he did not clear himself sufficiently in divers points, was declared not to have carried himself as became his Holiness' legate, and fined in a pecuniary mulct, so as he escaped, by dividing the spoil which he had made in those parts betwixt his master and himself. The bishops who preferred the complaint were, upon confession of their fault, absolved ; one of the cardinals, who stood by, scornfully commending their humility, and saying—*Quod piarum mentium esset crimen agnoscere, ubi nec culpa reperitur* ; that is, *that it was the part of devout men to acknowledge an offence, even where no fault was proved* ; and for some recompence of their pains, a confirmation was given them of the old privileges granted to the Church of Scotland by former popes. This privilege is dated at Rome in the year of Christ 1218, and in the second of Pope Honorius his pontificate.

Yet the next year Egidius, a Spaniard by nation, and by place a cardinal, was sent to gather contributions for the holy war ; wherein both the clergy and laity shewed themselves so forward, as in a short space great sums were collected ; all which he spent most prodigally in his return to Rome, giving out for an excuse that he was robbed by certain brigands in the way. And no sooner was this cardinal gone, than another followed, having the like commission. But the king, considering how prejudicial these contributions might prove to the kingdom, and that through the easy yieldings of the State, the see of Rome was grown impudent in their exactions, would not permit him to enter into the realm, till he had proponed the matter in council. At which time one of the bishops (his name is not expressed in the story) made a long speech against the rapine of those legates ; where, in recounting the insolent oppressions of Guallo, and the riotous profusion of Egidius, he urged many good reasons against his admission, or the receiving of any other who should afterwards happen to come about the like business. His speech was seconded with the applause of all that were present ; and an Act was made prohibiting the reception of the legate or any others without licence from the king.

The bishop of St Andrews being all this while in France, did now return, bringing with him some of the order of St Dominick, some Franciscans, Jacobins. and of the Monks

called *vallis umbrosæ*. These orders not being known before in this Church, by their crafty insinuations with people, and the profession they made in leading an austere life, did supplant the credit of the priests, drawing to themselves all the force and credit of the spiritual ministry, and were upheld by the popes, whose designs they studied especially to advance. The king, who looked no farther then the devout profession they made, gave them all a kind reception, and for the monks *vallis umbrosæ*, he erected a monastery in Pluscardy within the country of Murray. In the country of Ross, the lord Bisset founded Beaully for monks of the same order; and one Macculloch, a man of great wealth, did found the priory of Archatton in Lorne. About the same time did Ada or Adhama, grandmother to the king, found the Abbey of Haddington for consecrated virgins. The like was erected at North Berwick by Malcolm, earl of Fife, who also founded the abbey of Culross for the Cistercian monks. Dornagilla, the daughter of Allan, lord of Galloway, erected for the same order a monastery at New-Abbey; and by a rare example, Gilbert, earl of Strathern, having divided his inheritance in three parts, gave one-third thereof to the see of Dunblane, and another to the abbey of Inchaffray, reserving to himself and his heirs a third only of the whole. Shortly after, in the year 1227, died William Malvoisin at Inchmurtach, and, as he himself directed, was buried in the new church of St Andrews.

21. Galfrid, Bishop of Dunkeld, being earnestly desired both of the clergy and laity, the king would not permit his translation, so David Benham, chamberlain to the king, was elected, and on St Vincent's day in the year 1238, consecrated by William, bishop of Glasgow, Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, and Clement, bishop of Dunblane. This bishop kept a severe hand over the clergy, especially the monks and others that lived in religious orders; and calling an assembly by the king's consent at Perth in the year 1242, (where the king himself with divers of the nobility did assist,) made many good constitutions as well for reformation of abuses, as for the securing of clergymen in their possessions and rights. In his time fell out great troubles betwixt the Emperor Frederick the Second and Pope Gregory the Ninth;

for which a general council was called by the said Gregory at Rome, and thither were summoned all the bishops of Christendom. The pretext was, the relief of the Holy Land, which at that time was in great distress; but Frederick, apprehending the intention to be against himself, resolved to hinder the meeting of the council, and having belayed the ways, made the bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow prisoners, as they travelled through Germany. Upon their promise to return home, they were afterwards set at liberty; not the less they sent their procurations thither by some religious persons who took another way. But the council held not, because of the pope's death that intervened.

Some few years after this, King Alexander decessed at Kerrera in the West Isles; and, as he had appointed, was interred in the Abbey-Church of Melrose, with an inscription according to the rudeness of the time, yet such as shewed how greatly he was beloved of his subjects.

*Ecclesiae clypeus, pax plebis, dux miserorum,
Rex rectus, rigidus, sapiens, consultus, honestus,
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus,
Nominis istius ipse secundus erat.
Annis ter denis et quinis Rex fuit ipse.
Insula quæ Kerrera dicitur hunc rapuit.
Spiritus alta petit celestibus associatus,
Sed Melrossensis ossa sepulta tenet.*

His son, Alexander the Third, by Maria, the daughter of Sir Ingram de Cousey, (for his first wife died without children) succeeded, and was crowned of eight years old; at the age of ten years he was married to Margaret, the daughter of Henry the Third of England. The marriage being solemnized at York, and the bishop of St Andrews sent thither, with others of the nobility, to see all things duly performed, fell there into a fever, and departed this life on the 1st of May 1251. His corpse brought from thence, was buried in the Abbey-Church of Kelso, some thirteen years and three months after his consecration.

22. The prior and canons convening to elect a new bishop, did all give their voices to Robert Suteville, dean of Dunkeld, a man of great virtue and learning. But this election took no effect, Abel, archdean of St Andrews, by the favour of some that ruled the court, having procured an in-

hibition to the bishop to proceed in the consecration, with a mandate to the canons to make a new election. The Chapter refusing, made their appeal to Rome; and Abel posting thither, by the bribes he bestowed in that Court, got himself preferred, and was consecrated by Pope Innocentius the Fourth.

At his return, to be revenged of the prior and canons, he behaved himself well insolently, calling them in question for every light occasion, and censuring them with great rigour; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him that in a vain-glorious humour, as he was walking in his church one day, he did with a little chalk draw this line upon the gate of the church,

Hæc mihi sunt tria, Lex, Canon, Philosophia;

bragging of his knowledge and skill in these possessions; and that going to church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former, which said,

Te levant absque tria, Fraus, Favor, Vana sophia.

This did so gall him as taking bed he died within a few days, having sate bishop ten months and two days only.

23. After Abel's death Gamelinus was elected to govern the see, and by a warrant from Rome, was consecrated on St Stephen's day, in the year 1255. Two years he stood elect, his consecration being staid by the rulers of the court, who had sent also to Rome for cassing his election. A time this was (such as usually falleth out in the minority of princes) full of choppings and changes. Under the last king the Cumins had ruled all public business, for they were of great power, the earls of Monteith, Buchan, Athole, and Mar, being all of that name, besides thirty-two barons and knights. Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom for the time, inclining to their course, had legitimated a base sister of the king's, who was married to one Allan Dooroward, and for the same was put from his place, Gamelinus being preferred thereto; but he enjoyed the same a short space, for upon some discontents he was likewise thrust out, and Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, made chancellor. This made the court to oppose Gamelinus his election; not the less he prevailed by his gifts at Rome, and

procured a warrant to William, bishop of Glasgow, to proceed to his consecration.

The court highly displeased at this, there fell out another occasion which did greatly incense them against him. A knight, called Sir John Dinnure, for some oppressions committed upon the prior of St Andrews, was excommunicated; he complaining to the king, obtained by moyen a command to Gamelinus to absolve him, who simply refused, unless satisfaction was made for the offence; and because no redress was offered, a new intimation was made of his cursing through the whole province. This the king and the court took so ill, as forthwith a messenger was sent to charge the bishop to depart forth of the realm; which as he was preparing to obey, the news of a legate sent from Rome into England, made the court take a more moderate course, fearing the consequence of so rigorous a proceeding.

This legate, called Ottobon, being employed for pacifying the troubles raised betwixt the king of England and his barons, did summon the clergy of Scotland to appear before him by their commissioners, and to bring with them a collection of four marks for every parish within the realm, and six marks for every cathedral church. The clergy meaning themselves to the king, he did prohibit any such contribution, and sent his chancellor to the bishop of Dunkeld, and Robert, bishop of Dunblane, partly to declare the reasons of his prohibition, and partly to observe the proceedings of the legate with those of England. At their return some Acts were shewed which the legate had set down to be observed by the clergy; all which they rejected, saying—"That they would acknowledge no statutes but such as proceeded either from the pope or from a general council."

Ottobon was not well gone when another legate, named Rustandus, was sent to demand a tenth of all the church-rents within the kingdom, for advancing the journey of King Henry's sons, who had undertaken the holy war at the solicitation of Ottobon. But this seeming to cross the liberties granted by former popes unto the Church, and it being notorious that the pope was to employ the moneys to other ends—for he was then warring against Manfred, king of Naples and Sicily—the same was denied, and Rustandus prohibited to enter into the realm. The king not the less, in

token of his affection, sent to the pope a thousand marks sterling; and for the furtherance of the holy war did levy a thousand men, which he sent to Lewis, the French king—who had determined to adventure himself of new against the Infidels—under the charge of the earls of Athole and Carrick. All these died in that war, partly of the plague, as did Lewis himself, and partly by the sword of the enemy.

In this bishop's time the Carmelite Friars came into Scotland, and had a dwelling assigned them at Perth by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld. The Cross-Church of Peebles was at the same time built, and endowed by the king with large revenues. The reason why this church was erected, was a cross, as they write, found in that place enclosed in a little shrine, on which the name of Nicolaus, a bishop, was written. The church was dedicated with many pompous ceremonies, divers prelates being present, amongst whom was Gamelinus, who at his return home was taken with a palsy, and died in Inchmurtach, having sate bishop sixteen years. His corpse was laid in the new church of St Andrews, nigh to the high altar.

24. William Wishart, elect of Glasgow, was, upon the death of Gamelinus, preferred to St Andrews. Pope Urban the Fourth had not long before ordained, “that every bishop and abbot elect should travel to Rome for consecration;” but the papacy being then vacant by reason of a schism, that continued two years and nine months after the death of Clement the Fourth, he was unwilling to go thither; four other prelates being kept there depending at the same time, William, elect of Brechin, Matthew, elect of Ross, Nicoll, elect of Caithness, and Hugh Bentham, elect of Aberdeen.

The elect of Brechin died at Rome; Aberdeen and Ross were consecrated by Gregory the Tenth, upon the ending of the schism, at Viterbium; Nicoll was rejected, and the Chapter of Caithness appointed to make a new election. The agents that Wishart sent for licence to be consecrated were detained a long time, and had returned without effectuating their errand, if Edward the First of England, who coming from the Holy Land was then at Rome, had not by his intercession prevailed with the pope, and obtained licence for the consecration; which was performed at Scone in the year 1274, in the presence of the king and divers of his

nobles. At the same time William Fraser, dean of Glasgow, was preferred to be chancellor.

The pope, shortly after this, having convoked a council at Lyons, caused cite all the prelates thereto. To this effect a meeting of the clergy was kept at Perth, where it was concluded, that the bishops (Dunkeld and Murray only excepted) should address themselves to the journey, and be at Lyons before the first of May. Hopes were given of great reformation to be made in that council, especially of the orders of mendicants, who were mightily increased and grown to the highest pitch of depravation. The council was frequent, there being present (as my author saith) two patriarchs, fifteen cardinals, five hundred bishops, and a thousand other mitred prelates, besides the king of France, the emperor of Greece, and many other princes.

The first proposition was for the holy war; and concerning it the council decreed—"That a tenth of all the benefices in Christendom (the privileged churches not excepted) should be paid for six years; that all penitentiaries and confessors should urge offenders to assist that holy business with their wealth and riches; and that every Christian, without exception of sex, age, or quality, should pay a yearly penny during that space, under pain of excommunication."

For remedying abuses in the Church the council ordained—"1. That no procurations should be paid to bishops or archdeacons, unless they did visit the churches in their own persons. 2. That no churchman should possess more benefices than one, and should make his residence at the church which he retained. 3. That without the pope's licence no clergymen should answer the impositions which might happen to be laid upon them by princes or states. 4. That the mendicants should be reduced to four orders, the Minorites, the Predicants, Carmelites, and Hermits of St Augustine, who should continue in their present state until the pope should otherwise think good. And, 5. a general prohibition was made to devise or admit any new orders besides those which the council had allowed."

Some other Acts of less moment were passed, whereof the extract under the hands of the public notaries of the council was sent to this Church; but all these statutes turned in a short time to smoke; pluralities being of new dispensed

with, under the clause of *non obstante*, which then first came in use. The orders of the friars and monks were restored one by one; as first the Cistercian Monks, who redeemed their order by the payment of five hundred thousand marks; then the Bernardines with the sum of six hundred thousand crowns: the other orders made in like sort their composition, whereby it appeared that the statutes there enacted were only devised to raise sums of money, and not out of any purpose those Fathers had to redress abuses. The same year was one Bagimund, a legate, directed hither, who calling before him all the beneficed persons within the kingdom, caused them, upon their oath, give up the worth and value of their benefices, according to which they were taxed. The table (commonly called Bagiment's Roll) served for the present collection, and was a rule in after times for the prices taken of those that came to sue for benefices in the Court of Rome.

Wishart, not long after his return from this council, being employed by the king and state in a commission of the Borders, sickened at Marbottle in Teviotdale, and there died. He is commended to have been a man careful in his charge, and a great lover of peace, than which there is no virtue more required in a good churchman. He continued bishop five years and eight months only. His corpse was honourably conveyed from Marbottle, and interred in his own church nigh to the high altar, in the year 1279.¹

There lived in the kingdom at this time Michael Scot and Thomas Lermouth, men greatly admired, the first for his rare skill in the secrets of nature, the other for his predictions and foretelling of things to come. Picus Mirandula and Cornelius Agrippa do make honourable mention of Michael Scot in their writings, and accompt him to have been a subtle philosopher, and most expert in the mathematical sciences. The prophecies yet extant in *Scottish Rithmes* of the other, whereupon he was commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, may justly be admired, having foretold so many ages before the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other divers particulars, which the event hath ratified and made good. Boethius in his story

¹ [Marbottle, now Morebattle.—E.]

relateth his prediction of King Alexander's death, and that he did foretell the same to the earl of March the day before it fell out, saying—"That before the next day at noon such a tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt many years before." The next morning, the day being clear, and no change appearing in the air, the nobleman did challenge Thomas of his saying, calling him an impostor. He replied, "that noon was not yet passed." About which time a post came to advertise the earl of the king his sudden death. Then said Thomas—"This is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland." Whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come.

25. William Fraser, chancellor of the kingdom, was after Wishart elected bishop, and going to Rome was consecrated by Pope Nicolaus the Third, in the year 1280. The office of chancellarie, upon his resignation, was given by the king to Mr John Pebles, archdeacon of St Andrews. At his return from Rome, a pestilential fever (never before known in this kingdom) brake out, to the destruction of an infinite number of people. This visitation was scarce ceased, when all the king's children were taken away one after another. First David his youngest son died; then Alexander the prince, who had married a daughter of the earl of Flanders; after him Margaret, Queen of Norway, who left behind her one only daughter; and last, the king himself, who had taken to wife (after the death of his queen) Ioleta, daughter to the count of Dreux, in hope to restore his issue, was most unfortunately killed by the fall of his horse, a little space from the town of Kinghorn.

So many deaths falling out together in the royal family did presage great calamities to ensue. The only hope that remained was in the Norwegian maid, for whom Sir David Wemyss and Sir Michael Scot, two knights of Fife, were directed by the Estates. The administration of affairs was in the mean time committed to William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews, Duncan, earl of Fife, and John Cuning, earl of Buchan, for the countries on the north side of Forth; and to Robert, bishop of Glasgow, John, lord Cuning, and John, lord Stewart, for the south parts. But it was not long before those gentlemen that were sent to Norway

returned, bringing word that the Maid of Norway was likewise departed this life. At which news it cannot be told whether the fears or sorrows of the subjects were greater; for as their sorrow for the loss of so worthy a king was great, so their fear was no less, because of the uncertainty of the succession; for so many competitors (six they were in number) claiming the inheritance of the Crown, and all of them men of power and friendship, they could not but divide the realm, and so beget a civil war; yet they who were trusted during the interreign did by their mediation work them to a compromise, and to remit the decision of the controversy to King Edward the First of England, a prince of long experience, and much respected in that time. To this purpose the bishop of Brechin, with the abbot of Jedburgh and Galfred Mowbray, a gentleman, were sent to King Edward, who finding him at Xantoign in France, did expone to him the inconveniences that were feared to fall out in the kingdom, and the course they had taken to prevent the same, entreating his help for quieting the State.

King Edward, glad to have an hand in the making of a king in Scotland, dimitted them with many loving words, assigning a diet to the competitors at Norham upon Tweed, which he promised to keep. The day come, and the competitors all present, with the prelates and other nobles, the king, by a long and premeditated speech, declared—"That albeit he might justly claim the superiority of the kingdom of Scotland, as belonging to him by right, yet as a friend and arbiter elected by themselves, he would labour to compose the present controversy in the best sort he could. For the right, said he, howsoever there be divers pretenders, belongeth to one only; and for myself, I determine to wrong no man, but to do that which is just, assuring myself you will all acquiesce and take him for king who shall be pronounced so to be."

This said, Robert, bishop of Glasgow, arose, and gave the king most hearty thanks, in name of the rest, "for the good affection he bare to their country, and the pains he had taken to remove their debates; shewing that out of a persuasion they all had of his wisdom and equity, they were well pleased to submit to him, as sole arbiter, the judgment and decision of that weighty affair. But, where it had

pleased him to speak of a right of superiority over the kingdom, it was sufficiently known that Scotland, from the first foundation of the State, had been a free and independent kingdom, and not subject to any other power whatsoever. That their ancestors had valiantly defended themselves and their liberties against the Romans, Picts, Britons, Danes, Norishes, and all others who sought to usurp upon them. And howbeit," said he, "the present occasion hath bred some distraction of minds, all true-hearted Scotchmen will stand for the liberty of their country to the death; for they esteem their liberty more precious than their lives, and in that quarrel will neither separate nor divide. Wherefore, as he had professed in way of friendship, and as an arbiter elected by themselves to cognosce and decide the present controversy, they were all in most humble manner to entreat him that he would proceed to determine the question, which they and their posterities should remember with their best affections and services." King Edward, although he was not well pleased with the bishop's free speech, made no show thereof at the time, but continuing his purpose, desired the competitors to be called. They all being severally heard, the right was found to lie chiefly betwixt John Baliol and Robert Bruce, and the rest ordained to cease from their claim. Of Baliol and Bruce an oath was taken, that they would abide by the sentence which King Edward should pronounce. The like oath was taken by the prelates, nobles, and other commissioners of the State, who swore all to accept him for their king that should be tried to have the best right; and for the greater assurance, all their seals were appended to the compromise. Then Edward proceeding, made twelve of either kingdom, men learned in the laws, to be elected for examination of the right, declaring that he would take the opinions also of the best civilians in the universities of France. In this sort was the business carried in public; but privately, and amongst some few, the consultation was how to bring Scotland under his subjection.

Five years and some more were spent before the controversy was brought to an end. At last every one longing to have it concluded, the king returned to Berwick, and calling the twenty-four who had been named at the first meeting, he did enclose them within the church, commanding them to

debate the matter, and permitting none to have access unto them, he himself went in now and then to feel their minds; and perceiving the most part inclining to Bruce his right, he dealt first with him, promising to invest him in the kingdom, so as he would hold the same of the crown of England. Bruce answered that he was not so desirous of rule, as he would therefore prejudice the liberties of the country. The like offer he made to Baliol, who, being more greedy of a kingdom than careful of his honour, did yield thereunto, and so was crowned king at Seone; all the nobility, Bruce excepted, doing him homage.

Some days after his coronation he went to Newcastle to do the homage, as he had promised, to King Edward, as unto his sovereign lord. The nobles that accompanied him thither, fearing to withstand the two kings so far from home, did likewise swear subjection to King Edward; which as soon as the rest of the nobility and others of the State, who were tender of their country's liberty, understood, they grew highly displeased. They that were in Baliol's company were excused, as not daring to oppose the fact in that place; but he himself having done it upon a secret paction, which then began first to break out, he became so universally hated, as after that time he could never purchase their love. Nor was it long before he felt the smart of his own error, for being cited to answer before the Parliament of England upon a complaint exhibited against him, he appeared; and having desired to answer by procurator, the same was denied him, and he forced to descend to the ordinary place of pleading, and stand as a subject. This affront did so vex his mind, that from thenceforth he did meditate of nothing but revenge, whereof a good opportunity was offered him by the war which then burst forth between France and England.

The ambassadors of both these kings coming at one time into Scotland, (the French to seek the renewing of the ancient league, and the English to crave a supply of men to be sent unto King Edward, by virtue of the late allegiance sworn by Baliol,) the desire of England was utterly rejected as unjust; "because the allegiance sworn by their king was," as they said, "forced; and granting he had done it willingly, it was not in his power, without consent of the States, to do any such act. Therefore whatsoever was done by him that

way, both he and they did recall, renouncing Edward's friendship both for that and other wrongs committed by him." Thereupon it was concluded, that two ambassadors should be sent, one to France for renewing the league, and confirming it by a new alliance of Edward Baliol, the king's son, with the daughter of France, another to England, for defying King Edward and renouncing his allegiance. Towards France, William, bishop of St Andrews, Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld, Sir John Soulis, and Sir Ingram Umphraville, knights, were employed. The ambassador to England being declined by many, Henry, abbot of Aberbrothock, a man of great stomach, undertook and performed.

Upon this defection of Baliol, King Edward summoned him to appear at Newcastle; and upon his refusal entered into Scotland with a mighty army, took Berwick with the slaughter of seven thousand Scots, and had delivered into his hands the castles of Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. Baliol thus overthrown, was again by the persuasion of John Cumyn of Strathbogy, brought to submit himself, and swear fealty of new to King Edward. After which the Parliament of Scotland was called to meet at Berwick; and there did all the nobility that were present perform homage to the king of England. William Douglas, a man nobly born, and of great courage, alone refused, and was therefore cast into prison, where he died. This done, King Edward turned home, leaving John Warren, earl of Surrey and Sussex, Governor of the Kingdom, Hugh Cressingham Treasurer, and Ormsley Chief Justice.

The bishop of St Andrews, who was lately come from France, not enduring to see the country so thrall'd, returned thither, appointing Mr William Kingorne and Peter de Champagne, his chaplains, to supply his absence in all spiritual affairs; Robert, bishop of Glasgow, and Maurice, bishop of the Isles, were taken and sent prisoners to London. The rest of the churchmen, though permitted to attend their cures, were held under miserable bondage; whereupon they secretly despatched a message to the pope with William, archdeacon of Lothian, Baldred Bisset, and William Eglis-hame, willing them "to lament the oppressions of the Church, and the usurpation made upon the country, and to

intreat him, as the universal Father of Christendom, to use his authority with the king of England, over whom he had power, and take the matter to his own hearing, unto whose judgment they would simply submit themselves." Pope Boniface the Eighth, who then ruled that see, moved with their prayers sent immediately to Edward, and desired him to forbear any further proceedings against the Scots; alleging, with a strange impudence, the sovereignty of Scotland to belong unto the Church. The commissioners nothing pleased with the pope's claim, did notwithstanding forbear to take notice of it, lest they should make him also their enemy. To the same purpose did the pope write letters to Robert Winchelsey, then archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to deal with the king for setting the bishops of Glasgow and Isles at liberty, and the submitting of all controversies between him and the Scots to the judgment of the Apostolic See.

King Edward's answer to the pope's letter was, "That from all antiquity the direct and superior dominion of Scotland did appertain to the crown of England, even from Brutus till his own time. That it was never yet heard that the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the Church, nor did he think that the Scots would confess so much. And that if he should yield to his desire, he would unquiet his own kingdom, and draw upon himself the hatred of his subjects, which he knew his Holiness would not wish. Therefore prayed to hold him excused, and to be persuaded of his affection to the See Apostolic." He moved likewise his nobility, who were then met in Parliament at Lincoln, to write to the pope to the same effect. Albeit somewhat more roundly they told him, "That the king, their lord, ought not to undergo his judgment in matters of that kind, neither send his procurators about that business as he had been required, seeing that was to call in doubt their king's title, to the prejudice of his crown, the royal dignity, the liberties, customs, and laws of England, which by their oath they were bound to observe, and would defend with their lives. Nor would they permit the king, although he would, in any way to attempt the same. Wherefore they besought his Holiness to meddle no more in that matter." The pope, having his hands full otherwise at the time, did upon this dimit the Scottish commissioners, who had made

a long stay at Rome, with great promises of favour when he should see it to be convenient. The supplication directed to the pope is by some of our writers said to be sent after King Edward's second expedition into Scotland; but I rather think it was at the first.

Whilst these things were a-doing, William Wallace, a gentleman well descended, but of no great estate, began to show himself, and gathering (out of a desire to free his country from the subjection of England) a company of such as would adventure with him, effected things beyond all expectation; for he slew Sir Hugh Cressingham, who was left governor of the realm, recovered most of the strengths and castles, won again the town of Berwick, expelled the English clergy that had planted themselves in the kingdom, and, if he had not been hindered by his own countrymen, had made his victory absolute. King Edward being all that time in Flanders, and informed at his return to England of the distractions amongst the Scots themselves, fell of new upon them, and after a sore defeat given them at Falkirk, called a Parliament at St Andrews, where all the earls and barons did again swear obedience unto him, not one of any note (Wallace excepted) standing out in the whole kingdom.

And now did the State seem to be wholly ruined, for Edward intending to make sure his conquest, led away captive all that had the least ability to stir; and to extinguish (if it had been possible) the very memory of the nation, he abolished all the ancient laws of Scotland, traduced the ecclesiastical rites to the form of England, destroyed the antique monuments erected either by the Romans or by their own progenitors, burnt all the registers, with that famous library of Restennoth, (wherein, besides many other volumes, were reserved the books which King Fergus the Second brought with him from Rome,) removed the marble chair in which (as the vulgar believed) the fate of the kingdom did consist; and to be short, left nothing which might incite generous spirits to remember their former fortunes, or encourage them in any sort to virtue and worthiness.

The bishop of St Andrews, (who then remained at Ardeville in France,) upon the report of this pitiful vastation, did contract such a melancholy, as within a few days he died.

His body was interred at the Predicants' church at Paris, and his heart brought into Scotland, and entombed by Lamberton, his successor, in the wall of the church of St Andrews, nigh to the sepulchre of Gamelinus. He was a man careful of the Church, and sought by all means to better the estate thereof. At his first admission to the see he purchased the priory of May from the abbot of Reading in England, which he gave afterwards to the prior and canons; and had he fallen in peaceable times, would have performed many good works.

26. William Lamberton, parson of Campsey, and Chancellor of the church of Glasgow, was then preferred to the place. This man, after the bishop of Glasgow was sent prisoner to London, made his own peace with King Edward, and swore fealty unto him, which was the thing that wrought his advancement; yet the Culdees, who claimed a chief voice in the election of the bishop, withstood him mightily at the first. Before the abbey was founded these Culdees were the only electors of the bishop; afterwards being excluded by a bull of Pope Innocent the Second, the election was committed to the prior and canons, whereupon arose a great controversy amongst them, which, by the authority of good King David, was agreed in these terms, that so many of the Culdees as would become canons, and enter into the monastery, should have voice with them. But to elude this appointment, a mandate was procured from the pope to admit none into the convent without the advice of the prior and most part of the canons; by which means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived quite of all voice in the election. William Cumyn, their provost, supposing to get some advantage of the prior in this troublesome time, did strongly oppose Lamberton's election, and the matter by an appeal drawn to the Consistory of Rome, they both went thither to debate their rights. In the end Lamberton prevailed, and was consecrated by Pope Boniface in June 1293; and this turned so to the disgrace of the Culdees, as after this time we hear no more of them, the name and order being by little and little quite extinguished.

About the same time were the Templars, otherwise called the Red Friars, made away; an order instituted by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, some two hundred years before,

for the defence of that city, and the safe conveying of all such as travelled thither, by the pious liberality of princes and others well affected, They were in a short time greatly enriched, and for their wealth sore envied: some report, that degenerating from their first institution, they became execrably vicious. But Bocatius, Villanus, Antoninus, Nauclerus, Aventinus, and other authors do all purge them of the crimes laid to their charge. The rumour in that time went, that Philip, king of France, to get one of his sons made king of Jerusalem, and possessed with their revenues, did labour to have them and the order condemned; but others say that the pope (this was Clement the Fifth) was mightily offended with them for inveighing against the corruptions of his court and sinfulness of the clergy; which they maintained to be the only cause of all the miseries of Christendom, especially of the Holy Land. But howsoever their destruction was wrought, all authors testify that, notwithstanding the cruel torments which divers of that profession were put unto, none of the crimes laid to their charge could ever be made out against them.

Paulus Æmilius in his history writeth, that James Burpond, the principal of that order being brought forth to die, and whilst the fire was kindled before him, having his life offered, if he would publicly declare that what he had deposed in the time of his imprisonment, both of himself and of his whole order, was true, did utter these words: "In these my last actions, it being unpardonable impiety to lie, I freely and frankly confess that I committed a great offence, both against myself and my order, and that therein I have deserved a most tormenting punishment, because in favour of them for whom I should not, and allured with the sweetness of life, I have in my tortures slanderously imposed many impieties and detractions upon the order, which hath ever deserved well of the Christian world. I have now no need of life obtained by intreaty, much less retained by lying and defamation." This said, and he being set to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet to wring out from him a confession, even when the flames began to waste and fire his entrails, he never swerved from the constancy of his former speech, or shewed the least change and alteration of mind. With him two other of the

same order did suffer, (one of them being of a great family, and brother to the daulphin of Vienna,) who shewed the like constancy. "There be other authors of no small esteem," saith Plessis, "who report that two cardinals being present at their execution, the great master did summon Pope Clement before the tribunal of God, to answer for the wrongous judgment and sentence given against them; and that the pope died the same day to which he was cited, being the fortieth day after their execution." Partly by these testimonies, and partly by the clause inserted in the condemnatory bull of Pope Clement, in which it was said, "*Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus*;" that is, "albeit by way of right we cannot, yet out of the fulness of our power, we reprobate and condemn the said order;" by this, I say, it would appear that they were rigorously used. But howsoever all the kings of Christendom, as combining together, caused them at one instant to be apprehended within their dominions, and put from their estates, which afterwards were given to the hospitalers and knights of St John.

But to return to Lamberton; he stood not long in King Edward's favour, being suspected for the entertainment he gave to James Douglas, the son of William Douglas, who died in prison at Berwick. This gentleman, at the time of his father's death, was in Paris following his studies, and being advertised that his father was dead, and his estate given away to strangers, returned home; where finding no means to maintain himself, he took his recourse to the bishop, who, pitying the gentleman's estate, did accept him amongst his followers, and in the next expedition which King Edward made into Scotland, taking the gentleman with him to Stirling, did present him to the king, intreating that he might have his lands restored, and be admitted into his service. King Edward answered, "that he could not look for good service of him whose father had proved such an enemy; and that the lands were disposed to others who had merited better." So the gentleman, despairing to find any favour with the king, did wait still upon the bishop.

Afterwards hearing that Robert Bruce had taken the field, he stole away secretly, taking with him the bishop's

horses and money, and went to assist the Bruce. King Edward apprehending this to be done with the bishop's knowledge, did commit him to prison, where he remained till the death of King Edward, which happened in the year 1307.

King Robert Bruce was in this time crowned king, and by the troubles which Edward the Second found in the beginning of his reign, got leisure to settle himself in the kingdom; so as when King Edward returned, which was not till seven years after his father's death, to possess himself of the country, and came with a world of people, they are reckoned to be no fewer than two hundred thousand, they were encountered by King Robert at the river of Bannockburn, and wholly defeated. This victory did so much discourage the English, as after a long surcease of war, when some eight years after they attempted to repair themselves, they were forced with much dishonour to return, and become suiters to the pope to intercede for peace.

To this effect, a legate was sent into Scotland, who had audience given him at Aberbrothock. His proposition was, "that the Scots should desist from troubling England, till the pope should hear the questions that were amongst them, and be informed of the right which King Edward had to the crown of Scotland." King Robert answered, "that the pope could not be ignorant of the state of that business, the same having been often expounded by the commissioners of Scotland to divers of his predecessors, in the hearing of many cardinals then alive, who could relate, if they pleased, the insolent answers which Pope Boniface received, when he desired the English to forbear their cruel oppression of the Scots." "And now," saith he, "when it hath pleased God to give us the better by some victories, and that we have not only recovered our own, but are in a possibility to make them live as good neighbours, they have their recourse to such treaties, seeking only to gain time, that when they have settled their affairs, they may fall again upon us with the greater force; but in this his Holiness must excuse me, for I will not be so unwise as to let the advantage I have slip out of my hands."

The legate not satisfied with this answer, and interpreting it as a disobedience to the Apostolic See, did put the kingdom under interdiction, and so departed. But the

king, to shew how little he esteemed these proceedings, followed the legate at the heels, and entering into England, wasted all the adjacent countries with fire and sword. At his return from that expedition, an ambassage was sent to Rome for reconciling the kingdom, and a letter subscribed by the nobility and barons to the pope, the copy whereof I have thought good to insert. “*Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino Joanni, &c. filii sui humiles et devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Ranulphus Comes Moraviæ, dominus Manniæ, et dominus Wallis Annandiæ, Patricius Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Malisius Comes Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Lennox, Gulielmus Comes de Rosse, Magnus Comes Cathanen et Orcaden, et Gulielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senescallus Scotiæ, Gulielmus de Soulis Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus de Douglas, David de Brichen, David Grahame, Ingelrannus Umphravile, Johannes Montieth Custos Comitatus ejusdem, Alexander Fraser, Gilbertus de Haya constabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Marescallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro Panitarius Scotiæ, Johannes Grahame, David Lindsay, Patricius Grahame, Johannes de Fenton, Gulielmus de Abernethy, David de Weymis, Gulielmus de Montefixo, Fergusius de Androssen, Eustathius Maxwell, Gulielmus Ramsey, Alanus de Moravia, Donaldus Campbell, Johannes Cameron, Reginaldus Loquhoir, Alexander Seaton, Andreas Leslie, et Alexander de Straton, cæterique barones et liberè tenentes et tota communitas regni Scotiæ,*” &c.

Thereafter they said—“That Scotland being an ancient kingdom, governed by a continued succession of ninety-seven kings, and amongst the first that embraced the faith of Christ, living under the patronage of St Andrew, the brother of St Peter, and graced with many privileges by the popes, his predecessors, had always been free from usurpation of any stranger, before that Edward, the father of him who now reigneth in England, did in the time of the interreign, when the question was of a successor, labour by violence to establish the kingdom to himself; since which time they have endured many injuries, having their churches spoiled, their monasteries burnt, and their country intolerably oppressed, till of late it hath pleased God to stir up King Robert Bruce, who as another Joshua or Judas Maccabeus. had redeemed

them by his valour ; with whom they were resolved, in defence of their country, to spend their lives. And if he should forsake them, (which they knew he would not do,) so long as they were any of them in life, England should never bring them into subjection. Wherefore they besought his Holiness to make the English content themselves with the spacious bounds they possessed, in which there reigned sometime seven kings, and suffer the Scots quietly to enjoy that little piece of ground which their progenitors had long defended, and left free unto them." In end, they intreated " to be received again into his grace and favour, promising all dutiful obedience to him and to the See Apostolic." This was the tenor of the letter which the pope favourably accepted, and thereupon gave order that the English and Scots should both be warned to a certain diet for debating their rights. The diet come, and the English not appearing, the pope, after he had examined the case, and perused the rescripts of divers of his predecessors, released the interdiction which his legate had published, and declared the Scots to be reconciled to the Church.

The great discontentments which were then amongst the English for the government of affairs under Edward the Third, (who was then made king upon his father's resignation,) brought them to sue for peace ; which, after a short treaty, was concluded, and the peace confirmed by a match betwixt David, prince of Scotland, and Jane, sister to King Edward. The conditions of the peace were these :—" That King Edward should surrender by charter his title of sovereignty to the kingdom of Scotland ; restore whatsoever acts, deeds, and instruments, he had of homage and fealty done by the kings of Scotland or their nobility to any of his antecessors, especially those which Edward the First, his grandfather, had by force extorted ; and leave the kingdom of Scotland as free as it was at the death of King Alexander the Third : that the Scots should quit and renounce all the lands they held in England, and Stanmore be taken for the march both in Cumberland and in Northumberland : that no Englishman should enjoy lands in Scotland, unless he dwelt in the country ; and that in satisfaction of the lands possessed by some of them who would not remain in Scotland, the king of Scots should pay thirty thousand marks."

Peace thus made, and the marriage with great solemnity performed, (though the prince was then but seven years old,) King Robert waxing sickly, lived private (in a sort) until his death, which happened some two years after. He was a king of incomparable wisdom and valour, whose worth and virtue no pen can express.

Whilst this peace was treating, Lamberton departed this life, having continued bishop thirty years ; a prelate wise, active, and a great benefactor to the abbey, wherein for the most part he kept his residence. The buildings whereof now we only behold the ruins, were erected upon his charges. It is reported, that being asked by one of his servants on a night, “ why he did lay out so great sums for the monastery, and forget to build for himself ; ” he answered—“ that ere he died he hoped to build more than his successors should well maintain,” which he indeed performed ; for besides the repairing of his palace in St Andrews, he built at Monymaill, Torrey, Dairsey, Inchmurtach, Muchart, Ketins, Linton, Monymusk, and Stow in Tweeddale, houses of good receipt for himself and his successors. He finished the cathedral church, which had been many years a-building, and dedicated the same with great solemnity in the year 1318. He adorned the chapter-house with curious seats and cieling ; furnished the canons with precious vestments for the daily service ; stored their library with books ; and at the dedication of the church, procured of the king, who honoured the same with his presence, a yearly rent of a hundred marks, to be paid to the abbey forth of the exchequer ; which annuity was afterward redeemed by the donation of the church of Fordoun in Mearns. He himself, the same very day, gave unto the prior and convent the churches of Dairsey and Abercromby, as the donations yet extant do testify ; and dying at last in the prior’s chamber within the monastery, was buried in the new church on the north side of the high altar, in the year 1328.

The famous Doctor Joannes Duns, alias Scotus, lived in his time. He was born in the town of Duns, in the country of Merse, and being yet a child, after some taste he had got of the Latin tongue, by the persuasion of two Minorite friars, went to Oxford, studying logic in Merton College : then applying himself to scholastic divinity, grew to such a

perfection therein, as he was commonly called the Subtile Doctor, and was followed of a number, who, after his name, are called to this day Scotistæ. After he had professed a while at Oxford, he was called to read divinity in the University of Paris, and from thence went to Colen,¹ where he died of the apoplexy. They write, that after he was laid in grave, his spirit did return, and that striving to get forth, he was there smothered; whereupon an Italian did write this epigram:—

Quæcunque humani fuerant jurisque sacrati,
In dubium veniunt cuncta vocante Scoto.
Quid? quòd et in dubium illius sit vita vocata,
Morte illum simili ludificante strophâ;
Quum non antè virum vitâ jugulârit ademptâ,
Quàm vivus tumulo conditus ille foret.

The English writers contend that this Scotus was born in England, in Dunstane village, within the parish of Emildon, in the county of Northumberland; and confirm it by the manuscripts reserved in the library of Merton College, in one whereof are written these words:—"Explicit lectura subtilis doctoris in Universitate Oxoniensi, (super Libros Sententiarum,) Doctoris Joannis Duns, nati in villa de Emildon vocata Dunstane, contractè Duns, in comitatu Northumbriæ, pertinens ad domum scholasticorum de Merton Hall in Oxonia, et quondam dicta domus socii;" that is, "Thus ends the lecture of the subtile doctor in the University of Oxford, (upon the Book of Sentences,) Doctor John Duns, born in a village of Emildon called Dunstane, or by abbreviation Duns, in the county of Northumberland, pertaining to the house of scholars of Merton Hall in Oxford, and sometime one of the fellows of the said house." But this is no sufficient proof; for it may be probably supposed that he living at Oxford in England when the wars were so hot betwixt the two kingdoms, did dissemble his country, and pretend himself to be an English born, to eschew the hatred of the students. In Colen, where he might without danger shew of what country he was, he did profess himself a Scot, and the Minorites (of which order he was) did therefore upon his tomb, erected in their church, at the end

¹ [Cologne. See Biog. Diet. under Duns Scotus.—L.]

of the quire nigh unto the high altar, set this inscription, which is there yet to be seen :—

*Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.*

What a fine subtle wit he had, the monuments left by him to posterity do witness. He died young, in the year 1303.

27. The Chapter, after Lamberton's death, meeting for the election of a new bishop, went into factions, the one half giving their voices to Sir James Bane, archdeacon of St Andrews, the other half to Sir Alexander Kinninmouth, archdeacon of Lothian ; but Bane being then in the Court of Rome, and advertised of the bishop's death, obtained the bishopric of the pope, who in those times disposed all church livings as he thought good, having no regard to canonical elections.

This bishop lived four years only after his consecration, and died at Bruges in Flanders : for upon breach of the peace with England, and the coronation of Edward Baliol, when David with his queen went into France, he withdrew himself to the Low Countries. He was buried in the monastery of the Regular Canons within Bruges.

28. How soon Bane his death was made known, the convent meeting, elected William Bell, dean of Dunkeld. The pope refusing to confirm the election, the see remained void for the space of nine years and more. At last William Landells, provost of Kinkell, upon the recommendation of the kings of France and Scotland, was preferred and consecrated by Pope Benedict the Tenth, at Avignon, in the year 1341.

This prelate was nobly born, and the heir of great possessions in Scotland, of a generous mind, and given to all goodness. He lived bishop forty-four years, and in that time saw many alterations—King David Bruce peaceably repossessed in the kingdom—taken captive in the battle of Durham, (where he himself was made prisoner)—set again at liberty for the payment of one hundred thousand marks sterling ; to the help whereof he procured from the churchmen, with the consent of Pope Innocent the Sixth, the tenth of all ecclesiastical livings within the kingdom for the space of three years—and after King David his death, he

saw Robert Stewart, called Robert the Second, crowned king, to the fifteenth year of whose reign he attained, and then died in the abbey of St Andrews. His body was interred in the cathedral church, at the chancery door.

It was a custom before these times, that when any bishop deceased, all his moveable goods were seized on by the king's officers, as belonging to the king: this he got discharged, and liberty granted to all the prelates to dispose their goods by testament to whom they pleased; or if they should happen to die intestate, it was made lawful to their nearest kinsmen to call and pursue for the same. The benefit of this privilege he himself first enjoyed.

29. In his place the prior of St Andrews, called Stephen, a man of great experience and wisdom, was chosen bishop; who going towards Rome for confirmation, was taken prisoner at sea by the English, and died at Alnwick of sickness in the year 1385.

30. Walter Traill was then attending Pope Clement at Avignon, a man singularly learned, and well expert both in the civil and canon law. So great an opinion the pope had of his worth, as at his preferment he did say to those that stood by him—"This man deserveth better to be pope than bishop; the place is better provided than the person." Which proved true in effect, for when he came to govern the see, he administered all affairs most wisely. Nor had he the charge only of the church, but the whole affairs of the kingdom being cast upon him, he governed the same in such sort as the realm was never remembered to have been better and more peaceably ruled. Writers describe him to have been a man of courteous behaviour, affable, pitiful, and compassionate of those that were in any sort distressed, a hater of vice, and of most sincere conversation. He lived unto a great age, in much esteem, and died in the castle of St Andrews (built by himself) in the year 1401. His body was interred with great solemnity amongst his predecessors, with this inscription engraven upon his monument:—

Hic fuit Ecclesiæ Columna, Fenestra lucida,
Thuribulum aureum, Campana sonora.

31. After him was Thomas Stewart, son to King Robert the Second, (being then archdeacon of St Andrews,) elected

bishop ; but he affecting the retired life, refused to accept the place, which thereupon remained void the space of three years, (for the Chapter would not in his lifetime proceed to a new election) : the rents were in the meantime assigned by King Robert the Third, (with the convent's permission,) to Walter Danielston, in recompence of the castle of Dunbriton, which he enjoyed by a hereditary title, and did at that time resign unto the king.

32. Thomas Stewart deceasing, Gilbert Grinlaw, bishop of Aberdeen, and chancellor of the kingdom, was postulated bishop ; but Henry Wardlaw, precentor of Glasgow, being then at Avignon, was provided thereto by Pope Benedict the Thirteenth. There was at this time a fearful schism in the Church, of all that we read the most scandalous, and of longest continuance—two, and sometimes three, popes warring one against another, and condemning each other's ordinances—which did so divide the Christian world, and made such partakings as were pitiful. This schism, lasting twenty-nine years and more, was at last quenched in the Council of Constance, and Martin the Fifth chosen pope.

Scotland at that time lived in the obedience of Benedict, the abbot of Pontiniac was directed to intimate the election of the council, and had audience given him in a convocation of the clergy at Perth. Thither came also one Harding, a Minorite friar, sent by Benedict to solicit the Church's adherence to him against the decree of the council, who taking for his theme these words—"My son, do nothing without advisement, so shall it not repent thee after the deed," held a long discourse of the proceedings of the council, and the informality thereof, affirming that none was bound to obey and acknowledge the decrees. Mr John Fogo, a monk of the abbey of Melrose, replying to his oration, began his speech with that precept of the Apostle—"Withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately," and refuting all the Minorite's reasons brought against the council, concluded that whosoever did procure for Peter de Luna—this was Benedict's name before he was elected pope—was a very disturber of the Church's peace, and not to be countenanced in any sort. The clergy in end, disclaiming Benedict, promised obedience to Pope Martin, whom the council had elected.

By occasion of this schism the mouths of many were opened against the corrupt doctrine and manners of Rome. John Wickliffe, in England, John Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, in Bohemia, did openly preach against the tyranny of the pope, and the abuses introduced into the Church; and in this country one called James Rosby, an Englishman, *et de schola Wickliffi*, as the story speaketh, was brought in question for some points of doctrine which he taught, and condemned to the fire. He was charged by Mr Laurence Lindors with forty heretical opinions, whereof we have two only mentioned,—one, that “the pope was not Christ’s vicar,” the other, that “he was not to be esteemed pope if he was a man of wicked life.” For maintaining these two points he suffered in the year 1407. Some twenty-four years afterwards, Paul Craw, a Bohemian, came into Scotland, and for venting certain opinions touching the sacrament of the supper, the adoration of saints, and auricular confession, he was also condemned and burnt at St Andrews in the year 1432.

The death of these two martyrs lyeth heavy upon the memory of this bishop, who otherwise deserved well of the country and church; for in his time he laboured much to have the riotous forms crept in amongst all sorts of men repressed, and was himself most hospitable. They report of him, that the masters of his house complaining of the great numbers that resorted unto him for entertainment, and desiring that, for the ease of the servants, he would condescend to make a bill of household, that they might know who were to be served, he condescended; and when his secretary was called to set down the names of the household, being asked whom he would first name, he answered, “Fife and Angus,” (these are two large countries, containing millions of people;) his servants hearing this, gave over their purpose of retrenching his family, for they saw he would have no man refused that came to his house. The bridge at the mouth of Eden was his work. And besides, he was the first that opened the public schools at St Andrews, making divinity, laws, logic, and all other parts of philosophy to be there taught.

In the founding of this university he took his example from that of Paris, and obtained the pope’s confirmation

thereof, which in the year 1412 being brought from Rome by Alexander Ogilvy, Master of Arts, was received with solemn processions, fires of joy, sounding of bells, and all the tokens of gladness that could be expressed. Mr John Shevez, official, Mr William Stephen, afterwards bishop of Dunblane, and Sir John Lister, a canon of the abbey, were appointed to read divinity; Mr Laurence Lindores was ordained to read the canon law, and Mr Richard Cornwall, the civil; Mr John Gaw, Mr William Fowlis, and Mr William Crosier were chosen for philosophy; men worthy to be remembered for being the first instruments that were employed in this service, and the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance at all for their labours.

King James the First, at his return from England some twelve years after, did greatly advance this work by the encouragement he gave to studies; for not only did he countenance professors with his presence at their lectures, but also took order that none should be preferred to any benefice, unless it was testified by them that the person recommended had made a reasonable progress in learning; and for that effect kept a roll of the most qualified persons by him, for the filling of places that happened to fall void. This that good king esteemed to be the most sure and easy way for banishing ignorance forth of the Church, and ceased not to admonish the churchmen that were in places to live as they professed, and not to shame the bountifulness of princes by abusing their donations unto riot and luxury. Farther, to allure them by good example, he brought home the Carthusian monks, who were at that time greatly respected for their preciseness of living, and erected for them a beautiful monastery at Perth, bestowing large revenues upon the same. The bishop, surviving the king some seven years (for the king was treacherously murdered at Perth in the year 1437,) departed this life in the castle of St Andrews, the sixth day of April 1444, having governed that see thirty-five years, and was buried in the wall betwixt the choir and the chapel called Our Lady's Chapel.

33. James Kennedy, bishop of Dunkeld, and nephew to King James the First by his sister the countess of Angus, was after Wardlaw his death elected bishop by the prior

and canons. He himself was then at Florence with Pope Eugenius the Fourth, and had gone thither out of a desire to have the disorders crept in among churchmen redressed, hoping to be strengthened with greater authority from thence. But finding all things troubled in those parts, Eugenius keeping a council at Florence, whilst another was held at Basil, and each of them condemning the other as unlawful, he returned with a resolution to do the best he could at home by his own credit. Upon his translation to St Andrews he did put all things in such order as no man then living did remember to have seen the church in so good an estate; for, partly by his own ensample, partly by the strict observance of discipline, he induced them all to live as became men of their profession. And as he was to the clergy a pattern of virtue, so was he a great supporter of the king and kingdom by his wise and prudent counsel. For, in that insurrection of the earls of Dowglas and Crawford against King James the Second, when the king had determined to leave the country and fly into France, he found the means to disunite the rebels, and break their forces, restoring the king to his estate, and the kingdom to peace. And in the beginning of King James the Third his reign, when matters were very troubled, he did so carry all things by his prudence, as whilst he lived the public estate received no harm. Of what and how great worth he was, it appeared soon after his death, all things turning to confusion both in the Church and State. A monument of his piety and magnificent mind towards the advancement of letters is the college he erected in St Andrews, (now called St Salvator's College) which he built from the ground, provided with large revenues, and furnished with most costly ornaments. Thus having lived a great benefactor to the public, and in much glory, he died at St Andrews in the year 1466.¹

¹ {Mr Martine speaks highly of this bishop, and says (*Reliquæ Divi Andree*) that he furnished the college, “ad usum in saceris, calicibus, urceis vel annulis, phialis, pateris, pelvibus, cantharis ad lavaerium, candelabris, Salvatoris effigie duos prope cubitos longa, thuribulis, acereis, crucibus, aliis quoque vasibus ex argento auroque fabricatis; sacerdotum stolis, cappis, Dalmaticis tunicis, casulis (alias planetis, genus vestis in saceris hodie ab utraque parte concisa usurpatum, ante et retro, tantum producit usque ad talos) ex auro argentoque textili villosa bysso palmata undulata, campanis, tintinnabulisque multis dulces sonantibus, aureis bys-

Twenty-two years he sate bishop in this see, and was interred after his death in a sepulchre prepared by himself within the chapel of the same college.

34. Patrick Grahame, his nephew, (Buchanan calleth him his brother, saying that they were born of one and the same mother,) being bishop of Brechin for the time, a man of singular virtues, was chosen to succeed. The Boyds, who then ruled the Court, envying his preferment because of the variance betwixt the Kennedies and them, withstood his journey to Rome, where he was to get his confirmation; but he not staying upon the king's licence, which he saw without their favour could not be obtained, took his way thither, and at his coming was well accepted of Pope Paul the Second.

Whilst he abode there (for he stayed a long time, fearing to return so long as the Boyds were in credit) the old controversy of the archbishop of York his superiority over the Church of Scotland was renewed by George Nevill, archbishop of that see for the time. The matter drawn in dispute before Pope Sixtus the Fourth, (for Paul the Second was then dead) sentence was given for the Church of Scotland, whereby it was declared "a thing unfitting that an English prelate should be primate of Scotland, by reason of the wars that might possibly break forth betwixt the two kingdoms. And to the effect a primate should not be lack-

sinis tapetibus ad templi et publicarum aedium ornatum; et verbo, nihil intus, nihil extra quod magnum sumptum et apparatus conditoris prodiguitate et animi magnificentia non ostenderet.—His exinterate bodie, embalmed with spices, lies in the foresaid curious sepulchre he provided and built for himself, upon the north side of the high altar in St Salvador's church."—*Rel. Div. And.* pp. 233-4.

It must be to the same bishop that the two following notices bear a reference. The first is extracted from a copy of the Register of the Priory of St Andrews, in the possession of Lord Maule of Panmure:—"Anno d'ni. mccc lix, Jacob. K. Dei et ap'tice sede gra. eps. Sti Andr. int'uit mare apud Petynweme in festo S'ti Egidy abb'is, causa peregrinacionis ad s'em Joha'em de Aneas."

"Thar was ane richt gret herschipe maid in Fyff be thir personis, the Erll of Crawford, James of Livingstoun, that tyme keepar to the king, and capitane of Strivling, the Ogilbeis all, Robert Reach, the lard of Kadyoch, and uthir syndry. And this herschippe was made on sanct-androis land be the maist force. And incontinent after, Bischope James Kennedy cursed solempnitlie with myter and staf, buke and candill, continually a yer, and interdytit all the placis quhar thir personis war."—*Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II.*—E.]

ing from thenceforth in Scotland, the See of St Andrews, by the bull of Sixtus, was erected into an archbishopric, and the rest of the bishops of Scotland, twelve in number, ordained all to be subject unto that see." Farther, the pope, for the bishop's more gracing, did appoint him his legate for the space of three years, with commission to reform all abuses in the Church, and to correct the dissoluteness of the clergy.

How soon the bishop was advertised of the alteration at court, and that the king was begun to govern of himself, he made haste to return, sending before him the bulls of primacy and legation to be published, thinking the same should have purchased to him a greater respect. But he found himself deceived; for upon the publication, made at Edinburgh in September 1472, the bishops out of spite and emulation because of the primacy, the inferior clergy fearing his rigour in executing the legation, and the courtiers, who made sale of all the church dignities, apprehending that the same would be reformed, combined all against him, and went to the king, informing that he had accepted a legation from the pope without his licence, which was prohibited by the laws of the kingdom, and might prove hurtful to the king, and that in contempt of his majesty he had gone to Rome without once asking him licence.

The king possessed with these informations did inhibit the bishop, how soon he landed, to exerce any part of his legation till the king should try the complaints preferred against him, assigning the first of November for his appearance. At the day he exhibited his bulls, and shewed the power he had to reform abuses in the ecclesiastical state, intreating the king not to impede him in the execution of his charge; but his adversaries having corrupted some of the king's officers, and given (as it was said) the sum of eleven thousand marks in hand, his petition was not regarded. His accusers, to colour their proceedings the better, made an appeal to the pope, offering to qualify before him the invalidity of the bulls which he had purchased. So he was dimitted with express charge not to use the title and dignity of an archbishop, nor to attempt anything but that which the bishops, his predecessors, had been accustomed to do by virtue of their places, until the decision of the controversy.

A while after a fresh and bitter enemy was raised against him. William Shevez, a young man of a quick and active spirit, having studied some years at Louvain under John Spernick (who was famous in those days for his knowledge in the studies of physic and astrology), did insinuate himself in the favour of the court, which then was madly given to all sorts of divination; and the archdeaconry of St Andrews falling void in the middle time, procured the king's recommendation to the bishop for the same.

The bishop took exception at his studies, and in end gave him an absolute denial, as being insufficient for the charge, and otherwise not trained up in the knowledge of divinity. Shevez taking to heart this disgrace (for so he did accompt it), combined with one Locky, rector at that time of the university, and a professed enemy to the bishop. These two conspired against him, and Locky, who pretended he was the bishop's equal in jurisdiction, forging a quarrel, denounced him excommunicate; but the bishop contemning the sentence of his inferior, carried himself both at home and abroad as he was wont, whereupon his enemies (as the custom is, when Church censures are despised) did implore the king's assistance. Who, being made to their effect, discharged the bishop from coming into any sacred place, declared his goods confiscate, and sequestering all his servants, did appoint to him other attendants.

The rest of the bishops, to witness their gratitude, did present the king with a sum of money, which they had collected (with grudge enough) amongst the inferior priests. Not the less, shortly after, by the intercession of friends, and the advancing of moneys to the rulers of the court, the bishop was taken into favour, who then thinking all his troubles to be overpast, withdrew himself to his house of Monymaill; where he was scarce well settled, when the bankers of Rome, stirred up by his adversaries, charged him with payment of the moneys, wherein he stood obliged, for his bull of privileges. He, not being able to give satisfaction (for the most of his rents had been taken up yearly by the king's factors, and what he could purchase from his friends was all bestowed at his late reconciliation amongst courtiers), was of new accursed, his person arrested, his

rents lifted by the king's officers, and a guard appointed to attend him in his own castle at St Andrews.

In this miserable condition, not knowing what to do, he fell into some trouble of mind, and was thereupon committed to the custody of Shevez his mortal enemy, who was declared his coadjutor, by reason of his distraction; yet the malice of his adversaries, not satisfied herewith, at Rome they accused him of heresy, schism, simony, and a number of other scandalous crimes, the trial whereof was commended to one Husman, the pope's inquisitor, and to Shevez.

Divers light and ridiculous accusations were brought against him, and amongst other points, he was charged to have said three masses in one day; whereas in those times it was difficile to find a bishop that in three months did say one mass. Yet the process going on, witnesses were brought, who verified the accusations; and his enemy sitting judge, he was sentenced as guilty of schism, simony, heresy, and other crimes, and thereupon decerned to have lost his dignity, and condemned to perpetual prison.

35. The sentence pronounced, Shevez posted to Rome, got the sentence approved, and was himself provided to the archbishopric. All these crosses this innocent bishop sustained most patiently; which his adversaries perceiving, they procured him to be put in close prison within the isle of Incheolme, where he had four keepers watching him that he should not escape. War afterwards breaking out with England, from a fear that the English navy (which was then at sea) might fall upon the isle, he was transported to Dunfermline, and from thence to the castle of Lochleven, where at last he died. This end had that worthy man, in virtue and learning inferior to none of his time, oppressed by the malice and calumnies of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared a reformation of their wicked abuses by his means. The title rather than the prelacy itself he enjoyed thirteen years, and was buried in St Servanus' Isle, within the chapel of Lochleven.

All things went now in the Church daily from ill to worse; for those who did affect a reformation, and lived in some hope thereof, beholding the course of things, betook themselves to a private life. At court, benefices were sold or

bestowed as rewards upon flatterers and the ministers of unlawful pleasures; and in the Church canonical elections, especially in the monasteries, were quite abrogated. The king presenting abbots and priors unto the pope, none were refused that came with his recommendation. Thus was Alexander Thomison, abbot of Dunfermline (canonically elected by the monks some years before), extruded from his place, and Henry Chrichton, then abbot of Paisley, surrogated in his stead by the pope, at the king's intercession. Likewise Robert Shaw of Minto was in the same manner preferred into Paisley, the consent of the convent not once required. Hence, the monasteries, which were founded for pious and charitable uses, came by little and little into the hands of secular men, who having had their education in the court, brought with them from thence the manners thereof, shaking off all care of discipline, and neglecting the duties of hospitality. This begat great offences, and made the foundations themselves abhorred; partly for the dissoluteness of those that lived in the places, and partly because men saw them inverted to other and contrary uses than the first founders had appointed. Neither were the monasteries only corrupted, but the whole ecclesiastical state became also infected, ignorance and impiety every where prevailing; till in end the laity putting their hands to the work, made that violent and disordered reformation whereof in the next Book we shall hear.

But to return to Shevez; he receiving the pall from the pope in sign of his archiepiscopal dignity, was publicly invested therewith in the church of Halyrudhouse, in the year 1478, the king and divers of the nobility being there present. How he governed the see I find not, but his entry being such as we have seen, did not promise much good. I read in some writers, that he was induced by the king and the duke of Albany, to dimit his place in the favours of Mr Andrew Stewart, provost of Lincluden (the king's uncle), and to content himself with the bishopric of Murray, whereunto the said Mr Andrew was provided; but it seemeth this change took not effect, for both the one and the other possessed their own benefices until their deaths.

Some years before Shevez his death there arose a con-

troversy betwixt him and Robert Blacater, archbishop of Glasgow, concerning their jurisdictions. For Blacater had obtained of Pope Alexander the Sixth the erection of the See of Glasgow into an archbishopric, and thereunto were the bishops of Galloway, Argyle, and Isles, ordained to be subject. Shevez refusing to acknowledge him for an archbishop, both the clergy and noblemen went into factions, some taking part with the one, and some with the other. But this dissension was soon appeased, howbeit with the grudge of both parties, and Glasgow declared to be a metropolitan church, the honour of precedency reserved always to St Andrews.

Now whilst the prelates were contending for pre-eminence, certain articles were dispersed in the countries of Kyle and Cunningham against the doctrine taught in the Church, which stirred up divers to examine the truth of the religion then professed.

The articles were these—

1. That images ought not to be made, nor worshipped.
2. That the relics of saints ought not to be adored.
3. That it is not lawful to fight for the faith.
4. That Christ gave the power of binding and loosing to Peter only, and not to his successors.
5. That Christ ordained no priests to consecrate.
6. That after the consecration in the mass there remaineth bread, and that the natural body of Christ is not there.
7. That tithes ought not to be paid to ecclesiastical persons.
8. That Christ at his coming did abrogate the power of secular princes.
9. That every faithful man and woman is a priest.
10. That the unction of kings ceased at the coming of Christ.
11. That the pope is not the successor of Peter, except in that which our Saviour spake to him, when he said—
“Go behind me, satan.”
12. That the pope deceiveth the people with his bulls and indulgences.
13. That the mass profiteth not the souls that are in purgatory.

14. That the bishop's blessing is of no value.

15. That indulgences should not be granted to fight against the Saracens.

16. That the pope exalts himself above God, and against God.

17. That the pope cannot remit the pains of purgatory.

18. That the excommunication of the Church is not to be feared.

19. That in no case it is lawful to swear.

20. That priests may have wives according to the ordinance of the old law, and that true Christians receive the body of Christ every day.

The maintainers of these articles were by an opprobrious title called Lollards; but whether or not they did hold all those opinions may well be doubted, seeing we have them only from the report of adversaries, whose chief study was to make them and their doctrine odious; and granting that they held the same, we are not to wonder that in the first breaking up of the light, men saw not the truth in every point, considering the darkness and gross ignorance of preceding times.

For dispersing these articles, some thirty persons were cited before the council, of whom the principals were, George Campbell of Sesnock, Adam Read of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilus, and Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet. The archbishop of Glasgow laying these things to their charge, they answered all with such confidence, as it was thought safest to dimit them, with an admonition to take heed of new doctrines, and content themselves with the faith of the Church. Of Shevez I find nothing said all this time, only that he departed this life at St Andrews in the year 1496, and was buried in the cathedral church, before the high altar.

36. James Stewart, brother to King James the Fourth, was provided after Shevez to the see, being yet very young, and lived but a short space; for he died at St Andrews in the year 1503. His body was interred in the cathedral church amongst the bishops his predecessors. In an old charter produced by one of the vassals, I have seen him thus styled—"Jacobus Sancti Andreæ archiepiscopus, dux Rossie, marchio de Ormond, comes de Ardmannach, domi-

nus de Brichen et Never, commendatorius perpetuus monasterii de Dunfermline, ac regni Scotiæ cancellarius." The charter is dated in this manner—"apud ecclesiam nostram metropolitanam Sancti Andreæ, 17^o die mensis Februarii, anno Domini 1502, et nostrarum administrationum quinto."

37. To him succeeded Alexander Stewart, base son to King James the Fourth, a youth of great hopes. He died with his father in the unfortunate battle of Flodden, anno 1513, and was much lamented by Erasmus Roterodamus, under whom he had studied some years. I find him styled chancellor of the kingdom in one of the vassal's charters, which is dated in the year 1512.

38. Three strong competitors fell then at strife for the place, Gawane Dowglas, bishop of Dunkeld, John Hepburn, prior of St Andrews, and Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray. Gawane Dowglas was nobly born, (for he was brother to the earl of Angus), and greatly esteemed for his virtue and learning. He, upon the queen's presentation, (who at that time governed all public affairs,) possessed himself with the castle of St Andrews. Hepburn, a factious man and of great power, procured the canons to elect him, and under this colour expelled Dowglas his servants, fortifying the house with a garrison of soldiers. Forman was provided by the gift of Pope Julius the Second, and made *legatus à latere*, for, by his many employments in France and at the Court of Rome, he had gained to himself much credit. But the power of Hepburn was such as for a while no man could be found to publish Forman's bulls. Alexander, Lord Home (who some write was Forman's uncle) was at last moved by the dimission of Coldingham in favour of his brother David, to take his part, and coming to Edinburgh, proclaimed the pope's gift and Forman's legation with great solemnity.

This act divided the Homes and the Hepburns, who after that time were never in sound friendship. Dowglas, not willing to be seen more in that contention, did quit his interest, leaving the quarrel to the other two, who did pursue it hotly. Hepburn posting to Rome, laboured to have his election confirmed, but prevailed not. Forman, because of his legation, was followed of the churchmen for the most part, and acknowledged by all the vassals of the see; yet the jarring still continued until the duke of Albany his com-

ing into the country, who, at his acceptance of the regency, brought them to a submission, and pacified all these strifes, distributing the benefices in this manner. To Forman he left the archbishopric of St Andrews and abbacy of Dunfermline, which was given him by the pope *in commendam*. The abbacy of Aberbrothock, which Forman likewise possessed, he gave to James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor for the time. The prior, John Hepburn, was contented with a pension of three thousand crowns, which Forman was ordained to pay him during life; and upon his brother, Mr James Hepburn, was the bishopric of Murray bestowed. Alexander Gordon, cousin to the earl of Huntly, was made bishop of Aberdeen; James Ogilvy, a brother of the house of Ogilvy, abbot of Dryburgh; and George Dundas, of the house of Dundas, commendator of the preceptory of Torphichen. This partition did satisfy them all, and so they were fully reconciled. Some few years after, Forman died at Dunfermline, where he was also buried. A plain and open man, but said to be too profuse. Besides the benefices he possessed in Scotland, he was archbishop of Bourges in France, by the gift of King Lewis the Twelfth, which did greatly increase his means.

39. Upon the death of Forman, James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, and chancellor of the kingdom, was translated to St Andrews. Mr Gawane Dumbar, to whose instruction the young king was committed, was preferred to his place. The troubles of the time were great, because of the minority of the king; and therein this bishop had not the least part, being chased from the court and from his own dwellings, glad to lurk and shift himself a long time from place to place amongst friends, to eschew the violence of the Dowglasses, who had settled themselves about the king, and swayed all affairs at their pleasures. But it was not long ere he made even with them; the queen-mother, who had taken the earl of Angus to her husband, falling into dislike of him, and pursuing a divorce in the bishop's court, which she easily obtained: thereupon followed the young king his escape from the Dowglasses, and their exile in England, at which time the bishop was reponed to his office and place. Seventeen years he lived bishop of this see, and was herein most unfortunate, that under the shadow of his

authority many good men were put to death for the cause of religion, though he himself was neither violently set nor much solicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church.

The first that was called in question was Mr Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Fern, a man nobly descended, (for he was nephew to the earl of Arran by the father, and to the duke of Albany by the mother) and not much past twenty-three years of age. This young gentleman had travelled in Germany, and falling in familiarity with Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Francis Lambert, and other learned men, was by them instructed in the knowledge of true religion; in the profession whereof he was so zealous, as he resolved to come back into his country, and communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, wheresoever he came, he spared not to lay open the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to shew the errors crept into the Christian religion; whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all sorts of people. The clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of St Andrews, and when he came thither, appointed Friar Alexander Campbell to keep company with him, and to use the best persuasions he could to divert him from his opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the friar acknowledging that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in most of the points, his mind was rather confirmed than in any sort weakened. Thus having stayed some few days in the city, whilst he suspected no violence to be used, under night he was apprehended, being in bed, and carried prisoner to the castle. The next day he was presented before the bishop, accused for maintaining the articles following;—

1. That the corruption of sin remains in infants after their baptism.
2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any good.
3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.
4. That every true Christian may know himself to be in the state of grace.
5. That a man is not justified by works but by faith alone.

6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doth good works; and that an ill man doth ill works, yet the same ill works truly repented make not an ill man.

7. That faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.

8. That God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man, and, grace withdrawn, he cannot but sin.

9. That it is a devilish doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remission of sin is purchased.

10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

11. That there is no purgatory.

12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.

13. That the pope is antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as the pope.

Being desired to express his mind touching these articles, he said—"That he held the first seven to be undoubtedly true, whereunto he offered to set his hand: the rest," he said, "were disputable points, but such as he could not condemn, unless he saw better reason than yet he had heard." After some conference kept with him on each article, the whole were remitted to the judgment of the theologues. There met to this effect Mr Hugh Spence, provost of St Salvator's College, Mr James Waddall, parson of Flisk, and rector of the university, Mr James Simson, official of St Andrews, Mr Thomas Ramsey, professor of the Holy Scriptures, Mr John Grison, theologue, and provincial of the Black friars, John Tullidaff, warden of the Grey friars, Mr Martin Balfour, and Mr John Spence, lawyers, Sir Alexander Young, bachelor of divinity, Sir John Annand, canon of St Andrews, Friar Alexander Campbell, prior of the Black friars, and Mr Robert Bannerman, regent of the pedagogy. These men within a day or two presented their censure of the articles, judging them all heretical, and contrary to the faith of the Church. This subscribed with all their hands, and delivered to the bishop in a solemn meeting, kept in the cathedral church the first of March 1527, sen-

tence was pronounced against the young gentleman, declaring him an heretic, and giving him over into the hands of the secular power to suffer punishment due to heresy.

There assisted the bishop in that meeting, Gawane, archbishop of Glasgow, George, bishop of Dunkeld, John, bishop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane, Patrick, prior of St Andrews, David, abbot of Aberbrothock, George, abbot of Dumfermline, Alexander, abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henry, abbot of Lindores, and John, prior of Pittenweem, the dean, sub-dean, and thesaurer of the church of Glasgow, with the rectors of Stobo, Areskyn, Carstairs, Govan, and Glasgow; all which set their hands to the sentence: and to give it the greater authority, whosoever were of any estimation in the university were made to subscribe the same, amongst whom was the earl of Cassils, a child of thirteen years old.

The same day (for the execution was hastened, lest the king, who was gone at that time in pilgrimage to St Duthack, in Ross, should impede the proceeding) he was condemned by the secular judge, and in the afternoon led to the place of his suffering, which was appointed to be at the gate of St Salvator's College. Being come to the place, he put off his gown, and gave it, with his bonnet, coat, and other apparel, to his servant, saying—"This stuff will not help in the fire, yet will do thee some good; I have no more to leave thee, but the ensample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind. For albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlasting life, which none shall inherit that denieth Christ before this generation." Then was he tied to the stake; about it a great quantity of coal, wood, and other combustible matter was heaped, whereof he seemed to have no fear, but seriously commending his soul into the hands of God, held his eyes fixed towards the heavens. The executioner firing the powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the side of his face was a little scorched therewith, yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon some were sent to the castle to bring more powder, and whilst this was bringing, he uttered divers comfortable speeches to them that stood by; the friars all that time molesting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our lady, and say *Salve Regina*. Amongst whom none was more troublesome than Friar Alexander Campbell,

who, as we said, kept company with him at his first coming to the city. Often he besought him to depart, and not to vex him; but when he would not cease his crying, he said—“Wicked man, thou knowest I am not an heretic, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer; so much thou didest confess unto me in private; and thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the judgment seat of Christ.”

The powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to say—“How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this realm? how long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men?” and then closed his speeches with these words—“Lord Jesus receive my spirit.” His body was quickly consumed—for the fire was vehement—but the patience and constancy he shewed in his dying, stirred up such compassion in the beholders, as many of them doubted not to say that he suffered an innocent, and was indeed a true martyr of Christ. This opinion was farther confirmed by the death of Friar Campbell, and the manner of it; for within a year and less he fell into a phrensy, and died as one desperate.

The rumour of this execution stirred up some in all the quarters of the kingdom to inquire of the reasons of his suffering, and what the articles were for which he was condemned; by the inquisition whereof many were brought to understand and apprehend otherwise of the truth of things than formerly they did. In the university itself was left so deep an impression of his doctrine, as could not afterwards be extinguished; yea divers of the friars fell after this time openly in their sermons to condemn the errors and abuses of the clergy. Friar Alexander Seaton, one of the Dominican order, a man reasonably learned, and for the time confessor to King James the Fifth, preached ordinarily at St Andrews all the Lent following; where taking for his subject the Commandments of the Law, he did insist much on these points—“That the law of God is the only rule of righteousness; that if God’s law be not violated, no sin is committed; that it is not in man’s power to satisfy for sin; and that the forgiveness of sin is no otherwise purchased than by unfeigned repentance, and true faith apprehending the mercy of God in Christ.” Of purgatory, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, merits and miracles, which was the usual

matter of friars' sermons, not a word he spake ; whereupon he grew to be suspected as one inclining to heresy. About the end of Lent, upon some occasion he went to Dundee, and being there, was advertised that another of his order was set up to refute the points of doctrine he had taught ; which moved him to return to St Andrews, and confirm the same points which he had formerly delivered, adding somewhat besides, of the virtues required by the apostle in a good and faithful bishop.

Thereupon he was called before the bishop, and charged to have affirmed in his sermon that a bishop should be a preacher, and that the bishop who preached not was a dumb dog, and one that fed not the flock but his own belly. The friar answering—"That he had said, indeed, that St Paul required a bishop to be a *teacher*, and that Esay called them *dumb dogs* who did not preach, but that he himself had affirmed nothing. I declare," said he, "what the Spirit of God said, with whom if men offend not, they cannot justly offend with me ; and those that have reported my speeches seem to be unlearned asses, who cannot put a difference betwixt that which Esay and St Paul speaks, and that which of myself I speak. I never said that you, my lord, and the other bishops who preach not, are dumb dogs, I only told what the prophet and the apostle said in that ease."

This answer galled the archbishop exceedingly, yet knowing the man to be one of an audacious and bold spirit, he dissembled his anger, minding to bring him into discredit with the king, which was easily wrought, because of the liberty the friar used in reproving the king's licentiousness. So perceiving the king's countenance alter towards him, and fearing some danger if he should stay any more at court, he fled to Berwick, and from thence wrote unto the king, shewing the cause of his sudden parting to be the fear he conceived of the authority of the bishops, who had behaved themselves as kings, and would not admit any man, of what state or degree soever he was, if once they did account him an heretic, to speak in his own defence. Not the less for himself, he offered to return, and justify his cause, so as he might have audience. Withal he advertised the king, that it concerned him in duty to see that every one who is accused of his life be permitted to use his lawful defences ;

for howsoever the prelates held that such matters belong not to the cognition of the prince, he would make the contrary manifest by their own laws, if he should be once heard. Wherefore he besought his Highness not to be led any more by their informations, but to use the authority committed unto him by God, and not to suffer these tyrants to proceed against him till he was brought to his answer, which he would not refuse to give, so as he might be assured to do it with the safety of his life.

This letter receiving no answer, after he had staid a while at Berwick he went to London, and became chaplain to Charles, duke of Suffolk, in whose service he died. In the "Book of Martyrs" I read that Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, by his crafty and subtle persuasions, induced him to make a recantation of sundry points at Paul's Cross; but what his belief was of most of the articles of Christian faith, it appeareth by the treatises he left behind him. His examination by Gardiner and Bonner (which he likewise published, discovering the policies they used to circumvene him,) doth testify his constancy in the truth, and that he never denied any point which formerly he had taught.

Soon after his flight, one Henry Forrest was delated for saying that Mr Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and thereupon was brought to St Andrews; but because the probation was not clear enough, Friar Walter Laing was appointed to confess him. The simple man, that feared no harm, being asked by the friar what was his judgment of Mr Patrick, answered—"That he esteemed him to be a good man, and that the articles for which he was condemned might well be defended." This confession, revealed by the friar, was taken for a sufficient evidence, and the poor man condemned to be burnt as an heretic. As he was leading forth to be degraded, he complained grievously of the friar who had betrayed him, crying out—"Fie on falsehood, fie on false friars, revealers of confession. Never let any man trust them after me. They are despisers of God, and deceivers of men." And when they were taking from him his orders, (for he was of the order of Bennet and Collet, as they used then to speak,) he cried aloud—"Take not only from me your orders, but your baptism also." So being carried to a place of execution, (which was appointed to be at the

north stile of the abbey church, to the end the heretics of Angus might see the fire,) he suffered death most constantly. Whilst they were consulting upon the manner of his execution, one John Lindsay, a plain and simple man who attended the bishop, gave advice to burn him in some hollow cellar—"for the smoke," saith he, "of Mr Patrick Hamilton hath infected all those on whom it blew."

Yet the persecution still proceeding, divers were cited to appear at Halyrudhouse by James Hay, bishop of Ross, who sate as commissioner for the archbishop of St Andrews; amongst others James Hamilton of Levingston, brother-german to Mr Patrick, with Katherine Hamilton, his sister. The gentleman was advised by the king secretly, (for he loved the man,) not to appear, and so was for his contumacy condemned. His sister appearing, and questioned upon the point of justification by works, answered simply—"that she believed no person could be saved by their works." Mr John Spence, the lawyer, (whom we named before,) held a long discourse with her about that purpose, telling her that there were divers sorts of works—works of congruity, and works of condignity; in the application whereof he consumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chafe, cried out—"Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me but the works of Christ my Saviour." The king was present at the time, and laughed heartily at the answer; yet taking the gentlewoman aside, he moved her to recant her opinions, and by her ensample divers others at the same time abjured their profession, of which number were Sir William Kirk, priest, Adam Daes, Henry Cairnes, Mr William Johnston, advocate, Mr Henry Henryson, school-master in Edinburgh, and John Stewart, indweller in Leith.

These persons scarce dismissed, Mr Norman Gourlay and David Straiton were brought to trial. Mr Norman was charged for denying purgatory, and saying that "the pope had no jurisdiction within Scotland." David Straiton was charged with the same points, and farther, was accused for maintaining that "tithes were not due unto churchmen;" which point he denied, confessing that the tithes of some fishes which his servants had taken at sea being too rigorously exacted, he said, "that if they would have the tithes

of the fishes, they should go and receive them where the stock was taken ; and that he gave order to his servants to cast every tenth fish they took into the sea, because he saw nothing but rigour would content the church."

This gentleman had been in former times very quarrelous and turbulent, but was then become another man, through frequenting the company of John Areskyn of Dun, by whom it pleased God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his truth, and to kindle in his heart such a love to the same, as usually he was heard to pray for strength and spiritual courage, that if he should be brought to suffer for Christ, no fear of death nor corporal pain might cause him shrink. And it clearly appeared, when he was brought to his answer, that his prayers were heard. For notwithstanding of the offers made him to recant and burn his bill, (as they spake at that time,) he stood most constantly to the defence of the truth, and gave great encouragement to Mr Norman Gourlay, who suffered with him. These two were burnt at one stake the twenty-seventh day of August 1534.

At the same time was sentence pronounced against Alexander Alesse, Mr John Fife, John Macbee, and one Macdougall, who were summoned to the said diet, and compeared not. These persons fled afterwards into England, where they remained a while well entertained. Alexander Alesse by the commendation of the Lord Cromwell, came in favour with King Henry the Eighth, and was called commonly the King's Scholar ; as he was indeed a man of good learning, and gave thereof a notable proof in his dispute with Stokesley, bishop of London, before the convocation in the year 1537. After Cromwell's death, taking with him Mr John Fife, he went into Saxony, where they lived professors together a long time in the university of Lipsie. Macdougall went also in their company, and came to good credit, being elected burgomaster of one of their towns. John Macbee, commonly called Doctor Machabeus, during his abode in England was liberally entertained by Nicolas Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury, who made much accompt of him, but afterwards going to Denmark, became chaplain to King Christian, in whose service he died in the year 1550. Thus it pleased God to provide for these men after their exile.

Some four years after, the bishops kept a meeting at Edinburgh in the month of February 1538, where divers were accused of heresy, and condemned to die. Friar Killore, Friar Beverage, Sir Duncan Simson, priest, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and Dean Thomas Forrest, a canon of St Colinsinch, called commonly the vicar of Dolour. This poor man not long before had been called before the bishop of Dunkeld, his Ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his parishioners upon the epistles and gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him in suspicion of heresy. If he could find a good gospel, or a good epistle, that made for the liberty of the Holy Church, the bishop willed him to preach that to his people, and let the rest be. The honest man replying, that "he had read both the New Testament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill epistle or an ill gospel in any of them," the bishop said, "I thank God I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New. I content me with my Portuise¹ and Pontifical; and if you, Dean Thomas, leave not these fantasies, you will repent when you cannot mend it." Dean Thomas answered, that "he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his accompt with any danger that might follow." So at this time being brought in question with the persons above named, they were altogether condemned, and burnt in the fire upon the Castlehill of Edinburgh.

The same year in Glasgow, Hieronymus Russel, of the order of the Gray friars, and one Kennedy, a young man of Ayr, not past eighteen years of age, were accused likewise of heresy; but because the archbishop, Mr Gawane Dumber, was esteemed somewhat cold in those businesses, Mr John Lawder, Mr Andrew Oliphant, and Friar Maltman were sent from Edinburgh to assist at their trial. Kennedy at his first appearing in judgment discovered some weakness, and would gladly have saved his life by denying the points laid to his charge; but encouraged by Hieronymus, and by the answers he made to the judges, he gathered his spirits, and falling down upon his knees, brake forth in these words—"Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me a

¹ [Portuosc. a Breviary.—E.]

miserable wretch ; for even now when I would have denied thee and thy Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have thrown myself into everlasting condemnation, thou by thine own hand hast pulled me back from the bottom of hell, and given me to feel most heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppressed my mind. Now I defy death ; do what you please, I praise God, I am ready."

The friar reasoned long and learnedly against his accusers, and being answered only with railings and bitter speeches, said—" This is your hour and power of darkness ; now you sit as judges, and we stand wrongfully condemned ; but the day cometh which will shew our innocency, and you shall see your own blindness to your everlasting confusion. Go on and fulfil the measure of your iniquity." At which words the archbishop was greatly moved, affirming that these rigorous executions did hurt the cause of the Church more than could be well thought of, and therefore declared, that in his opinion it would be best to save the lives of the men, and take some other course with them. But those others who were sent to assist told him expressly, that if he followed any milder course than that which had been kept at Edinburgh, they could not esteem him the Church's friend ; whereupon he was compelled to give way to their cruelty, and thus these innocents were condemned to be burnt alive.

All the time they were preparing the fire, Hieronymus comforted mightily the young man, using these speeches unto him—" Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us than he who is in the world. The pain which we shall suffer is short and light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end ; death cannot destroy us, for it is destroyed already by him for whose sake we suffer. Therefore let us strive to enter in by the same straight way which our Saviour hath taken before us." Many other comfortable speeches he uttered, which moved the hearers wonderfully. When they were brought to the place of their suffering, they used not many words, but commending their souls earnestly to God after they were tied to the stake, endured the fire constantly, without expressing any token of fear or amazement.

It was about the same time that Mr George Buchanan (who for his rare erudition was afterwards in great fame), for some biting verses written against the Franciscans, was committed to prison ; but he escaping by a window of the chamber wherein he was detained prisoner, whilst the keepers were fast asleep, fled into France. Thus there passed few days wherein some one or other was not called in question for religion. But the more hot the persecution was, the favourers of the truth did every day the more increase. And now had the Archbishop James Beaton committed the charge of all Church affairs to his nephew the cardinal (who succeeded in his place), for he was aged and sickly himself, and not seen often abroad. In his last days he began to erect the new college in St Andrews, and set men a-work to build the same ; but neither lived he to finish the work, nor were the moneys he left in store to that use rightly bestowed. Some contestings, a few years before, he and the clergy had with the king, because of the impositions laid upon the prelates for the entertainment of the Senators of the College of Justice, so as the matter was drawn by an appeal to Rome, and Gawane Dumbar, bishop of Aberdeen, appointed to prosecute the same. But this ceased upon an accord made, which was, that the senate should consist of fourteen ordinaries with a president, seven of the spirituality, and as many of the temporality ; the president always being of the spiritual estate, and a prelate constitute in dignity. According to this appointment a ratification passed in Parliament anno 1537, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth was elected president of the new senate in the year 1539. The bishop a little after he had assisted as witness at the christening of the king's first son, who was born at St Andrews, departed this life, having designed his successors in all the benefices he enjoyed, which were not a few ; for besides the archbishopric of St Andrews, he possessed the abbacies of Aberbrothock, Dunfermline, and Kilwinning. To his nephew the cardinal he left St Andrews and Aberbrothock ; to George Dury, his kinsman, the abbacy of Dunfermline ; and to — Hamilton, of the house of Roploch, the abbacy of Kilwinning. All which the king, for the esteem wherein he held this bishop whilst he lived,

confirmed to them according to his will. He was buried in the Abbey Church before the high altar.

In his time lived Mr John Major, Hector Boethius, Gilbert Crab, and William Gregory, men of good learning, and worthy to be remembered. Mr John Major was born at Haddington, within the province of Lothian, and trained up from his youth in the study of letters. A while at Cambridge he heard philosophy taught; but finding the place not so convenient, he went to Paris, and past his course in the college of Montacute. After that he gave himself to theology, commencing doctor amongst the Sorbonists, and in scholastic divinity was not much behind any of his time; which his "*Decisiones Sententiarum, Sophisticalia Parisiensia,*" and that other work intituled "*Placita Theologica,*" do sufficiently witness. Returning afterwards unto his country, he professed theology in St Salvator's College at St Andrews, whereof he was made provost, and died there being of a good age; a man well inclined, ingenious, and according to those times not unlearned. He wrote the story of his country, howbeit in a Sorbonic and barbarous style, yet very truly, and with a great liberty of spirit, not sparing the usurpations of Rome, and taxing in divers places the laziness and superfluity of the clergy; which could hardly be done in those times without danger.

Hector Boethius was principal of the college of Aberdeen, a great philosopher, and much commended by Erasmus for his eloquence and felicity of ingenie. Buchanan, who could well discern of learned men, speaking in a certain place of him saith—"Quòd non solum artium liberalium cognitione supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignis erat, sed etiam humanitate et comitate singulari præditus;" that is, "He was not only notably learned in the liberal sciences, above the condition of those times, but also of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination." Yet is he traduced by some of the English writers for a fabulous and partial historian. But they who like to peruse his history will perceive that this is spoken out of passion and malice, and not upon any just cause.

Gilbert Crab lived in the country of France, much esteemed for his dexterity and diligence in the education of youth. He was sent to Paris by his friends, being yet very young,

and having studied his course there, was preferred to be sub-dean of a church near unto Bordeaux, yet ceased not to advance the knowledge of letters at his uttermost; and was so respected, as the children of all the noblemen in those parts were committed to his instruction. He died young at Bordeaux, not having attained to the fortieth year of his age, much lamented of those that knew him.

William Gregory lived in Tholouse, and was made general of the Carmelites in the diocese of Meaulx and Tholouse, which order he is said to have greatly reformed. Baleus writeth that he received much kindness of this Gregory at Tholouse in the year 1527, and saith that he died in that city, having left divers monuments of his ingenie to posterity, the catalogue whereof you may see in the place.

With these I shall join another, not for any commendation of his learning, for he had none, nor for his good qualities, which were as few, but for strange and extraordinary things seen in him, which in the time ministered occasion of great talk and wondering to many. This man, named John Scot, having succumbed in a plea at law, and knowing himself unable to pay that wherein he was adjudged, took sanctuary in the abbey of Halyrndhouse, where, out of a deep displeasure, he abstained from all meat and drink the space of thirty or forty days together. Public rumour bringing this abroad, the king would have it put to trial, and to that effect, shutting him up in a private room within the castle of Edinburgh, whereunto no man had access, he caused a little bread and water to be set by him, which he was found not to have tasted in the space of thirty-two days. This proof given of his abstinence, he was dimitted, and coming forth into the street half naked, made a speech to the people that flocked about him, wherein he professed to do all this by the help of the blessed Virgin, and that he could fast as long as he pleased. Many did take it for a miracle, esteeming him a person of singular holiness; others thought him to be frantic and mad; so as in a short time he came to be neglected, and thereupon leaving the country, went to Rome, where he gave the like proof of his fasting to Pope Clement the Seventh.

From Rome he came to Venice, apparelled with holy vestures, such as the priests use when they say mass, and

carrying in his hand a testimonial of his abstinence under the pope's seal, he gave there the like proof, and was allowed some fifty ducats to make his expence towards the holy sepulchre, which he pretended to visit. This voyage he performed, and then returned home, bringing with him some palm-tree leaves and a scripful of stones, which he said were a part of the pillar to which our Saviour was tied when he was scourged ; and coming by London, went up into the pulpit in Paul's Church-yard, where he cast forth many speeches against the divorce of King Henry from Katherine his queen, inveighing bitterly against him for his defection from the Roman see, and thereupon was thrust into prison, in which he continued fifty days fasting.

After that, being dimitted, (for they held him to be a mad man,) he came directly into Scotland, and remained in company with one Thomas Doughty, who a little before was returned from Italy, and had built a little chapel to the holy Virgin with the money he had begged in his travel. This man, by his counterfeit miracles, made great advantage amongst the simple people ; and albeit he was known to be a cozening fellow, and in life extremely vicious, yet was he suffered by the clergy to abuse the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of purgatory, pardons, and prayers to saints, which began then everywhere to be despised, was by this mean nourished amongst the people.

Scot, grudging that Doughty did appropriate all the gain he made to himself, and did not admit him a partner in the same, retired to a house in the suburbs of Edinburgh, at the western part of the town, and therein erected a religious altar, which he adorned in the best manner he could, setting up his daughter, a young maid of reasonable beauty, upon the altar, and placing lights and torches round about her. The simple sort for a long time believed her indeed to be the Virgin Mary, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worship ; but the knavery coming to be detected, he forsook his altar, and forgetting all his devotion, returned to his first trade and manner of life. Lesley in his story saith, that he prophesied many things concerning the decay of the Romish religion, and the restitution of it in a short time. Of the decay he might speak, having seen it begun ; but for other things he was a dreamer rather than a prophet.

40. The first act of the cardinal after his promotion did shew what an enemy he would be to those who in that time were called heretics; for he was not well warmed in his seat when, to make his greatness seen, he brought to St Andrews the earls of Huntly, Arran, Marshall, and Montrose, the lords Fleming, Lindsay, Areskyn, and Seaton, with divers other barons and men of quality. There came thither also Gawane, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, William, bishop of Aberdeen, Henry, bishop of Galloway, John, bishop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane, the abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Kinlosse, with a number of priors, deans, and doctors of theology. And they all having convened in the cathedral church, he sitting in a chair somewhat erected above the rest, (for that he was a cardinal) began to expone the dangers wherein the Catholic faith stood by the increase of heretics, and the boldness they took to profess their opinions openly, even in the king's court, where he said they found too great countenance. In special, he named Sir John Borthwick, commonly called Captain Borthwick, whom he had caused cite to that diet, for dispersing heretical books, and for maintaining divers articles contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, desiring their assistance in the procedure of justice against him, which they all did liberally promise. Then was he called, and because he appeared not, the heads of the accusation were read.

1. That he held the pope to have no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or prelate had.

2. That indulgences and pardons granted by the pope were of no force nor effect, but devised to abuse people, and deceive poor ignorant souls.

3. That bishops, priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry.

4. That the heresies, commonly called the heresies of England, and their new liturgy, was commendable, and to be embraced of all Christians.

5. That the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and professed not the true faith.

6. That churchmen ought not to enjoy any temporalities.

7. That the king ought to convert the rents of the Church into other pious uses.

8. That the Church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English.

9. That the canons and decrees of the Church were of no force, as being contrary to the law of God.

10. That the orders of friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England.

11. That he did openly call the pope simoniacal, for that he sold spiritual things.

12. That he did read heretical books, and the New Testament in English, and some other treatises written by Melanethon, Oecolampadius and Erasmus, which he gave likewise unto others.

13. The last and greatest point was, that he refused to acknowledge the authority of the Roman see, or be subject thereunto.

These accusations (he not appearing, nor any in his behalf,) were taken as confessed, and he denounced an heretic, yea, an heresiarch, (for so the sentence beareth,) his goods ordained to be confiscate, himself burnt in effigy, if he could not otherwise be apprehended, and all manner of persons inhibited to relieve or entertain him, under the pain of cursing and forfeiture.

This sentence was given against him the twenty-eighth of May, anno 1540, and the same day was his picture burnt in the open market-place of St Andrews, as likewise in Edinburgh, some two days after. Sir John Borthwick hearing how they had proceeded against him, fled into England, where he was kindly received by Henry the Eighth, then reigning, and by him employed in a commission to the Protestant princes in Germany, for a confederation betwixt him and them in the defence of their common profession.

King Henry had some years before sent into Scotland the bishop of St Davids, to present the king his nephew with some English books, containing an exposition of the principal heads of the Christian religion, thinking to induce him to the making of the like reformation which he had made in England. And at that time came Lord William Howard, to desire the king to meet his uncle King Henry at York, upon some occasions tending to the common good of both kingdoms. The king consenting, a diet was appointed, and all things prepared for the journey. But the cardinal and

clergy, fearing the effects of that conference, laboured with the courtiers to divert him, and before the king himself they laid divers terrors; as, that he would be detained prisoner in England, as King James the first had been; that he should make himself suspected to the emperor, and to his old confederate the French King; and, which he was most to regard, incur the pope's displeasure, by treating too familiarly with him that was lying under the highest censures of the Church. Yet stood the king resolute for the journey, foreseeing (as also it happened) that if he should break the diet, the same might breed the English king's dislike, and be an occasion of war, on which he would not hazard, unless he knew of means to entertain the same. The clergy hereupon, besides the representation of some moneys in hand, made offer of an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, if war should break out; declaring withal, that by confiscating the goods of heretics he might gain an hundred thousand more. And with such vain hopes they brought him to send a fair excuse to King Henry by Sir James Lermouth his domestic. After this, the king being ruled wholly by the cardinal, followed in all things the appetite of the clergy, giving commission to Sir James Hamilton his thesaurer, to call and convene all persons suspected of heresy, and inflict the punishments which after trial they should be found to merit. The king was also heard say, that "none of that sort should expect any favour at his hands, nay not his own sons, if they should prove guilty;" which put many in fear.

But this continued not long, for Sir James Hamilton becoming suspected, and accused of a practice against the king his life, was shortly after executed; and war breaking out with England, he found the nobility averse from the incursions he intended to make, which did greatly discontent him. These thoughts, with some fearful visions he had by night that much terrified him, withdrew his mind wholly from the extremities on which the clergy had set him; for at Linlithgow on a night as he slept, it seemed to him that Thomas Scot, Justice-Clerk, came unto him with a company of devils, crying, "Woe worth the day that ever I knew thee or thy service! for serving thee against God and against his servants I am adjudged to hell torments." Hereupon

awaking, he called for lights, and causing his servants to arise, told what he had heard and seen. The next morrow, by the light of day, advertisement was brought him of the Justice-Clerk his death, which fell out just at the time that the king found himself so troubled, and in the same manner almost ; for he died in great unquietness, iterating often these words, “ *Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum ;*” that is, “ By the righteous judgment of God I am condemned.” The form of his death answering the dream so justly, made it the more terrible.

Another vision he had in the same place, not many nights after, which did more affright him. Whilst he lay asleeping, he imagined that Sir James Hamilton, whom he caused to be executed, came unto him with a drawn sword in his hand, and therewith cut off both his arms, threatening within a short time to return and deprive him of his life. With this he awaked, and as he lay musing what the dream could import, news were brought him of the death of his two sons, James and Arthur, who died at St Andrews and Stirling, at one and the very same hour. The next year, which was the year of our Lord 1542, being overwhelmed with grief and passion for the loss of his army at Solway, he departed this life at Falkland in the thirty-second year of his age. Some few days before he died, he had advertisement that his queen was delivered of a daughter at Linlithgow ; at which, it is said, he burst forth in passion, saying, “ It came with a lass (meaning the Crown) and will go with a lass, fie upon it ;” after which he was not heard to utter many words.

The cardinal, hearing that the king was deceased, did suborn a priest, called Henry Balfour, to form his last Will, whereby it was declared that he had committed to the cardinal, the earls of Huntly, Argyle, and Murray, the government of the realm during his daughter’s minority. This Will he caused publish in Edinburgh on the Monday after the king’s death ; but the nobles giving it no credit, and esteeming it a mere forgery, did choose the earl of Arran, Regent and Governor of the realm. Never was any governor received with greater love and opinion of all sorts ; for besides the favour carried to himself, every one was glad to be freed of the cardinal’s government ; and by his first

beginnings a strong hope was conceived that all things should be reformed which were amiss both in the Church and kingdom. But this hope soon vanished in the manner that ye shall hear.

King Henry of England hearing that his nephew the king of Scots was dead, and that he had left one only daughter of seven days old, began to think of uniting the two kingdoms, and reducing the whole isle under one government, by the marriage of Edward his son, a prince of five years old, to the young queen of Scots. Hereupon he sent for the earls of Cassils and Glencarne, the lords Fleming, Maxwell, and Gray, who were taken prisoners at Solway, and detained in England, to Hampton Court, where he then lay; and at their coming proponed the business unto them, with an offer to dimit them freely, so as they would promise to use their best means with the governor, and others of the nobility of Scotland, for obtaining their consents to the match. The noblemen liking the motion, and esteeming it a ready means to establish a lasting peace, gave their promise to deal faithfully in it, and so were sent home with many liberal promises if the marriage should take effect. In their company returned the earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George, who had been exiled a long time in England, with letters to the governor from the king for their restitution.

The matter being moved to the governor and council, it was liked by all, the queen-mother and the cardinal only excepted; and for this a Parliament was called at Edinburgh the thirteenth of March following, whither came Sir Ralph Sadler, as ambassador from King Henry, to attend the success. In the beginning a great stir was made by the cardinal and clergy that adhered to him, so as the Estates could come to no conclusion; whereupon the cardinal was committed in the castle of Dalkeith. The day following, by an uniform consent, the match was agreed, and the earl of Glencarne, Sir George Dowglas, brother to the earl of Angus, Sir William Hamilton of Sorne, and Sir James Lermonth of Dersay, employed by the Estates to transact with King Henry upon all particulars.

In this Parliament, upon a petition presented to the Estates for restraining the power of the prelates in pursuing

those they called heretics, and for liberty to read the Scripture in the English language, commission was granted to some selected persons for considering the petition, and prescribing what was fit to be done therein. The commissioners meeting after the Parliament was broke up, declared, “ That it should be lawful for every one that could read, to use the English translation of the Bible, until the prelates should publish one more correct.” Intimation of this liberty being sent through all the kingdom by the governor’s direction, the clergy did declaim against him as a favourer of heretics, taking exception at two preachers he entertained in his house, the one called Friar William, the other John Rough, who did openly in their sermons inveigh against the pope’s authority, the adoration of images, invocation of saints, and other superstitious inventions of Rome.

In the end of July the ambassadors directed towards England returned with satisfaction in all particulars concerning the marriage ; and so the contract betwixt the two kingdoms was signed by the governor and those whom the States had deputed for the part of Scotland, and by Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador for the part of England, and the seals of the kingdom interchanged, as use is. The governor and English ambassador, for the greater assurance, did solemnly swear to observe the contract in all articles thereof, dividing the holy Sacrament amongst them, as the custom then was.

And now all matters looked fair, no man wishing them to go better ; for in the governor’s court was nothing seen that the severest eye could censure or reprove. In the public government such a moderation was kept, as no man was heard to complain. The governor was reverently obeyed, and held in as great respect as any king of preceding times. To be short, every man did promise himself a blessed and happy time ; when on the sudden all was overturned, and the realm cast in greater troubles than before.

John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, base brother to the governor, and David Panter, (afterwards removed to the bishopric of Ross) who had lived a long time in France, returning about this time into the country, and being devoted to the French, dealt privately with the governor, who was of an easy nature, and apt to be taken by those he trusted,

to break the contract with England. But having small hope to prevail so long as the preachers and gentlemen, whose counsel he followed, remained with him, they used all means to be rid of them. Friar William fearing to be called in question for his doctrine, (at which the abbot was excepting) withdrew himself and went into England. John Rough, upon some colour, was dimitted to preach in the parts of Kyle and Carrick. The Laird of Grainge, Mr Henry Balnaves, Mr Thomas Ballenden, and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who had attended the governor ever since the time of his promoting to the regency, had such discontents given them, as they were made too weary of their attendance; and the meaner sort, such as Mr Michael Durham, Mr David Borthwick, David Forrest, and David Bothwell, men that served him faithfully, and of a long time, were openly menaced, and forced to quit their services.

Neither was the cardinal in this time idle, for being by the queen's intercession removed from Dalkeith to the Place of Seaton, he went from thence without warrant to St Andrews, none calling him therefore in question; for the governor's brother, who was then preferred to be thesaurer, and ruled all things at court, had made up a secret friendship with him. Shortly after, in a frequent meeting of the clergy at St Andrews, the cardinal laid before them the dangers wherewith the clergy was threatened by the match with England, did earnestly incite them to oppose it, and contribute moneys, and employ all their friendship to the contrary, seeing it concerned them no less than their lives or estates were worth. They making no difficulty, and offering to contribute all their means to that effect, appointed a present collection to be made, which was trusted to his disposing. The friars were directed to inveigh in their sermons against the alliance, and the priests set on to stir up the popular against the ambassador, who had many indignities offered him, which he patiently digested, lest he should be thought to minister any occasion of breach.

How soon the day appointed for delivering the pledges was come, (for that was a condition in the contract,) the ambassador went unto the governor, and put him in mind of the pledges that by the contract he was obliged to enter; complaining withal of the disgraces that he and his master,

the king of England, had received. The governor answering first his complaint of the insolencies committed, said, "that he should take trial, and punish the committers in such sort as all might see what affection he bore to the king and country of England. But for the pledges," he said, "I can neither move them to enter willingly, nor force them if they be unwilling. For you see what a mutiny is raised in the country by the cardinal, and how uncertain I am of mine own estate: Till this be quieted, I know not in that point what to answer." The ambassador, who understood that to be truth which he spake, forbore to urge the delivery of the pledges any more, saying he would advertise his master how the case stood, and attend his directions. Soon after the ambassador was recalled, the Scots ships and merchants that were in England arrested, and open war denounced.

The country hereupon drew into factions. The governor and some few noblemen that abode with him at Halyrud-house professing a willingness to keep the contract with England; and the queen-mother, with the cardinal and his followers, directly opposing. They having the young queen in their hands, whom they still kept at Linlithgow, to strengthen their party sent to recal the earl of Lenox, who then lived in France; for the old emulation between the two houses of Lenox and Hamilton, as also the slaughter of his father in the field of Linlithgow, which he could not have forgotten, would easily, as they thought, move him to join with them. Besides, they considered that his presence and friendship, which was great in the country, would aid and countenance their course not a little. Hereupon were messengers dispatched in haste with letters to the French king, and to the earl himself. The letters written to himself were full of affection, and therein hopes given of his match with the queen-mother, and of the regency of the realm during her daughter's minority. And, as flatterers are never wanting to great men, there were some about him, when they understood that he was called home, put him in hope of the crown itself, if the young queen should happen to depart this life. For the late king was known to have intended the same; and the governor's title, they said, would try nought, himself being illegitimate, and procreated in an unlawful marriage, upon a divorce led between his

father and dame Elizabeth Home, his wife, which made him incapable not of the crown only, but even of his private inheritance. With such conceits they filled the young nobleman's head; and, as men are made easily to believe what they earnestly desire, encouraged by these hopes, and the French king's promises, he returned home.

At his coming having saluted the governor, with whom he dissembled in the best sort he could, and visiting the queen-mother and cardinal at Linlithgow, who did very kindly receive him, he went to see his friends, and imparted to them the causes of his return, with the hopes that were given him, and the promise he had of aid and supply from the king of France. They, approving the course he had taken, advised him to follow his fortune, and promised their assistance to the uttermost. A few days after, being advertised that the governor was gathering forces to take the young queen from her mother, he came to the queen-mother with four thousand men, and abode with her till, by a common consent, her daughter was sent to Stirling, and committed to the custody of the Lords Grahame, Areskyn, Levingston, and Lindsay.

Meanwhile the governor's brother did earnestly ply him to relinquish the English alliance, laying before him the danger wherein he thrust himself, in suffering the pope's authority to be weakened, on which he said the security of his title and succession to the crown did stand, and giving him hopes of benefit and advancement from the French king: and in end so far prevailed, as the governor, without imparting his mind to the noblemen who kept court with him at Halyrudhouse, went privately to Stirling, and submitted himself to the cardinal, receiving absolution at his hands, and renouncing the profession he made of the truth, with the alliance contracted with England. A deed that lost him the favour of the country, and brought him in great contempt; for after this fact was he never in regard, the cardinal from thenceforth carrying all the sway, and leaving him only the shadow of authority.

This done, the cardinal's next care was to rid the court and the council of the earl of Lenox; which was brought about in this sort. The queen-mother by her letters to the French king did advertise what an alteration was made;

how the governor was brought by the cardinal's means to break with England ; and that for assuring the peace of the country there was nothing more required than to call the earl of Lenox back under some fair colour, for that his stay at home might prove dangerous, and a suspicion there was already of his inclining to England, which might breed greater troubles than yet had been seen ; therefore intreated the king to recal him with speed.

The nobleman suspecting no such dealing (for all that time he was used with great demonstrations of love and kindness by the queen-mother), began to urge the performance of promises, and had his hopes cunningly entertained till the answer returned from France ; at which time he was advertised by some friends in that court that the French king was hardly informed of him and some courses he had taken, and that howbeit he was invited to return, he should not find the welcome he expected. This made him more instant with the queen-mother than before, but it was not long ere he felt himself deluded ; whereupon he retired home discontent, and laid many ways to repair himself, but all sorted to no effect, so as he resolved in end, having lost the French, to offer his service to the king of England, by whom he was kindly received, and afterwards honoured with the alliance of King Henry his niece, Lady Margaret Dowglas.

How soon the cardinal was freed of the earl of Lenox, he set himself to pursue those that were called heretics, and leading the governor along with him, went first to the town of Perth, where by delation of one Friar Spence, Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Rannald, James Hunter, James Finlason, and Helen Stirk, his wife, were apprehended.

Robert Lamb being accused for interrupting the said friar in a sermon he made at Perth, whilst he was teaching that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints, confessed that he had done it, saying—" It was the duty of every man that knoweth the truth, to bear testimony unto it, and not to suffer people to be abused with false doctrine, such as that was."

William Anderson, James Rannald, and James Finlason, were indited for nailing two ram's horns on St Francis' head, the putting of a cow's tail to his rump, and for the eating of a goose upon All-Hallow Evening.

James Hunter, a fletcher by occupation, and a simple man without any learning, was charged to have kept company with the said persons.

The woman, Helen Stirk, was accused for her refusing to pray unto the Virgin Mary when she was in labour of her birth, and saying, she would "pray only to God in the name of Jesus Christ."

These were the inditements whereupon they were put to trial, and being found guilty by a jury, were condemned to die. Great intercession was made for their lives to the governor; but he was so subject to the cardinal, as without his consent he would give no pardon. Thus the poor innocents were taken to the common place of execution, and hanged. Robert Lamb at the foot of the ladder made a pithy exhortation to the people, beseeching them to fear God, and forsake the leaven of papistical abominations. The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but could not be permitted, sentence being given against her that she should be drowned; yet she followed him to the place of execution, exhorting him by the way to patience and constancy for the cause of Christ; and as she parted from him, said—"Husband, be glad, we have lived together many joyful days, and this day in which we must die we ought to esteem the most joyful of all, because now we shall have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall shortly meet in the kingdom of heaven." How soon the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water not far off, where having commended her children to the charity of her neighbours, and giving a little babe who was sucking upon her breast unto a nurse, she died with great courage and comfort.

Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, and Laurence Puller, with some other burgesses, were banished, and the Lord Ruthven, provost of the town, discharged of his office, because he was suspected to favour the heretics. His place was given to John Charterhouse of Kinfawnes, and the citizens commanded to accept him for their provost; but they excused themselves, saying they could make no election before the ordinary time. Yet the governor out of his authority charged them to accept of Kinfawnes, threatening to punish those that refused; and for that it was thought,

after the governor and cardinal were gone, that the townsmen should withstand their provost, the Lord Gray and Norman Leslie, son to the earl of Rothes, were desired to give their assistance.

It falling out as was expected, Kinfawnes convened his friends to advise how the townsmen might be forced to obey. The Lord Gray undertaking to enter the town by the bridge, Norman Leslie and his followers were appointed to enter at the south gate, and St Magdalen's Day appointed for their meeting. The Lord Gray came early in the morning, but Norman, who brought his company by water, was hindered by the tide ; yet all being quiet in the town, and no appearance of stir, the Lord Gray resolved to enter, esteeming his own forces sufficient ; but he was not far advanced, when in the street called Fish Street, the master of Ruthven, with his company that lay close in some houses near by, issued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The disorder in the flight was great, every one hindering another, so as many were trodden to death, and some three-score persons killed.

The cardinal wished rather the loss had fallen on the Lord Ruthven's side, yet he was not ill pleased with the affront that Gray had received, for he loved none of them ; and so making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the country of Angus calling many in question for reading the New Testament in English, which as then was accounted an heinous crime. And it is said, " the ignorance of those times was so great, as even the priests did think the New Testament to have been composed by Martin Luther, and the Old to be the only Scripture that men ought to read."

John Roger, a Black friar, with certain others, was brought to the castle of St Andrews, and within some few days found dead at the foot of the back wall ; whether he fell seeking to escape, or that he was murdered (as the report went) in prison, it is uncertain. From Angus, the cardinal leading the governor with him, went to Mearns, using the like inquisition, and stayed there till near Christmas ; at which time they returned to St Andrews, and having past the holy time in feasting, took journey to Edinburgh, where a con-

vention of the clergy was kept for censuring the lives of scandalous priests.

Whilst they were thus busied, advertisement was made to the cardinal that Mr George Wishart, for whom he had searched a long time, was in the house of Ormiston in Lothian. This man being of all the witnesses that God raised in that time to advance his truth the most worthy, the reader will not mislike that I set down the story at large. He was a brother of the house of Pittarrow in Mearns, a man of great knowledge and pleasant utterance, indued also with many rare virtues; humble, modest, charitable, and patient even to admiration. Some time he had spent in the university of Cambridge; and, out of a desire to promote the truth in his own country, came home in the year 1544, making his chief resorts in the towns of Dundee and Montrose, where he taught publicly with great profit and applause.

The cardinal, incensed with the following he had among the people, discharged them of Dundee to receive him. Whereupon Robert Mill, a man of great authority in the town, either corrupted by the cardinal's gifts, or because he feared some trouble might fall upon the town by his occasion, did one day as he had ended his sermon, openly prohibit him to come any more amongst them, and not to trouble the town with his sermons. He, after a little silence, turning himself to the speaker, said—"God is my witness that I minded ever your comfort, and not your trouble, which to me is more grievous than to yourselves. But sure I am, to reject the Word of God, and drive away his messengers, is not the way to save you from trouble. When I am gone, God will send you messengers who will not be afraid either for burning or banishment. I have with the hazard of my life remained amongst you, preaching the word of salvation; and now, since yourselves refuse me, I must leave my innocency to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth; and if trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful." The Earl Marshal and some other noblemen, who were present at the sermon, dealt earnestly with him to go

with them into the north ; but he excusing himself, took journey into the west parts.

He had not been long there, when the archbishop of Glasgow, advertised of the great concourse of people unto his sermons, took purpose to apprehend him, and for that effect made a journey unto the town of Ayr. Alexander, earl of Glenearne, hearing what the bishop intended, hasted to the town, offering to place Mr George in the church where the bishop was preparing to preach ; but he would not consent, saying, that the bishop's sermon would not do much hurt, and that he would teach, if they pleased, at the market-cross ; which he did, divers of the hearers, which were enemies to the truth, being converted at the same time. The Sunday following, being desired to preach at the church of Mauchline, he went thither ; but the sheriff of Ayr had in the night time put a garrison of soldiers in the church to exclude him. Hugh Campbell of Kingzeacleugh with others of the parish offending thereat, would have entered the church by force ; but he would not suffer it, saying—" It is the word of peace that I preach unto you, the blood of no man shall be shed for it this day ; Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church ; and he himself, when he lived in the flesh, preached oftener in the desert and upon the sea-side than in the Temple of Jerusalem." So walking along to the edge of the moor on the south side of Mauchline, he preached to the multitude that flocked about him three hours and above ; and all the while he abode in those parts taught daily with good success.

After a month's stay in these quarters, he was advertised of a great desolation in the town of Dundee, by reason of the pestilence, which brake out in it the fourth day after he left the town. This moved him to return, and on the next morrow after his coming he gave signification that he would preach ; but because the sickness, which had consumed a great many people, was still raging in the town, he chused to preach upon the head of the east-gate, the infected persons standing without the gate, and those that were free within. His theme was the twentieth verse of the cvii psalm ; " he sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction." Thereupon taking occasion to speak of the dignity and excellency of the Word of God, and

the punishments that follow the contempt of the same, as also of the mercies of God, and his readiness to pardon those that truly turn unto him, with the happy estate of such as God taketh to himself out of this misery ; so he comforted the people, as they were instant to have him stay with them ; judging themselves happy if they should die assisted with such a preacher. Neither did he forsake them all the time the plague continued, but still attended, preaching and visiting the sick in their greatest extremities, and not suffering the poor who were destitute of means to lack any necessary helps more than the rich.

It happened, whilst he stayed there, that a priest, called Sir John Weighton, having a purpose to kill him as he descended from the place where he used to preach, was apprehended with a weapon in his hand. A tumult was thereupon raised, the sick without the gate rushed in, crying to have the murdurer delivered to them ; but he taking the priest in his arms, besought them to be quiet, saying, “ he hath done no harm, only he hath shewed us what we have to fear in time coming,” and so saved the wicked man by his intercession.

The plague decreasing, he prepared to go to Edinburgh, where he had promised to meet the gentlemen of the west, that resolved at his parting from them to keep the convocation, and offer dispute to the clergy ; yet because he had not seen the people of Montrose of a long time, and was doubtful if ever he should return, he determined first to go thither. Whilst he remained there, a letter was directed to him from the laird of Kinneir in Fife, advertising that he had taken a sudden sickness, and requesting him to come unto him with diligence. He presently made to the journey, accompanied with some honest citizens that would needs convey him part of the way, and was not past a quarter of a mile, when on a sudden he made a stay, saying to the company—“ I am forbidden of God to go this journey : will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place (pointing with his finger to a little hill) and see what you find ; for I apprehend there is a plot against my life.” So turning back to the town, they who went forward to the place found some threescore horsemen laid to intercept them ; whereby he understood the letter to be counterfeited. They declar-

ing at their return what they had seen, he said, " I know I shall end my life in the hands of that man, (meaning the cardinal) but it will not be after this manner.

Some two or three days after he made to his journey, and would not be dissuaded by the laird of Dun and others, who laboured to have him stay. The first night he lodged at Inner-gowry, two miles from Dundee, with an honest man called James Watson; where being laid in bed, he was observed to rise a little after midnight, and go forth into a garden. There, after he had walked a turn or two, he fell upon his knees, sending forth many sighs and groans; then prostrating himself upon the ground, he lay in that sort almost an hour, weeping and praying, and then returned to his rest. William Spalden and John Watson, who lay in the same chamber, and had followed to see whither he went, began to ask him, as if they had known nothing, where he had been; whereunto he made no answer. In the morning, enquiring of new wherefore he rose in the night, and what was the cause of his mourning, (for they told him all they had seen him do,) he, with a dejected countenance, answered, " I wish you had been in your beds, which had been more for your ease, for I was scarce well occupied." But they praying him to satisfy their minds farther, and to communicate some comfort unto them, he said, " I will tell you that I assuredly know my travell is nigh an end; therefore pray to God for me that I shrink not when the battle waxeth most hot." Hearing these words, they burst forth in tears, and said it was to them a small comfort. Whereunto he replied, " God will send you comfort after me; this realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Gospel as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the Apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, it shall not lack (whatsoever the enemies shall devise to the contrary) the very capestone, neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once triumph in despite of the devil. But, alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible."

This said, he addressed himself to the way, and went that night to Perth. The next day he came to Leith, where he

kept himself close, expecting some advertisement from the gentlemen of the west. No advertisement coming, he waxed heavy and sorrowful; and being asked what made him so heavy, he said—"I am no better than a dead man, except that I do eat and drink: until this time I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew himself before men." They perceiving his desire was to preach, answered that they would gladly hear him; but considering the danger he might fall into, they could not advise him to do it. He replied—"If you and others will hear me the next Sunday, I shall preach in Leith; let God provide for me as best pleaseth him." Which he did, taking for his text the parable of the sower, out of the thirteenth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel.

Having ended his sermon, he was by the gentlemen his auditors counselled to leave the town, (for they held his abode in that place dangerous,) which advice he followed, remaining some time with the laird of Brunston, and some time with the laird of Longniddry and Ormiston; yet every Sunday, in one church or other, he taught openly, unto the time of his apprehension. The last sermon he made was at Haddington, where he received from the gentlemen of the west a letter, declaring they could not keep the diet appointed at Edinburgh; which grieved him so much, as calling John Knox, (who then attended him,) he said, "I am weary of the world, since I see men too weary of God." Yet he went to the pulpit, and rebuking the people of that town for the contempt of the Gospel, told them, that "strangers should possess their houses, and chace them from their habitations;" which came shortly to pass. In that sermon, as he had always done since his last coming into Lothian, he spake of the short time he had to live, and told that his death was more nigh than they did believe. All that night he stayed in Haddington, and the next morning bidding those of his acquaintance farewell, as it were for ever, he went on foot to Ormiston, (for the frost was vehement,) accompanied with the laird of the place, John Sandelands of Calder, and Chrichton of Brunston. John Knox was desirous to have gone with him, but he willed him to go back, saying—"one is enough at this time for a sacrifice."

When they had supped, he fell in a long discourse of the happy estate of God's children, and having ended that purpose, said he had a desire to sleep, but first appointed the fifty-first psalm to be sung; which done, he went to bed. About midnight the house was belayed with horsemen that the governor sent to take him prisoner. The laird refusing to deliver him, and thinking to get him shifted, the Earl Bothwell, sheriff of the county, came and required that he should be put in his hand, upon promise that his life should be safe, and that it should not be in the cardinal's power to do him any hurt. The laird reporting this to Mr George, he requested him to open the gate, saying—"The blessed will of God be done." So the earl entered the house, to whom Mr George said—"My lord, I praise God that so honourable a man as you are doth receive me this night, in the presence of these noblemen; for I am assured your honour will not permit anything to be done unto me against the order of law. I am not ignorant that all the law which they who seek my life use, is nothing but a corruption, and a cloak to shed the blood of God's saints; yet I less fear to die openly than to be murdered in secret." The earl answered—"I shall not only preserve your body from violence, if any be intended against you, but I will promise on my honour, in the presence of these gentlemen, that neither the governor nor cardinal shall be able to harm you, and that I shall keep you in my own power till either I make you free or bring you back to the place where now I receive you."

Upon this promise was he delivered and put into the earl's hands, who departed with him to Elphinston, where the cardinal was attending the success. It being told him that young Calder and Brunston were with the laird of Ormiston, he sent to apprehend them; but Brunston escaped to the wood. The other two were committed to the castle of Edinburgh; and thither was Mr George first carried, and afterwards brought back to the house of Hales, the earl's principal house in Lothian. But the queen-mother, at the cardinal's desire, being earnest with the earl to have sent him again to the castle of Edinburgh, albeit in regard of his promise he refused a long time, yet overcome in end by her intreaty he yielded. So was Mr George of new taken

to the castle, and after short stay there conveyed to St Andrews, where he remained prisoner unto the day of his suffering.

The cardinal, not thinking it expedient to delay his trial, wrote to the prelates to meet at St Andrews the twenty-seventh of February. The archbishop of Glasgow, at his coming, gave advice to seek a commission from the governor to some man of quality that might execute justice, lest all the burden should lie upon them; whereunto the cardinal agreed, supposing the governor would make no scruple in the matter: nor had he made any, if David Hamilton of Preston, knowing what was sought, had not seriously dissuaded him, advising him rather to use his power in the defence of God's servants, than to arm their adversaries with his authority. "For it is marvelled," said he, "that you should give such liberty to wicked and godless men thus to oppress poor innocents, unto whose charge no crime is laid; only they are accused for preaching the gospel of Christ, which yourself not long since openly professed, and exhorted others to profess, promising by your authority to maintain the same. The opinion which men had of your affection to the truth was that which chiefly procured your advancement to the place you now hold in the realm; and now consider what are men's thoughts and speeches of your proceedings, or rather what a fearful unthankfulness it is on your part to Almighty God, who hath bestowed upon you so many blessings. You are rid of your neighbours at home, who envied your honour, without blood and slaughter; you have lately reported victory of the foreign enemy that was stronger by much than yourself; and now will you persecute God's servants for the pleasure of flagitious men, who neither can hide their wickedness, nor have care to dissemble it? Remember how suddenly the late king was taken away, when he followed these courses which now you run. They who by their perverse counsels wrought his undoing, are leading you on to the same destruction. At the first they were your open enemies, and resisted your promotion to the government with all their might; but now I know not how they have snared you by their malicious devices. Think upon King Saul, who was exalted by God from a mean estate to be king of Israel; so long as he

obeyed the word of God he prospered, but how soon he grew disobedient he became miserable. Compare the success you have had in your affairs with his prosperity, and you will find it not unlike ; and of this you may be assured, that except you take another course, your end shall be no better than his, perhaps worse. Wherefore be wise, and suffer not yourself to be led any more by the counsels of wicked men, neither let poor innocents, at their appetites, be thus cruelly murdered."

The governor, moved with these speeches, did answer the cardinal—"That he should do well not to precipitate the man's trial, but to delay it until his coming ; for as to himself he would not consent to his death before the cause were truly examined, and if the cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the man's blood should be required at his hands." This answer grieved the cardinal not a little, for he knew that the delay would work the prisoner's escape, and to commit the cause to examination he saw it was more dangerous. Therefore in a great passion he replied—"That he wrote not unto the governor as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a shew of public consent, which since he could not obtain, he would be doing himself that which he held most fitting."

Thus he made a citation to be given forth, and Mr George to be charged to appear the next morrow, to answer for his seditious and heretical doctrine. Mr George receiving the summons said—"The cardinal hath no need to summon me, for I am in his hands, and kept fast in irons, so as he may compel me to answer at what time he pleaseth. But to manifest," saith he, "what men you are, it is well done to keep your forms and constitutions." The next day the cardinal and prelates being met in the abbey-church, the prisoner was presented by the captain of the castle, and then the sub-prior, called Mr John Winrame, a man of good learning, and one who secretly favoured the truth, went up into the pulpit to make the sermon, as he had been enjoined. He took for his theme the words of our Saviour in the thirteenth of St Matthew's Gospel, concerning the good seed, which he interpreted to be "the Word of God ;

heresy," he said, " was the ill seed," and this he defined to be " a false opinion fighting directly against the Word, and defended with pertinacy." Thereafter falling to speak of the causes of heresy, he said the " main cause was the ignorance and negligence of those that had the cure of souls, and neither understood the Word of God, nor could use the same to the convincing of false teachers, and the reducing of those who were gone astray." In the latter part of his sermon, speaking of the way how heresies should be discerned, he said—" That as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the counterfeit by the touchstone, so is heresy discerned by the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God." And in the end concluded, " that heretics ought to be punished, and might lawfully be put to death by the magistrate."

Now albeit all that was said made directly against themselves, who were then met, not to confute heresy, but to bear down the truth, and punish those that found fault with their pride and licentiousness; yet, as if all had been spoken for them, they proceeded, and, after their wonted form, placed Mr George in a seat erected for that purpose, and over against him Mr John Lawder, a priest, in another; who having a scroll of paper in his hand, containing the articles laid unto Mr George his charge, did use many bitter and reproachful words; all which he heard very patiently, not moving or changing once his countenance. Being required to answer, before he would utter a word, he bowed his knees, and made his prayer to God; then standing up, intreated them in most humble manner to suffer him to repeat the sum of a doctrine which he had taught since his coming into Scotland; which, he said, was nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of Christian Faith, and the Lord's Prayer. In Dundee he said that he had preached a part of the Epistle to the Romans. And as he was going on to shew what form he kept in his teaching, he was interrupted by the accuser, who with many opprobrious speeches, calling him an heretic, a runnagate, a traitor, and thief, said that it was not lawful for him to preach, and that he had usurped the power at his own hand, without any lawful calling of the Church. The prelates also prohibiting all discourses willed him to answer simply, yea or

may ; fearing, if liberty was given him to speak, he should draw some of the hearers to his mind.

Mr George perceiving that he could not have audience, appealed to an equal and indifferent judge. Whereunto Lawder replied, “ that the cardinal was a more than sufficient judge for him ;” and then he reckoned out all his styles, saying, “ that he was archbishop of St Andrews, bishop of Meropois, chancellor of Scotland, commendatory of Aberbrothock, *legatus natus*, *legatus à latere*, and the second person within the realm.” Mr George calmly answered—“ I do not condemn my lord cardinal, but I desire the Word of God to be my judge, and some of the temporal estate, with certain of your lordships here present, because I am my lord governor’s prisoner.” At which words some foolish people that stood by cried out “ Such man, such judge ;” meaning that the governor and others of the temporal estate were heretics like unto himself.

Then would the cardinal have pronounced sentence without any further process, but being advised to let the accusation be read, and hear what he would say, lest the people should think him wrongfully condemned, he commanded the priest to read the points distinctly, and receive his answer to every one severally. The articles laid to his charge were eighteen in number, which, with the answers he made, the reader may at his leisure see in the “ Book of Martyrs.” After they had spent some hours in this sort, sentence was pronounced against him, and he condemned to be burnt as an heretic. Then was he led back to the castle, and lodged in the captain’s chamber that night, the greatest part whereof was spent in prayer.

Early in the morning the prelates sent two friars to advertise him that he must die, and ask if he would confess himself. He answered, “ that he had no business with friars, nor would he willingly confer with them ; but if they were disposed to gratify him in that sort, he desired to speak with the learned man that preached the day before.” This being permitted, the sub-prior came and talked with him a good space ; at last he asked Mr George if he would receive the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. He answered, “ most willingly, so I may have it ministered according to Christ’s institution, under both kinds of bread and wine.”

Hereupon the sub-prior went to the bishops, and told that he had conferred with the prisoner, who did solemnly affirm that he was free of all the crimes objected, and that he did utter this, not out of a desire he had of life, but to manifest his innocency, which was known to God, before men. The cardinal, offended with these speeches of the sub-prior, said, "it is a long time since we knew what a man thou art." The sub-prior answering nothing, asked if they would permit the Sacrament to be given to the prisoner. The cardinal, conferring with the rest of the bishops a while, answered in all their names, "that it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic condemned by the Church."

When Mr George heard that the Sacrament was denied him, being asked by the captain of the castle, going then to breakfast, if he would take a part with him, he answered, "very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God." Then turning himself to the captain, he said, "I beseech you in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread which we are to eat, so that I may bid you farewell." The table being covered, and bread according to the custom set upon it, he spake about the space of half an hour of the institution of the Supper, and of our Saviour's death and passion, exhorting those that were present to mutual love, and to the leading of an holy life, such as becometh the members of Christ. Then giving thanks, he brake the bread, distributing to every one that was present a portion; likewise having tasted the wine, he delivered the cup unto them, exhorting them to remember with thankfulness the death of our Lord Jesus in this his communion with them. "As to myself," he said, "there is a more bitter potion prepared for me, only because I have preached the true doctrine of Christ, which bringeth salvation; but pray you the Lord with me that I may take it patiently, as out of his hand." And so concluding with a new thanksgiving, he withdrew himself unto his chamber.

Within a little space two executioners came up to him, one of whom apparelled him in a black coat of linen, the

other fastened some bags of powder upon all the parts of his body ; and thus arrayed he was brought forth to an outer room, where he was commanded to stay till all things were prepared. A scaffold in the mean time was erecting on the east part of the castle towards the abbey, with a great tree in the midst in manner of a gibbet, unto which the prisoner was to be tied ; and right against it was all the munition of the castle planted, if, perhaps, any should press by violence to take him away. The fore-tower was hanged with tapestry and rich cushions laid for ease of the cardinal and prelates, who were to behold that spectacle. And when all things were made ready, he was led forth with his hands being tied behind his back, and a number of soldiers guarding him to the place of execution. As he was going forth at the castle gate, some poor creatures who were lying there, did ask of him some alms for God's sake ; to whom he said " I have not the use of any hands wherewith I should give you alms ; but our merciful God, who out of his abundance feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you the things which are necessary both for your bodies and for your souls." Afterwards two friars met him, crying " Mr George, pray to our lady that she may be mediatrix for you to her son." To whom he said, " cease ye, tempt me not, my brethren."

Being come to the place of execution, and gone up upon the scaffold, he turned himself towards the people, and besought them not to offend with the good Word of God because of the torments they saw prepared for him ; desiring them withal to shew his brethren and sisters, who had often heard him, that the doctrine he taught was no wives' fables, but the true Gospel of Christ given him by the grace of God, which he was sent to preach, and for which he was then with a most glad heart and mind to give his life. " Some have falsely spoken," said he, " that I should hold the opinion that the souls of men departed sleep after their death until the last day ; but I know and believe the contrary, and am assured that my soul shall this night be with my Saviour in the Heavens." This said, he bowed his knees, and having conceived a short but most pithy prayer, he was tied to the stake, and then cried aloud, " O Saviour of the world have mercy upon me ; father of Heaven,

I commend my spirit into thine holy hands." The executioners having kindled the fire, the powder that was fastened to his body blew up. The captain of the castle, who stood near unto him, perceiving that he was yet alive, willed him to be of good courage, and commend his soul unto God. "This flame," said he, "hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit; but he who from yonder high place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days lie in the same, as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself." After which words one of the tormentors drawing the cord that went about his neck, stopt his breath so as he spake no more. The fire increasing, his body was quickly consumed unto ashes.¹

But the cardinal's malice not yet satisfied, caused the same night a proclamation to be made through the city, that none should pray for the heretic under pain of the heaviest censures that could be inflicted. And then the priests triumphing, did in all meetings extol the cardinal above the skies, saying, "that he, not regarding the governor's authority, had by himself caused justice to be executed upon that heretic, and kithed a most worthy patron of the ecclesiastical estate. If the Church," said they, "in former times had found such a protector, matters had not been reduced to the doubtful terms wherein now they stand: but long ere this time by her own power and authority she had been able to maintain herself." Such insolent speeches they were heard to utter in every place. The cardinal himself also seemed to be greatly pleased with that which he had done, presuming it should keep all his enemies in fear. Yet it proved the very rock on which he and all his fortunes perished; for the common sort of people exclaimed mightily against his cruelty, and some of good birth and quality did openly vow that the blood of Mr George Wishart should be revenged, though they should give life for life; of which number, John Leslie, brother to the earl of Rothes, forbare not in all companies openly to avouch that his hand and dagger should be the cardinal's priests.

Nor was he ignorant of the general hatred carried unto him, and thereupon began to think of fortifying himself with some strong alliance, which he shortly after made, con-

¹ [Notes at end of Book II. Diocese of St Andrews.—E.]

tracting one of his base daughters to the earl of Crawford, his son and heir. The nuptials were performed with an exceeding pomp and magnificence. But he did not long enjoy the content he took in this match; for Norman Leslie, son to the earl of Rothes, who had followed him a long time, and done him good services, having moved him in the behalf of some friends that were interested by the restitution of the lands of Cleish, Easter Wemyss, and certain others who had been forfeited in the late king's time, was not answered as he expected; for which growing into a choler, and alleging the cardinal's promise in the business, he said that he would not be deluded in that sort. The cardinal, who had not been accustomed to such speeches, and thought he was not used with that respect which became, chafed mightily, so as after an unseemly altercation, they parted in wrath.

This discord publicly rumoured, divers that hated the cardinal, some for the cause of religion, and some for other private respects, did repair to Norman, and working upon his passion, incensed him with their words, wondering how he could look for any good from him that was a man hated of God and all good people. And as it falleth out in such conferences, whilst every man was recounting the injuries he had suffered in private, and talking of his violent courses, one amongst the rest said, that they should do God good service, and no small benefit to the country, to make an end of that vicious and ungodly tyrant, whom all good men did hate; and with such words inflaming one another, at last they agreed to cut him off.

The principal undertakers were Norman Leslie, John Leslie, his uncle, William Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melville, one of the house of Carneby. The plot was, to meet at St Andrews in the most private manner they could, and surprise the castle some morning before the servants were stirring. And that the enterprise should not fail, they gave hands to be in the city the twenty-eighth of May, promising in the meantime so to carry themselves as no suspicion might be taken of their purpose. Thus, at the day appointed, Norman, accompanied with five only, came to the city, and went to his accustomed lodging; William Kircaldy was there a day before; John Leslie, who did profess enmity to the car-

dinal, entered not till night was fallen. Upon Saturday morning the twenty-ninth of May, rising about three of the clock, they met in the abbey churchyard, where they condescended that William Kirealdy, and six with him, (for they did not exceed twelve in all,) should attend the opening of the gate, and assure it for the rest. All things succeeded to their wishes. Grange at his first coming found the gate open, and entering with his company, entertained the keeper with some speeches, asked if the cardinal was stirring, and how soon he would rise. Norman came shortly after, and some two with him; last of all came John Leslie with other two; whom as soon as the keeper saw, suspecting some bad practice, he made to draw the bridge, but they laying hands upon him, took the keys, and assured the gate.

Then appointing four of the company to watch the chamber where the cardinal lay, that no advertisement should go unto him, they went to the several chambers in which the servants lay asleep, and calling them by their names, (for they were all known unto them,) they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, masons, and wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred, (for he was then fortifying the castle,) to the gate, permitting none to stay within but the earl of Arran, the governor's eldest son, whom they thought best to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with so little noise, as the cardinal did not hear till they knocked at his chamber. Then he asked who was there. John Leslie answered, "My name is Leslie?" "Which Leslie," said the cardinal, "is that Norman?" It was answered, that he must open to those that were there. The answer gave him notice that they were no friends; therefore making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, whilst it was in fetching, he began to commune with them; and after some speeches, upon their promise to use no violence, he opened the door; but they rushing in with their swords drawn did most inhumanly kill him, he not making any resistance.

The tumult was great in the city, upon the rumour that the castle was taken. The people armed, and such as favoured the cardinal made haste, intending to scale the walls; but when it was told them that he was dead whom

they sought to help, their hearts cooled. The people still crying for a sight of the cardinal, his corpse was brought to the very same place where he sate beholding Mr George Wishart's execution. Upon the sight whereof they dissolved; many then calling to mind the martyr his last words, were thereby confirmed in the opinion they had of his piety and holiness.

Such was the end of this unfortunate man, who in his life was ambitious beyond measure, and in punishing of those he esteemed heretics, more than inhuman. A barbarous part it was in him to sit and behold the martyring of Mr George Wishart, taking pleasure in that which no man could look on without pity. But the hatred he bare to the truth, and the care he had to maintain his own greatness, was such and so excessive, as he did both forget himself and the place he held in the Church, and now doth remain a tragical ensample in story, to admonish every man to keep within his bound, and hold that moderation which is fitting.

The rumour of this fact being quickly dispersed through the country, every man commended or condemned it as his passion led him. They who stood in awe of his power did highly commend the enterprise and praise the doers, and of that sort divers came to congratulate the fact, offering to take part with them. Others, who were more wise and moderate, though they disliked not the fact, (as hoping to enjoy their profession with greater liberty,) did yet abhor the form and manner, judging it to be foully done, especially on the part of Norman at whose hands he did not look for any harm. And indeed few or none of those who had an hand in that work escaped an extraordinary judgment; God thereby declaring that howsoever it pleaseth him in the execution of his judgments to use sometimes the ministry and service of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked disposition, and for most part faileth not to reward them with the same or the like that they do unto others.

But in the Church a fearful uproar was raised upon this accident; the priests and friars exclaiming everywhere against the murther, as the most odious, which in any memory had been committed. The bishops running upon the governor, who was no less troubled with the fact than themselves, desired some course might be taken for the

speedy punishment of the murtherers; but he following the course of law, directed summons for their appearing to underlie trial, which they contemned, and were therefore denounced rebels. The ecclesiastical judges, to be nothing behind for their parts, did solemnly curse the actors, and all that should receive or minister unto them any necessities.

41. Meanwhile the governor did nominate his base brother for the place; who was elected by the canons, and soon after confirmed by Pope Paul the Third. For he, fearing the defection of the realm from the obedience of the Roman See, as England had given the ensample, was glad to gratify the governor, and with the bulls, which were freely expedé, wrote both to the governor and to the bishop, that they should make their zeal appear in vindicating the injury done to the ecclesiastical estate.

Upon the receipt of these letters it was resolved to besiege the castle, which beginning about the end of August, continued until the month of January; howbeit to small effect, for the passage by sea being open, they were supplied with all necessities from England by King Henry, to whom they had obliged their faith by two several messages for defending the castle, and maintaining the contract with England; which the governor fearing, he was induced to capitulate with the besieged, and yield unto the conditions following:

1. That the governor should procure unto them a sufficient absolution from the pope for the slaughter of the cardinal, and till the same was returned, that they should retain the castle, and not be pursued by force.

2. That they, their friends, servants and partakers, should simply be remitted by the governor, and never be called in question for the said slaughter, but should enjoy all commodities, spiritual and temporal, which they possessed before the committing thereof.

3. That the besieged should give pledges for rendering the castle how soon the absolution was returned from Rome, and for surety of the pledges, that the earl of Arran, eldest son to the governor, should remain in their custody until the absolution was returned, and they secured to their content.

The conditions were to the besieged more advantageous than honourable to the governor, but neither the one nor

the other intended performance; for the governor at the same time sent a messenger to France, with letters from the Queen Dowager and from himself, intreating a supply of ships and gallies, to batter the house on that part which looked towards the sea, and debar the keepers of farther provision. They, on the other side, were resolved not to forsake King Henry's protection, of whose assistance they were confident. The proceedings of the next summer shall clear the intentions on either side; in the meantime let us hear how the affairs of religion went the rest of this winter.

Divers, as we touched before, upon the news of the cardinal's death, came and joined with those that had killed him, especially Mr Henry Balnaves, the Melvilles of the house of Raith, and some gentlemen of Fife, to the number of seven score persons, who all entered into the castle the day after the slaughter, and abode there during the time of the first siege. John Rough, he that had attended the governor as chaplain in the beginning of his regiment, came also thither, and became their preacher. After him came John Knox, but not till the siege was raised, and the appointment made whereof we have spoken. The adversaries of religion, taking advantage of this, did cast in the teeth both of the preachers and professors the murder committed, as though they did all approve the same; and Bishop Leslie in his "Chronicle," speaking of John Knox, saith that "He did think to attain to the top of evangelical perfection, by triumphing that way upon the slaughter of a priest and cardinal." I deny not but this his doing was scarce allowable, and that it had been a wiser part in him not to have gone towards them at all; yet since he did neither accompany them at the fact, nor came unto them till the conditions of peace were granted, his guiltiness was not such as they make it to be. Neither will I say that he was grieved at the cardinal's death, but rather glad that such an enemy was taken out of the way; but that he did insult upon his death, or allow the manner of it, cannot be truly affirmed. As to that which is objected, forth of the narration made of this accident in the book intituled "The History of the Church of Scotland," where the author seemeth indeed to commend the fact: though that history

be ascribed commonly to John Knox, it is sure that he did not pen the same, as I shall make clear in another place.¹

How soon the governor was gone, John Rough did openly preach in the parish church, and was much haunted by the people; at which the clergy offending, a great stir was raised. Dean John Annan oppugning his doctrine both by word and writing, John Knox did take on him to maintain the same; and the matter being brought to a dispute, after long reasoning upon the authority of the Roman Church, John Knox did offer to prove—"That the present Church of Rome was more degenerated from the purity which it had in the days of the Apostles, than was the Church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the death of our Saviour."

Such as were present at the reasoning having requested John Knox to make good what he had spoken, he took occasion the Sunday following to preach in the parish church, chusing for his theme the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel. In the sermon, after he had spoken a little of "the care that God had always of his Church, to forewarn her of the dangers that were to happen many years before the same fell out; and illustrated that point by the predictions of Israel's captivity, the prophecy of the four empires, namely the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, and, foretelling of the beast that should arise out of the destruction of the Roman empire, he said that by that beast the Church of Rome was to be understood, in regard all the marks assigned by Daniel did pertain to that church, and to no other power which ever was in the world." Then falling to speak of antichrist, he shewed "that there was not any one person meant by that title, but a body and multitude of people, having a wicked head, that should not only be sinful himself, but the occasion also of sin to all that should be subject unto him. And that he was called antichrist, because he was 'contrary to Christ' in life and doctrine, and in laws." The contrariety of life he made clear by deciphering the corrupt and beastly conversation both of the popes

¹ [Notes at end of Book II. St Andrews.- E.]

themselves and of their clergy. The contrariety of doctrine he qualified by comparing the doctrine of justification by faith, taught in the Scriptures, with the doctrine of justification by works, maintained by the Church of Rome. And the contrariety of laws he proved by the observation of days, abstaining from meats, and forbidding of marriage, which Christ had made free. In end he came to speak of the marks of the beast. "One," he said, "was in the text, where it was said, 'He shall speak great words against the Most High;' but what greater words," said he, "can be uttered than to call the pope the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter, the head of the Universal Church, most holy, most blessed, one who cannot err; that may make right of wrong and wrong of right; that of nothing may make somewhat; that hath all verity inclosed in the shrine of his breast; that hath power over all men, no man having power over him, and though he draw ten thousand millions of souls with himself to hell, that none may or ought to say that he doth wrong?" Which words he shewed were expressed in the canon law, and could not be denied. Another note more remarkable he adduced forth of St John his Revelation, where it is said that "the Babylonian whore shall make merchandise of the souls of men;" which never any did of what profession soever they were, the pope and his followers excepted. "For they," said he, "take upon them to mitigate the pains of souls in purgatory, and to release them by saying of masses, selling of pardons and indulgences, which none besides them ever did;" whereupon he inferred, that the Church of Rome was quite degenerated from her first purity, and that very beast foreshewed in the Scriptures, &c.

At this sermon Mr John Major, the sub-prior, a number of canons and friars of both orders, with the whole university, were present; whom he appealed to answer his allegations, if they found any one of them not consonant to truth. The archbishop being advertised of this, wrote to the sub-prior, saying, "that he wondered how he could suffer such heretical and schismatical doctrines to be taught, and not oppose himself thereto." Whereupon John Rough and John Knox were cited to answer unto certain heads collected out of their sermons, and set down as followeth:—

1. That no mortal man can be the head of Christ's Church.

2. That the pope is antichrist, and so not a member of Christ's mystical body.

3. That no man may make or devise a religion that is acceptable to God, but that he is bound to observe and keep the religion received from God, without chopping or changing the same.

4. That the sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by his Apostles, nor ought there any thing to be added unto them, nor diminished from them.

5. That the mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Jesus Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.

6. That there is no purgatory in the which the souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life, heaven being appointed for the faithful, and hell for the reprobate and unfaithful.

7. That prayer for the dead is in vain, and to the dead is idolatry.

8. That bishops are no bishops, except they preach themselves without a substitute.

9. That tithes by God's law do not appertain necessarily to churchmen.

This last article I would not omit, because it is alleged by those that penned the story. Whether it was a point of John Rough's preaching or not, I cannot say; but for John Knox, it is clear by his sermons and writings still extant, that he held it a point of "high sacrilege to rob and spoil the Church of tithes." It is true that many in those times, offending with the extortion of churchmen, did hold that "tithes belonged not to the Church by any divine right;" and knowing that this opinion would find easy passage among the people, as also serve to abridge the means and power of churchmen, they were the more ready to deliver such doctrines. But this was done rather out of passion than judgment; for he that will not wilfully shut his eyes against the truth, cannot but know that tithes are the Lord's, and the portion that he hath reserved for the maintenance of his worship and service. But, to leave this,

The sub-prior and others of the clergy that convened with him, having laid these articles to their charge, John Knox answered—"That for himself he was glad to declare his mind in those points before so modest and judicious an auditory;" and turning to the sub-prior—"It is a long time," said he, "since I have heard that you are not ignorant of the truth; therefore I do appeal your conscience, before the Supreme Judge, that if you think the articles wherewith we are charged contrarious to the truth of God, that you plainly open yourself, and suffer not the people to be deceived; but if in your conscience you know them to be true and sound, then I will crave your patrocinie, that by your authority the people may be moved to embrace the truth, whereof now many doubt because of your indifferency." The sub-prior answered—"That he came not there to judge, but to confer of these points, and would, if he pleased, reason a little of the power of the Church, which in my opinion," said he, "may very lawfully devise rites and ceremonies for decorating the sacraments, and other parts of divine service." John Knox replying—"That no man in the worship of God might appoint any ceremony, giving it a signification, to his pleasure;" one Arbuncle, a Gray friar, reasoned so hotly in the contrary, that, forgetting himself, he denied the Apostles to have received the Holy Ghost when they penned their Epistles. The sub-prior checking the friar, did after a little space dimit the preachers with a brotherly admonition, to take heed what doctrine they delivered in public.

When they were gone, such of the clergy as were present entered in consultation what was fittest to be done for staying the defection of the people; and in end resolved, that every learned man of the abbey and university should preach in the parish church on the Sundays, the sub-prior beginning, the officials following, and the rest according to their seniority; eschewing all of them to speak of any controverted point which might breed question, and minister unto people occasion of talk. John Knox, who by this mean was excluded from the pulpit on the Sundays, preached on the week-days sometimes, none daring to offer him any wrong, because of the fear they stood in of them within the castle.

But John Rough, being grieved with the wicked and licentious living of the soldiers and others in the castle, took his

leave of them and departed into England; preaching some years in the towns of Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, he was afterwards provided to a benefice by the archbishop of York, not far from the town of Hull, and resided upon it until the death of King Edward the Sixth. In the time of Queen Mary's persecution he fled with the wife that he had married into Friesland, and won his living with the knitting of caps, hose, and such like wares; and in November 1557, coming to London for providing some necessaries to maintain his trade, was apprehended by the queen's vice-chamberlain at the Saracen's Head in Islington, where they who professed religion used quietly to meet.

Being brought before Bonner, bishop of London, and questioned if at any time since his last coming into England, he had preached, he answered, "that he had not preached, but in some places where godly people were assembled, he did read the prayers of the Communion Book set forth in the reign of King Edward the Sixth." And being asked what his judgment was of the said book, he confessed "that he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the Word of God." The bishop used many persuasions to make him recant, and detained him some weeks in prison, to try what he would do; but finding him resolute and constant in his profession, he brought him forth to be judged. Where, one Morgan, bishop of St David's, assisting, he was charged, first—"That being a priest, and in orders, he had married a wife;" next—"That he refused to use the Latin service;" and thirdly—"That he would not go to the Mass." To the first point he answered—"That orders were not an impediment to marriage, and that he had done lawfully in taking a wife." To the second and third he said—"If he were to live Methuselah's days, he would neither use the Latin service, nor be present at Mass, which he counted abominable." Upon these answers he was condemned, degraded, and put in the hands of the secular magistrate, who the next morning, being the twenty-first of November, caused him to be burnt in Smithfield. Thus ended that worthy minister and martyr of Christ, of whom I thought fit in this place to say so much, though his suffering fell out some years after.

The summer following, about the beginning of June, the

absolution promised to those of the castle returned from Rome; whereupon the keepers were required to render the house, according to the capitulation made. But they alleging the absolution not to be sufficient, because of some words contained in the bull, wherein it was said, "*remittimus crimen irremissibile*;" that is, "*we remit a crime which cannot be remitted*," refused to accept the same. It was answered that such a clause was insert only for aggravating the crime, and that the absolution was in itself valid enough. But they would not be satisfied; and so complaining that promise was not kept with them, resolved to stand to their defence.

In the end of the same month there arrived twenty-one gallies sent from France, under the command of Leon Strozius, within sight of the castle. The governor was at that time in the Borders, and upon advertisement of the gallies arriving, came with such diligence, as divers who belonged to the castle being in the city, had no leisure to re-enter, and some who were gone thither for private business were forced to stay within. Shortly after his coming the siege was confirmed by sea and land, trenches cast, and the canons planted, some in the abbey steeple, some in St Salvator's, and some in the street that leads to the castle.

Then began the battery both by sea and land, but that of the sea did no great harm. The siege continuing all the month of July, upon the twenty-ninth day, in the south quarter (on which the cannon had played furiously that morning) a great breach was made. This terrifying the defendants, who to that time shewed great courage, expecting relief from England, (and indeed a naval army was prepared to come, but King Henry dying about the same time, it was stayed,) beside the danger they apprehended of the breach, the plague within the house was hot, and thereof every day a number died. So perceiving no help, and the sickness increasing, they came to a capitulation, whereby it was agreed that the lives of all within the castle should be saved, the principals transported into France, and if they liked not to remain there, be conveyed upon the French king's charges to what country they pleased, Scotland excepted. Immediately the castle was rendered to the French

captain, who sent his men to receive the prisoners, and make spoil of all that was in the house. They found of victuals great store, wherewith they furnished the gallies. But the cardinal's treasure and household stuff, which was very precious, pleased them better. All this, with the wealth the defendants had (for they had brought all their substance thither), fell into the hands of the French. The fourth or fifth day after the gallies put to sea, and about the midst of August arrived safe at Roan in Normandy, where some of the prisoners were incarcerated; others detained all the winter in the gallies, especially John Knox, Mr James Balfour, with his brothers David and Gilbert. The castle, after the French were gone, was by Act of Council demolished; which some said was done to satisfy the pope's law, that ordains "the places where cardinals are slain to be ruined;" but the true cause was the fear the governor had that the English should take the house and fortify it, as they did some others a short while after.

This revenge taken of the cardinal's death gave the priests some satisfaction, who reckoned it a part of their happiness to be rid in this sort of John Knox and others that they knew to be their enemies. But the duke of Somerset entering with a strong army into Scotland, in September next, put all in a new fear. The governor sent proclamations through the country, charging all that could bear arms to meet at Edinburgh for the defence of the realm. Many of all sorts assembled, and with greater diligence than was expected, which made the duke of Somerset, who was a nobleman well inclined, and hated the shedding of blood, to write unto the governor and nobility, entreating them to consider, "That both the armies consisted of Christian men, who above all things, if they were not forgetful of their profession, ought to wish peace and quietness, and have in detestation war and unjust force; as likewise to remember that the cause of the present invasion did not proceed from covetousness or malice, but from the desire of a perpetual peace, which could not be so firmly made up by any mean as by marriage, which they knew was promised, and by the public consent of the whole Estates, ratified upon conditions more beneficial to the Scots than to the English; insomuch that they were thereby called not

unto a servitude, but unto a common fellowship, and a liberal communication of all their fortunes, which could not but be more commodious to the Scots than to the English; the hope of advantage and the fear of injuries being always greater from the party that is most strong, to that which is the weaker. And for the business in hand, he desired them to consider this especially, that seeing there was a necessity of giving their queen in marriage to some man, if they did either respect their profit or honour, they could not make a better choice than of a king their neighbour, born in the same isle, joined in propinquity of blood, instructed in the same laws, educated in the same manners and language, superior in riches and in all external commodities and ornaments, and such a one as would bring with him a perpetual peace, together with the oblivion of ancient grudges and hatreds. For, should they take a stranger to be their king, differing from themselves in language, manners, and laws, great evils and discommodities could not but arise; as they might know by that which had fallen out in the like case to other nations, by whose ensample he wished they should be made wise. As for the part of England, he said, if they did find the minds of the Scots not estranged from peace, they would remit somewhat of their right, and be contented that the young queen should be kept among themselves until she were fit for marriage, and might chuse a husband to herself by advice of the nobility; during which time all hostility should cease betwixt the two kingdoms; it being provided that the queen should not be sent to any foreign country, nor contracted in marriage with the French king, nor any other prince; which if the Scots would faithfully promise, he would presently retire with his army, and recompence all injuries done since his coming into Scotland, at the sight and estimation of honest men."

This letter the governor communicated to his brother, and to a few others on whose counsel he depended, such as George Dury, abbot of Dunfermline, Mr Archibald Beaton, and Mr Hugh Rig, a lawyer, who gave him advice to suppress the letter, for they feared, if the offers were published, the greater part of the nobility would embrace the same; and instead thereof, they made a rumour to be dispersed throughout the army, that the English were come to take away the

queen by force, and bring the kingdom into subjection. The nobles and whole army believing this to be the effect of the letter, became mightily incensed. Nor did any kithe so foolish as the priests and clergymen, who, dreaming of nothing but victory, cried out, that the English heretics had no spirits, and durst not come to a battle. But they found themselves deceived; for upon Saturday, the tenth of September, 1547, the armies joining, the Scots were put to the worse, and many thousands slain, few in the fight, which lasted not long, but exceeding many in the chase. The English pursuing the victory, came forwards to Leith, where they remained eight days, dividing the spoil and prisoners; and in that time surprised the isles of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, in the river of Forth, with Broughtie Castle, in the mouth of Tay, which places they strongly fortified. In their return homewards they took the castle of Home, with the house of Fascastle, and placed garrisons in the towns of Haddington, Lawder, and Roxborough. The governor, the bishop his brother, and such of the nobles as escaped in the flight, went to Stirling, and there taking counsel what should be done with the young queen, concluded to send her to the castle of Dunbritton, under the custody of the lords Areskyn and Levingston, and to advertise the king of France how matters went, intreating of him a supply both of men and money.

Hereupon the next summer arrived at Leith three thousand Germans, under the charge of Count Rhingrave, with as many French, commanded by Monsieur d'Anelot, Monsieur d'Mallery, and Monsieur d'Ossel, Monsieur d'Esse being general of the whole. This supply did so hearten the governor, as gathering together an army, he beleagured the town of Haddington, which the English had at that time made very strong. The nobility being there convened, entered of new into a consultation touching the young queen, and the course that should be taken with her. The French general desired she should be sent into France, and espoused to the daulphin; which the queen her mother longed to have done. The noblemen were not of one mind; for such as favoured the Reformation were of opinion that the conditions offered by England (which were then come to light) should be embraced, because that would bring with

it ten years of peace at least ; in which time, if either King Edward of England or the young queen should depart this life, all things would return to their first estate ; and if no such things happened, yet the kingdom being at rest, and freed of the present troubles, would grow to some better ease within itself, and they might more maturely advise what course was fittest to be taken. “ Delay,” they said, “ in matters of such consequence, was safest, and that precipitation might bring with it a sudden but untimely repentance.” The rest stood all for the French, most of them being corrupted with gold, and others with large promises. The governor himself had an annuity promised of twelve thousand franks, and a company of men-at-arms to the earl of Arran his son. All these pretending the safety of the young queen, did reason that there was no other way to be rid of the English wars but that one ; for as long as the English have any hope, said they, to speed, they will still be troubling ; but when they shall see the queen gone, and that there is no remedy, they will cease from their pursuit. The greatest number inclining that way, it was concluded that the young queen should be conveyed to France. Shortly after, the French navy that lay at Leith giving out that they were to return home, compassing the north isles, received her at Dunbritton, and after much tossing at sea, did safely land her in France.

The wars with England in the meantime went on, and continued full two years, till by the treaty of Bulloigne, in the year 1550, a peace was made ; the Lord Chastilion being commissioner for the French, the earl of Bedford for the English, and David Panter, bishop of Ross, for the Scots. At that time were Norman Leslie, Mr Henry Balnaves, John Knox, and others, who had been kept partly in prison and partly in the galleys since the taking of St Andrew's Castle, put to liberty. Mr James Balfour had freed himself long before by abjuring his profession, and was become official to the bishop of St Andrews ; James Melvill died in the tower of Brest in Britanie ; William Kircaldy, Peter Carmichael, with Robert and William Leslie, who were imprisoned in Mount St Michael, found means to escape before the treaty, and went into England. Norman, after he was freed, returned into Scotland, but fearing the gover-

nor, he went into Denmark, where not finding that kind reception which he expected, he betook himself to England, and had an honourable pension allowed him, which was thankfully answered during the life of King Edward the Sixth. Queen Mary succeeding, he found not the like favour, and thereupon went to France, where he had a company of men-at-arms given him, with which he served the French king in his wars against the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and in pursuing the enemy, whom he had in chase, was wounded with the shot of a pistol, whereof he died the day after at Montreuil. He was a man of noble qualities, and full of courage; but falling unfortunately into the slaughter of the cardinal, which he is said at his dying to have sore repented, he lost himself and the expectation which was generally held of his worth.

The country, notwithstanding the peace made with England, was not in much better case; for the governor, who was altogether ruled by the bishop his brother, going through the country with justice courts, (as they call them,) vexed the people mightily; and whereas during the war men enjoyed the liberty of their profession, a new persecution was raised, which took the beginning at one Adam Wallace, a simple man, but very zealous in his religion. He was taken at Winton, in Lothian, by the bishop's direction, and brought to his trial in the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh; where, in presence of the governor, the earl of Argyle, great Justice of the realm, the earls of Angus, Huntley, Glencarne, and divers others of the nobility, he was accused, first, of usurping the office of a preacher, having no lawful calling thereto; next, of baptizing one of his own children; thirdly, for denying purgatory; fourthly, for maintaining that prayers made to the saints and for the dead were merely superstitious; and fifthly, for calling the Mass an idolatrous service, and affirming that the bread and wine in the Sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, remained bread and wine.

To the first he answered—"That he never judged himself worthy of so excellent a vocation as is the calling of a preacher, nor did he ever presume to preach; only he confessed, that in some private places he did read a part of the Scripture at times, and make a short exhortation thereupon

to those that would hear him." It being replied that he ought not to have meddled with the Scriptures ; he said—" That he esteemed it the duty of every Christian to seek the knowledge of God's Word, and the assurance of his own salvation, which was not to be found but in the Scriptures." One that stood by, saying, " What then shall be left to the bishops and churchmen to do, if every man should be a babbler upon the Bible?" he answered—" It becomes you to speak more reverently of God and of his blessed Word ; and if the judge did right, he would punish you for your blasphemy. But to your question. I say, that albeit you, and I, and five thousand more, would read the Bible, and confer together upon it, yet we leave more to the bishops to do than either they will do or can ; for we leave to them the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and the feeding of the flock which he hath redeemed by his own blood, which is a burthen heavy enough ; neither do we them any wrong in working out our own salvation so far as we may."

To the second he answered, " That it was as lawful for him to baptize his own child, since he could not have a true minister, as it was to Abraham to circumcise Ismael and his family."

To the third and fourth heads more generally he said, " That he never believed nor maintained anything but that which he found in the book hanging at his girdle," which was the Bible in French, Dutch, and English. And being urged to be more particular, he answered " That if he were disposed to speak of these matters, he would require a more upright and indifferent judge." The earl of Huntley upon that, saying he was a fool to desire another judge than the governor and bishops there present, he replied, " That the bishops could not be his judges, because they were open enemies to the doctrine he professed. And for the governor, he doubted if he had the knowledge to discern lies from truth, and the inventions of men from the true worship of God. The judge that he desired, he said, was the book of God, by which if he should be convinced to have taught, spoken, or done, in matters of religion, anything that was repugnant to the will of God, he would not refuse to die ; but if he tried innocent, and was found not to have spoken or done anything contrary thereto, then he desired the pro-

tection of the governor and nobility against the tyranny of malicious men."

Being enquired what he did think of the Mass, he said, "That he had read the Bible in three languages, and had never found the word Mass in them all; and that the thing which was in greatest estimation with men was nothing but abomination in the sight of God," Then did all the company cry out, "Heresy, heresy, let him be condemned." So the poor man was sentenced to be an heretic, and put in the hands of Sir John Campbell of Lundie, Justice-Deputy, who having adjudged him to die, sent him back to prison, because the night was coming on. All that night he spent in singing psalms, which he had learned by heart, and the next day was led forth to the fire, which was prepared on the Castle-hill, being inhibited to speak unto the people. Yet when he came to the place of execution he intreated the beholders "Not to offend with the truth because of his sufferings," saying, "The disciple is not above his master;" and as he was proceeding, the provost of the town, who had the oversight of the execution, did interrupt him, saying that he would not be permitted to speak to the people, whereupon, having in some few words commended his soul to God, he took his death most patiently.

The same year there arose a great contention amongst the churchmen for saying the Paternoster upon this occasion. One Richard Marshal, prior of the Black friars at Newcastle, in England, had been in St Andrews, and in one of his sermons taught that the "Paternoster should be said unto God only, and not unto the saints." Some doctors of the university taking exception against his doctrine, stirred up a Gray friar called Friar Tottis,¹ to confute him, and prove that the Paternoster might be said unto the saints. The friar, an audacious and ignorant fellow, took the matter in hand, and reading his text out of the fifth chapter of St Matthew's Gospel, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for unto them appertaineth the kingdom of heaven," gathered upon it, "that the Paternoster might be said to saints, because

¹ [This name, according to Lord Hales, ought to be written Cottis. In his Historical Memorials, his Lordship describes the Friar as "*F. Andreas Cottis, guardianus ordinis Minorum de observantia.*"—Vol. iii. p. 257, Note.—E.]

all the petitions in the prayer," said he, "appertain to the saints. For, if we meet an old man in the street, we will say, 'Good morrow, Father;' much more in our prayers may we call the saints our fathers. And seeing we grant they are in heaven, we may say to every one of them, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' Then we know," said he, "God hath made their names holy, so we may say to any of the saints, 'Hallowed be thy name.' And as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; therefore when we pray for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to any of them, 'Thy kingdom come.' In like manner, except their will had been the will of God, they had never come to that kingdom; therefore seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, 'Thy will be done.'" But when he came to the fourth petition, he was much troubled to find a colour for it, confessing "it was not in the saints' power to give us daily bread; yet they may pray," said he, "to God for us, that he will give us our daily bread." The like gloss he made upon the rest of the petitions, but with so little satisfaction of the hearers, as they all fell a-laughing, and the children meeting him in the streets did cry and call him Friar Paternoster, whereof he grew so ashamed, that he left the city.

Yet in the university the contention ceased not; whereupon the doctors did assemble to dispute and decide the question. In that meeting some held that the Paternoster was said to God *formaliter*, and to saints *materialiter*; others, not liking this distinction, said that the Paternoster ought to be said to God *principaliter*, and to saints *minus principaliter*; others would have it *ultimate et non ultimate*; others *primario et secundario*; and some (wherewith the most voices went) said that the Paternoster should be said to God, *capiendo stricte*, and to saints, *capiendo large*. Yet did they not settle upon the distinction; and after divers meetings, when they could not agree by common consent, the decision was remitted to the provincial synod which was to meet at Edinburgh in January following. A simple fellow that served the sub-prior in his chamber for the time, thinking there was some great matter in hand that made the doctors to convene so often, asked him one night as he went to bed, what the matter was. The sub-prior merrily

answering, "Tom, (that was the fellow's name) we cannot agree to whom the Paternoster should be said." He suddenly replied, "Sir, to whom should it be said but unto God?" Then said the sub-prior, "What shall we do with the saints?" He answered, "Give them Aves and Credos enow in the devil's name, for that may suffice them." This answer going abroad, many said, "He hath given a wiser decision than all the doctors had done with their distinctions."

When the synod convened, the question was again agitated, and after much reasoning, the same being put to voices, it was found that the "Paternoster might be said unto the saints." But the bishops and such as had any judgment would not suffer the conclusion to be enacted, ordaining the sub-prior at his return to St Andrews, for settling the minds of people, to show that the "Paternoster ought to be said to God, yet so that the saints ought also to be invoked." And thus ended that contention. In this meeting order was taken for publishing an English catechism, containing a short explanation of the commandments, belief, and Lord's prayer; and the curates enjoined to read a part thereof every Sunday and holiday to the people, when there was no sermon. This being imprinted, was sold for two-pence, and therefore called by the vulgar "The two-penny faith."

The year following another provincial council was kept at Linlithgow, in which the maintainers of any opinions contrary to the Church of Rome were accursed, and the decrees of the Council of Trent, made in the time of Pope Paul the Third, received. Some Acts were made for reforming the corrupt lives of the clergy, but little or no execution followed; they to whom the correction belonged being themselves in the highest measure faulty and culpable.

But the next year brought with it an alteration in both kingdoms, to the clergy's great content. For in England King Edward the Sixth departed this life, a prince of rare piety, and the special comfort of those who professed the reformed religion; in whose place Queen Mary succeeded, one wholly devoted to the pope and his faction. And at home the governor was induced by Robert Carnegie (on whom he relied much) and by Panter, bishop of Ross, to dimit the regency to the queen-mother, of whom the clergy

held themselves more assured. She following the directions of her brothers, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, set herself to maintain popish superstition at the uttermost, using less cruelty than did Queen Mary, but more policy, and to the same end. So as now the fear of change in religion was gone, and the hopes quite dashed of those that sought reformation, yet the Lord by his providence did otherwise dispose things, and made that a mean to advance religion amongst us which men thought would be utterly extinguished; for some of those that fled from Queen Mary's persecution taking their refuge unto this kingdom, did not only help to keep in the light which was begun to shine, but made the sun break up more clear than before.

William Harlow, a man of simple and mean condition, came first into the country. He had served some years in the English Church with good approbation, and was at this time very comfortable to the faithful.

After him came John Willock, a Franciscan, sometime in the town of Ayr, who for love of religion had left the country, and lived in England. When the persecution arose there, he fled into Embden, in Friesland, where he professed medicine, and by that occasion was made known to Anna, countess of Friesland, then a widow, who employed him in a commission to the queen-regent in the year 1554. His commission giving him some liberty, he kept most company with those he saw well affected in religion; and during the time of his abode was a great encourager of the professors. Returning the next year with commendatory letters from the same countess to the queen-regent, he made his stay in Edinburgh, where, notwithstanding he was visited with an heavy sickness for divers months, he ceased not daily to instruct and exhort such as came unto him, who were neither few, nor of meaner sort.

In the end of the year, John Knox came into Scotland, to whom many of good note repaired; for he taught daily in the house of one James Sim, at Edinburgh, where he was secretly kept. In his teaching he laboured chiefly to inform his hearers that in no case was it lawful to be present at the Mass, or to partake of the papistical sacraments. William Maitland, younger of Lethington, a man of good

learning and utterance, resorting often to his sermons, and perceiving his vehemency in that point, took occasion one day, in the presence of his auditors, to say "that he did not think his doctrine well-grounded, and that wise men ought to serve the time, and not expose their lives to unnecessary dangers, and so make themselves unprofitable to the Church; for even the Apostle St Paul," said he, "to eschew the tumult of the people at Jerusalem, went into the temple and purified himself with four men that had a vow upon them, which, otherwise than for eschewing the present danger, he would not have done." To this John Knox answered, "that men ought so to serve the time, as they neglect not their obedience unto God, whose commandment, how great soever the danger be, may not be transgressed; for the ensample alleged," he said, "the dissimilitude was great, seeing to go into the temple to purify and pay vows was sometimes commanded by God himself, whereas the Mass, from the first invention of it, was abominable idolatry, and never allowed of God." Farther he said, "that it might justly be doubted if either St Paul's act, or the advice that St James and the elders of Jerusalem gave him, had any good warrant, seeing the event proved not such as they did promise to themselves; for St Paul was so far from purchasing thereby the favour of the Jews, as to the contrary, they rising in a tumult drew him forth of the temple, and had almost killed him; so as it seemed God did not allow his doing, for that it served to confirm the obstinate Jews in their superstition." By these and the like answers to the rest of the allegations propounded, the hearers were so satisfied, as they resolved to go no more to Mass, but to make an open separation; whose ensample divers others, both of the town and country, did follow.

This being observed by the priests and others of the inferior clergy, they complained to the bishops, and shewed how the church-service was contemned, and people drawn away to private conventicles. The bishops meaning the case to the queen-regent, she was much commoved; yet advised them to use their own authority, and spare her for a little time, lest the articles of the marriage which was then treating betwixt her daughter and the daulphin of France might receive some cross at the convention of the

Estates. Hereupon they took counsel to call John Knox, and summoned him to appear in the church of the Black Friars at Edinburgh, the 15th of May ; but when the day came, they took a new advice, and deserted the diet, pretending some informality in the summons ; howbeit, the true cause was, that a number of barons and gentlemen were come to the town to assist him. After that time his preaching grew public, and was more frequented than before. The earls of Glencarne and Marshall repaired daily thereto, and were so taken with his sermons, as they did counsel him to write unto the queen-regent, and intreat her to make a reformation of the Church, which he did. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencarne ; but she calling it a pasquil, gave the same to the archbishop of Glasgow, and made no more accompt thereof. This is that letter which was afterwards published in print, and intituled, “ A Letter to the Queen Dowager.”

Letters about the same time were brought to John Knox from the English Church at Geneva, declaring that they had elected him to be their preacher, and requesting him to come and accept the charge. This letter he communicated with those that were his ordinary auditors ; and when he saw them exceedingly grieved for his departing, gave his promise to return, how soon they should find it fit to recal him.

Soon after he took leave of them and went to his journey, but was not well gone when, upon a new citation directed by the clergy (because he appeared not), he was condemned for an heretic, and burnt in effigy at the market-cross of Edinburgh. This was done in the month of July 1556. The copy of the sentence being sent unto him, he published an apology, intituling it “ An Appellation from the Clergy to the Nobility and Commons of Scotland.”

This year many prodigious signs were observed. A comet of that kind which the astronomers call *πρωγων*, the vulgars a fiery besom, shined the whole months of November, December, and January ; great rivers in the midst of winter dried up, and in the summer swelled so high as divers villages were therewith drowned, and numbers of cattle feeding in the valley-grounds carried to the sea ; whales of a huge greatness were cast out into sundry parts

of the river of Forth ; hailstones of the bigness of a dove's egg falling in many parts, destroyed abundance of corns ; and which was most terrible, a fiery dragon was seen to fly low upon the earth, vomiting forth fire both in the day and night season, which lasted a long time, and put the people to the necessity of watching their houses and corn-yards. These direful signs (as every man is led by his fancy to presage) were taken by some to be prognostics of great troubles that should ensue upon the match with France ; others said that thereby was signified some great change in the estate of the Church.

And indeed after this the estimation of the clergy daily diminished, and divers of that number relinquishing their order made open profession of the truth. Mr John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, forsaking his order, became a chaplain to the earl of Argyle, who resided then at Court, and spoke openly in his sermons against popish superstitions. In Dundee, Paul Methven did publicly exhort the people to renounce the doctrine of Rome, and submit themselves to the doctrine of Christ. And in all the parts of the country some were daily breaking forth, especially from the cloisters, and declaiming against the corruptions of the Church. The bishops perceiving it would be to no purpose to convene the preachers before themselves for heresy, moved the queen-regent to call them before the Council, for raising mutinies and stirring up people to sedition, hoping that way at least to restrain their public teaching. But at the day appointed for their appearance, such numbers of people did accompany them, as it was held safest not to call them till the multitude was dispersed ; and for that effect a proclamation was given out, charging all persons that were come to the town, without licence of the authority, to repair immediately to the Borders, and attend the Lieutenant in the service against England, for the space of fifteen days.

The gentlemen of the west country who were but lately returned from the same service, esteeming this a sort of oppression, went in a tumult to the palace, and entering the queen's privy-chamber, complained of the unreasonable proclamation that was sent forth. The queen began to excuse the matter, and shew the necessity of their attendance for some short time ; but they would not be satisfied.

And one James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, a froward and furious man, stepping forward, said, "we know, madam, that this is the device of the bishops who stand by you; we avow to God it shall not go so; they oppress us and our poor tenants for feeding their idle bellies, they trouble our preachers, and seek to undo them and us all; we will not suffer it any longer." And with these words every man made to his weapon. The queen being extremely feared, gave them many good words, praying them to use no violence, and saying that she meant no ill to their preachers; that she would hear the controversy betwixt the bishops and them; and that the present diet, with the proclamation given out, should be discharged. So the fury ceased, and all was quiet for that time.

Not long after, there arrived a messenger from the French king with letters to the nobility, desiring that the marriage should be consummated betwixt the young queen and the daulphin his son, and that certain commissioners should be sent to assist the solemnity. A convention of Estates being called to this purpose in December following, choice was made of eight persons to go in that journey. For the spiritual Estate were named James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, president of the College of Justice, and James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, base brother to the young queen; for the nobility, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassils, George Leslie, earl of Rothes, and James, Lord Fleming; for the burrows, George, Lord Seaton, provost of Edinburgh, and John Areskyn of Dun, provost of Montrose.

The great disasters that happened, both in their going and returning, brought many to think the marriage would not prove happy and prosperous. For having shipped at Leith in the month of February, they were dispersed by a mighty tempest, and one of their vessels that carried their horses cast away at St Ebb's Head, before they left the Scottish shore; another, wherein the earl of Rothes and bishop of Orkney sailed, with all the furniture for the marriage (which was very rich and costly) perished upon the coast of France, nigh unto Bulloigne, the earl and bishop hardly escaping by the ship-boat, which carried them to land. Neither had they any better fortune in their return

homewards ; for at Dieppe divers of the chief persons fell sick and died. The bishop of Orkney, a man of singular wisdom and experience, (who in his time had performed many honourable ambassages to the credit and benefit of his country,) ended there his life the fourteenth of September 1558. The earl of Rothes died two days after him, and the earl of Cassils, the thesaurer of the realm, a virtuous nobleman, went the same way. The Lord Fleming, a brave young nobleman, returned to Paris, suspecting some contagion, and deceased in December following. These deaths falling out so suddenly together, bred a suspicion in many that they were made away by poison ; which was the rather believed, because the French king was known to be displeased for their refuse of the matrimonial crown to his son. However it was, the apprehension taken therefore begat a great hatred of the French amongst the people of this realm.

In the month of April, Walter Mill, an old decrepit priest, having ceased from saying of Mass, became suspected, and was upon the same apprehended in Dysert by Sir George Strachen and Sir Hugh Torry, two of the archbishop of St Andrews' priests. He was kept in the castle, and earnestly laboured to recant and acknowledge his errors ; but continuing firm and constant in his opinions, his trial at last made, he was accused in presence of the bishops of St Andrews, Murray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens ; the abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerinoch, and Couper ; Dean John Winrame, sub-prior, John Grison, a Black friar, Mr William Cranston, provost of the old college, and divers other doctors of the university. When he came into the church, and was led to the place where they had appointed him to stand, he looked so feeble, partly by age and travel, partly by ill entertainment, as it was feared none should hear what he answered. Yet how soon he began to speak, he delivered his mind with such quietness and courage as amazed his very enemies.

Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanding him to arise (for he was upon his knees) and answer to the articles, said—" Sir Walter Mill, get up and answer, for you keep my lord here too long." He notwithstanding continued in his devotion, and that done, he arose

and said—"He ought to obey God more than man; I serve a mightier Lord than your lord is. And where you call me Sir Walter, they call me Walter, and not Sir Walter: I have been too long one of the pope's knights. Now say what you have to say."

Oliphant then began with this question—"What thinkest thou of priests' marriage?" He answered—"I esteem it a blessed bond, ordained by God, approved by Christ, and made free to all sorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the meantime take other men's wives and daughters; you vow chastity, and keep it not."

Oliphant proceeding said—"Thou sayest that there are not seven sacraments." He answered—"Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest and part them amongst you."

Oliphant—"Thou sayest that the Mass is idolatry. He answered—"A lord sendeth and calleth many to his dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the bell, and they come into the hall, but he turning his back upon the guests eateth all himself, giving them no part; and so do you."

Oliphant—"Thou deniest the Sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ really in flesh and blood." He answered—"The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and your Mass is wrong; for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's sin, and will never be again, for then he put an end to all sacrifices."

Oliphant—"Thou deniest the office of a bishop?" He answered—"I affirm they whom you call bishops do not bishop's works, nor use the offices of bishops, but live after their own sensual pleasures, taking no care for the flock, nor yet regarding the Word of God."

Oliphant—"Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it 'a Pilgrimage to Whoredom.'" He answered—"I say that pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scriptures, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place than at your pilgrimages, except it be in the common brothels."

Oliphant—"Thou preachest privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields?" He answered—"Yea man, and upon the sea too, when I am sailing."

Oliphant—"If thou wilt not recant thy opinions, I will pronounce sentence against thee." He answered—"I know

I must die once, therefore, as Christ said to Judas, ‘ *Quod facis fac citò* ;’ you shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, and no chaff ; I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail, but will abide both.”

These answers he gave with a great boldness, to the admiration of all that were present.

Then did Oliphant pronounce sentence, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal judge, and burnt as an heretic. But because no man could be found to supply the place of a judge, (for Patrick Lermont, bailiff of the regality, did absolutely refuse,) nor in the whole city so much as a cord to be had for money to tie him after he should be condemned, his life for one day was prolonged. The next morning one of the archbishop’s domestics, called Alexander Somerville, a wicked and flagitious man, supplying the place of the temporal judge, condemned him to the fire ; and because no cords could be had, the ropes of the archbishop’s pavilion were taken to serve the purpose.

As the time of his suffering drew near, his constancy and courage still increased ; for being conveyed to the fire with a number of armed men, when he was come to the place, and the priest Oliphant did command him to go to the stake, he said—“ No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand ; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands on myself ; but wilt thou put to thy hand and take part of my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly.” Then Oliphant putting him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying—*introibo ad altare Dei* ; and desired he might be permitted to speak to the people. Oliphant and the executioners said, that he had spoken too much, and that the bishops were offended with the delay. Yet some youths that stood by willed him to speak what he pleased, giving the executioners and bishops both to the devil. So after he had made his prayer upon his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, spake to the people a few words to this effect :—“ Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God ; but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments ; for which, as many faithful mar-

tyrs have offered their lives most gladly, being assured after their death to enjoy endless felicity, so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy, amongst the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life, which as I have received of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would escape eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of the priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation."

The multitude that looked on made a great lamentation, for they were exceedingly moved with his words. When the fire was kindled and began to flame, he cried—"Lord, have mercy on me; pray, good people, whilst there is time;" and thus departed, shewing a wonderful courage and resolution of spirit. The citizens took his death so grievously, that, lest it should be forgotten, they made up a great heap of stones in the place where his body was burnt; and when the priests had caused the heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing such as should bring any stones thither accursed, still it was renewed, until watches were appointed to see who they were that brought any stones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them. The epitaph made upon him is worthy the inserting.

Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.

This man was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion, and his death the very death of popery in this realm; for thereby the minds of men were so greatly enrag'd, as resolving thereafter openly to profess the truth, they did bind themselves by promise and subscription to oaths, if any should be called in question for matters of religion at any time after, they should take up arms, and join in defence of their brethren against the tyrannous persecution of the bishops.

The work of reformation did hereupon take a beginning, the story whereof, before I set down, (after I have remembered some worthy persons that lived in those times), I will add the catalogue of our bishops in the rest of the sées of this

kingdom, so far as I have been informed or learned by diligent search.

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount shall first be named, a man honourably descended, and greatly favoured by King James the Fifth. Besides his knowledge and deep judgment in heraldry (whereof he was the chief), and in other politic affairs, he was most religiously inclined; but much hated by the clergy for the liberty he used in condemning the superstition of the time, and rebuking their loose and dissolute lives. Notwithstanding he went unchallenged, and was not brought in question; which shewed the good account wherein he was held. Divers poesies he wrote in his mother-tongue, which gave evidence of his quickness of wit, and the knowledge he had in histories. In the beginning of the governor's regency he did attend him, till the governor, misled by ill counsel, made his authority subject to the cardinal. After that time he lived for the most part private, and died in a good age, the queen-regent having the administration of affairs.

Next to him shall be remembered Mr Patrick Cockburn, a gentleman of the house of Langton in the Merse. This man having attained by his studies to great learning, lived a long time in the university of Paris well esteemed. What course he took afterwards I know not, nor where he died; but by the treatises yet extant that he wrote, it appeareth that he was a man of good learning, and a favourer of the truth.

The third shall be John Mackbrair, a gentleman of Galloway, who forsaking the country for religion, became a preacher in the English Church; in the time of Queen Mary's persecution he fled to Frankford, and served the English congregation there as minister. Afterwards called by some occasion to the charge of a church in the Lower Germany, he continued there the rest of his days. Some homilies he left upon the prophecy of Hosea, and an history of the beginning and progress of the English Church.

To these I shall add our countryman Robert Wachop, though he lived and died an adversary to the truth, seeing by his virtue and learning he purchased both credit and dignity in foreign parts; and, which almost exceedeth belief, being blind from his very birth, only by hearing the lessons and conferences of learned men, he grew to such knowledge,

as in the university of Paris none of the doctors was held more learned, nor had a more frequent auditory. Being afterward promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh, in Ireland, he was employed in divers legations to the emperor and king of France by Pope Paul the Third, which he discharged with such prudence, as he came to be greatly esteemed with all the princes to whom he was known. At last in his return homewards from Rome, in the year 1551, he died at Paris, much lamented of all that university.

Coming now to set down the catalogue of bishops in the rest of the sees, I shall keep the order of the provinces, and begin with Dunkeld, the bishop whereof hath hitherto been reckoned in the first place.

THE BISHOPS OF DUNKELD.

In the city of Dunkeld there was of old an abbey founded by Constantine the Third, king of Piets, about the year 729, to the memory of St Columba, in which the Culdees were placed. King David, in the year 1130, did erect it to be a bishop's see; and recommending one Gregorius to the place, obtained Pope Alexander the Third his confirmation thereof. He sate forty-two years, and was much favoured by that good king. The lands of Auchtertule, with divers others appertaining to that see, were of King David his gift. This bishop died at Dunkeld in the year 1169.

2. Richard, chaplain to King William, was elected in his place, and consecrated in St Andrews, upon the Vigil of St Laurence, by Richard, bishop of St Andrews. This bishop was commended for vindicating the church of Abercorne forth of the hands of a laic person named John Avonele, who claimed the patronage thereof. He sate four years, and dying at Crawmond, was buried in St Colme's Inch, in the year 1173.

3. Cormacus succeeded in his place, to whom King William gave the lands of Dalgathy. He died in the year 1177.

4. In his place was chosen Walter de Biden, who was chancellor to King William; but he lived not many years.

5. John Scot, an Englishman born, being archdeacon of St Andrews, had been elected bishop of that see, but his election being withstood by the king, as we shewed before,

he was after Biden's death promoted by the pope's consent to Dunkeld; a man that made conscience of his charge, and was painful in his office. The country of Argyle was at that time part of the diocese of Dunkeld, the people whereof did only speak Irish, and neither understood the bishop, nor he them. Upon this he travelled to have the diocese divided, and Argyle erected into an episcopal see; and to that effect sent a letter to Pope Clement the Third, intreating that one Eraldus, his chaplain, who could speak Irish, a wise and godly person, might have the charge of that part committed to him. For, "how," said he, "can I make an account to the Judge of the world in the Last Day, when I cannot be understood of them whom I teach? The maintenance is sufficient for two bishops, if we be not prodigal of the patrimony of Christ, and will live with that moderation which becometh his servants; it shall therefore be much better to diminish the charge, and increase the number of able workmen in the Lord's field." The pope reading the letter, and considering how earnest he was to be eased of his charge, though to his own temporal loss, said—"It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requesteth his benefice may be parted into two. O how few bishops are now in the Christian world so disposed?" And so commending greatly the bishop's disposition, granted his request, sending back Eraldus (for he was the messenger) consecrated bishop as was desired. The bishop, glad to have obtained his desire, entered Eraldus to the charge, and followed diligently his own in that part which remained. Some few days before his death he rendered himself a monk in Newbottle, and there departed this life in the year 1203. His body was interred in the quire of the church upon the north side of the altar. William Bining, afterwards abbot of Cowper, did write his life, but the story is perished.

6. After his death, Richard Provand, King William's chaplain, was consecrated bishop, and lived a few years only in the see, for he departed this world in the year 1210, and was buried in Incheolm.

7. John Leicester, cousin to King William, was elected successor, and dying at Crawmond, was buried in Incheolm with his predecessor, in the year 1214.

8. Hugo, called Hugo de Sigillo, a monk of Aberbrothock, succeeded unto Leicester, a man of a sweet and amiable disposition. He was called the "The poor man's bishop," and lived not a year after his consecration.

9. Matthew, chancellor of Scotland, was then elected; but he died the same year, before he was consecrated.

10. To him succeeded Gilbert, chaplain to Bishop Hugo. He sate twenty-two years, and died in the year 1236.

11. Galfrid Liverance was elected in his stead. This bishop was a zealous man; he reformed the service of the Church, *ad usum Sarum*, and ordained the canons to make residence at Dunkeld, giving them the commons of the Church for their entertainment. He died at Tibbermore in the year 1249, and was buried at Dunkeld.

12. After Galfrid's death, Richard, chancellor to the king, succeeded, and dying the same year at Crawmond, was buried in Incheolm.

13. After him, Mr Richard of Innerkething, chancellor of Scotland, was elected, who sate twenty-two years. He built the great quire of the abbey-church in Incheolm, upon his own charges, and died very old in the year 1272. He is much commended for his faithful service done to King Alexander the Third. His body was interred at Dunkeld, and his heart laid in the north wall of the quire which he built in Incheolm.

14. Robert Suteville, dean of Dunkeld, debarred at first from the bishopric of St Andrews by the ambitious suit of Abel, the archdeacon, was at this time preferred to be bishop of Dunkeld. He died in the year 1300, and governed the see twenty-eight years, *moribus, scientiâ, et vitâ præclarus*.

15. After him Matthew, by recommendation of King Edward the First of England, who kept Scotland as then under subjection, was advanced to the bishopric, and sate twelve years.

16. William Sinclair, a brother of the house of Roslin, and uncle to William Lord Bisset, succeeded. This is he that King Robert Bruce used to call his own bishop; for the king being in Ireland with an army for the supply of his brother Edward, the English taking advantage of his absence, sent two armies to invade the kingdom, the one by land, the other by sea. The sea-army landed in Fife, near

to Auchtertule, (where the bishop had his residence,) which the sheriff of the country, for hindering their depredations, went to encounter; but at the sight of their numbers, he gave back and fled. The bishop hearing of their flight, brought forth his ordinary train, and casting himself in the sheriff's way, asked why he fled; and having checked him bitterly for his cowardice, called for a lance, crying aloud, "you that love the honour of Scotland, follow me." By this forwardness he put such courage in the rest, as they returning upon the English, did chase them all back to their ships. One of the ship-boats, overcharged with the company that leapt into it, was sunk, and in that conflict were drowned and slain five hundred English and above. The honour of this victory was wholly ascribed to the bishop's courage; for which he was greatly favoured by the king. He built in his time the quire of Dunkeld from the ground, which the army of England had demolished; redeemed the lands of Green-oke from one Simon Cader, and gave to his archdeacon the church of Logialoquhy, with the vicarage pensionary of Little Dunkeld. Afterwards dying the twenty-seventh day of June, anno 1338, he was buried in the quire of Dunkeld, in a marble tomb by himself erected.

17. The same year one Duncan, an Englishman born, was consecrated bishop. He set in feu the lands of Fordell to Walter Fotheringham, at the desire of Edward Baliol, and died in the year 1364, after he had sate twenty-six years.

18. To him succeeded Michael of Monimusk, chamberlain of Scotland. He died the 1st of March 1376, and was buried in the quire of Dunkeld.

19. After him Mr John Peebles, chancellor to King David Bruce, came to the place; a man learned and of great authority. He sate twenty years in the see.

20. In the year 1396, Robert Carden, son to John Carden of that ilk, was consecrated bishop, and governed the see the space of forty years. He did many good things in his time to his church, building and enlarging it at his own charge, and acquired thereunto divers lands, as the town of Crawmond with the lands adjoining, for which he gave in excambion the lands of Cambo in the same parish, and the lands of Muchler, beside Dunkeld. He died the 16th of

January 1436, and was buried honourably in St Ninian's chapel of Dunkeld, which himself had built.

21. To him succeeded Donald Macknachtan, dean of Dunkeld, doctor of the canon law, and nephew to Bishop Robert, his predecessor. He was elected by the chapter; but King James the First misliking the choice, opposed his entry, whereupon he took journey to Rome to have his election confirmed, and died by the way as he was travelling thither.

22. James Kennedy, nephew to King James the First, by his sister, was then preferred to the see. Two years he sate bishop in Dunkeld, and was afterwards translated to St Andrews, as before we have shewed.

23. Upon his translation, Mr Alexander Lawder, parson of Ratho, and brother-german to the bishop of Glasgow, then chancellor of the kingdom, was elected bishop; but he died the same year (which was the year 1440) at Edinburgh, and was buried with his ancestors in the church of Lawder.

24. Mr James Bruce, parson of Kilmeny, was after him consecrated bishop of Dunkeld at Dunfermline, the 4th of February, in the year of Christ 1441, and sate bishop the space of six years. In the seventh year he was translated to the bishopric of Glasgow, and made chancellor of the kingdom.

25. To him succeeded Mr John Ralston. He was secretary to King James the Second, and sate bishop little above three years, dying in Dunkeld in the year 1450, where he was buried.

26. Mr Thomas Lawder, Preceptor or Master of Sowtrey, who had been tutor to King James the Second in his youth, at the age of sixty years was elected bishop after Ralston, by the king's recommendation. He took great pains in preaching, and by his continual exhortations and exemplary life, won that unruly people to the obedience of God and the king. Having finished the building of the church, he dedicated the same in the year 1454, and adorned it in a most magnificent manner. He obtained of the king an erection of the bishop's lands on the north side of Forth into a barony, called the barony of Dunkeld, as likewise the lands in the south into another, which was called the barony

of Aberlady ; built a bridge upon the river of Tay, nigh to his own palace ; founded a number of chaplanries and prebends, partly in Edinburgh, partly in Dunkeld ; made purchase of two lodgings, one in Edinburgh, and another at Perth, for the receipt of his successors ; and having done many good works, resigned his bishopric, because of his great age, to Mr James Livingston, dean of Dunkeld.

27. This resignation was crossed awhile by Thomas Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, whose credit in the Court was great at that time ; but upon transaction amongst themselves, the king's consent was obtained, and he consecrated at Dunkeld by John Hepburn, bishop of Dunblane, John Balfour, bishop of Brechin, and the said Thomas Spence, in the year 1476. He sate seven years, two months, and five days, and dying at Edinburgh, was buried in the isle of Incheolm.

28. The chapter after Livingston's decease, made choice of Alexander Inglis, dean of Dunkeld, and keeper of the rolls in the time of King James the Third ; but Pope Sixtus the Fourth, cassing his election, gave the bishopric to George Brown, chancellor of Aberdeen, (who was then at Rome,) and consecrated him bishop in Saint James' Church, anno 1484. The king displeased with his promotion, declared him rebel, and complained thereof to the pope and cardinals ; but the pope maintaining his own gift, the king was afterwards reconciled to him, and he peaceably possessed in the bishopric. This bishop was a strict observer of discipline, and by his austere and rigorous forms wrought a great reformation in all the parts of his diocese, which he distributed into four deanries, placing one in the borders of Athole and Drumalbane ; another in Fife, Fotherick, and Strathern ; the third in Angus ; and the fourth in the parts besouth Forth. The penalties of offenders he gave to the uses of the church where they resided, saying commonly—*“ Oleum peccatorum non impingnet caput meum.”* He was a man given much to hospitality, and withal very careful of the Church ; for he recovered to the see the lands of Fordel and Muckarsie, with the forest of Birnan, that had been alienated before his time ; founded divers prebends and chaplanries, and gave many ornaments to the cathedral church. Before his death he was tormented with the felt

gravel, which he bare most patiently, professing that “ he was glad to endure those pains, as serving to wean his heart and affection from the love of this world ;” and so departed this life most happily the 12th of January 1514.

29. Andrew Stewart, brother to John, earl of Athole, was upon his death postulated bishop ; but it took no effect, Mr Gawane Dowglas, brother to the earl of Angus, and provost of Saint Giles in Edinburgh, being preferred thereto by Pope Leo the Tenth. This gift was quarrelled by the duke of Albany, governor, and the bishop called in question for his trafficking with Rome without licence ; whereupon he was committed, and continued prisoner a whole year. Afterwards compounding with Andrew Stewart, to whom he gave the churches of Alyth and Cargill, he got peaceable possession of the see ; yet the troubles that followed in the country made him forsake the same, and undertake a journey to Rome. In his way thither he died of the plague at London, in Savoy House, in the year 1522 : a man learned, wise, and given to all virtue and goodness. Some monuments of his ingenie he left in Scottish metre, which are greatly esteemed, especially his translation of Virgil his books of *Æneids*.

30. George Creighton succeeded, a man nobly disposed, and a great housekeeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled. In the question of religion (which was in his time severely agitated) he loved to have things calmly carried, but his counsels took little place. It was he that said to one of his vicars, whom he was persuading to leave his opinions—“ That he thanked God that he knew neither the Old nor the New Testaments, and yet had prospered well enough all his days.”

31. Robert Creighton, his nephew, was preferred upon his death to the see, in whose time fell out the Reformation of the Church.

THE BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN.

1. Malcolm the Second, in memory of the defeat he gave the Danes at Murthlach, founded there a bishop's seat in the year 1010, and preferred one Beanus thereto, a man of

singular virtue and godliness, gifting to him and his successors the lands of Murthlach, Cloveth, and Dummeth. This bishop sate thirty-two years, and dying in Murthlach, was buried at the postern door of the church, which himself had built.

2. Donortius, who succeeded him, lived bishop forty-two years, and was interred with his predecessor.

3. Cormachus, the third bishop of this see, governed the same thirty-nine years, and was buried likewise with his predecessors.

4. Nectanus succeeded. In his time King David did translate the see from Murthlach to Aberdeen, and gave to him and his successors the lands of Old Aberdeen, Sclaty, Goull, Moorecroft, Kimmundy, Mowmenlath, Clat, Talyne-stine, Rayne, Dawyot, and their churches, with divers other lands, whereby the see was greatly enriched. The bishop died in the year 1154, having sate fourteen years at Murthlach, and seventeen at Aberdeen.

5. After the death of Nectanus, one Edward was promoted, who was greatly favoured by Malcolm the Fourth, called the Maiden, and was thought to have persuaded the king to continue in his single life. He was the first bishop that brought the canons to do ordinary service in the church of Aberdeen, and died in the eleventh year after his consecration.

6. Matthew Kinninmonth, archdeacon of St Andrews, succeeded; a man famous for learning and other excellent virtues. In his time began the cathedral church of Aberdeen to be built unto the memory of St Machar, to whom King Malcolm gave the lands of Tuligreg, Fetternew, Invercrowden, Banchordeneif, Balhelvy, and the patronages of the churches. He sate bishop thirty-four years.

7. John, prior of Kelso, was next elected bishop. This man is greatly commended for liberality to the poor, and magnificence in the buildings and ornaments of the church; he died the next year after his consecration.

8. One Adam was assumed in his place, rather for satisfying King William's pleasure than for any good affection borne to the man by the rest of the clergy. At first he shewed no great care in his charge, giving himself wholly to

temporal affairs; yet after King William's death he grew quite another man, setting himself to amend his former negligences. He sate twenty-one years.

9. Upon his death the clergy and people of Aberdeen postulated Matthew, chancellor of the kingdom, who was willing to accept the place; but Dunkeld falling void in the mean season, King Alexander the Second preferred him to that see.

10. And then Gilbert Striveling, a man well born, and much esteemed for his integrity of life, obtained the place; but he lived not many years, departing this world in the eleventh year after his election.

11. Radolph, abbot of Aberbrothock, succeeded, being with an uniform consent of the clergy and people elected bishop. He was brought with great difficulty to accept the charge; a man of great prudence, and painful in his calling, for he travelled through all his diocese on foot, preaching and visiting the churches, that he might know their true estate; and he is said never to have changed his form of living that he used in the cloister, and to have been more abstinent and sparing both in diet and apparel than he was before. He died some eight years after his consecration, which was about the year of Christ 1247.

12. Peter Ramsay, a man of good learning, was next chosen bishop; he was a man very kind to the canons, and parted many of his rents amongst them. He sate bishop ten years, and deceased about the seventh or eighth year of King Alexander the Third his reign.

13. Presently after his death, Richard Pottock, an Englishman, was elected, who sate bishop thirteen years.

14. Hugh Benham, elected by the monks, went to Rome, and was there consecrated by Pope Martin the Fourth. After he had remained there the space of a year, he returned to Scotland, at which time there was a great contention between the churchmen and the people of the country, for certain tithes that the priests did exact too rigorously. The difference being submitted to him, he composed the same in a convention of the clergy at Perth, wherein the king and many of the nobles were present, and died of a catarrh, being very old, in the isle of Lochgoull, about the year 1280.

15. Henry Cheyn, nephew to the Lord Cummin, was next preferred to the see. The troubles which in his time brake forth in the kingdom between Bruce and Baliol wrought him great vexation ; for whilst he took part with his uncle against Bruce, he was banished into England, where he lived until the end of these wars ; and then licenced by King Robert to return, he gave himself to repair his church, and restore all things which the licentiousness of war had disordered. He died the same year in which King Robert the Bruce ended his life, that is, in the year of Christ 1329, which was the forty-eighth year after his consecration.

16. Alexander Kinninmonth, doctor of divinity, succeeded in his place, a great lover of learning and learned men, whom out of all parts he drew to make residence with himself. In the winter season he dwelt at Murthlach, and when the spring opened, at Aberdeen, because of the confluence of people in that time of the year : all the summer and harvest time he remained at Fetterneir and Rayne, that he might the more commodiously discharge his office in every part of his diocese. The English in his time set on fire the town of Aberdeen, which burnt six days together, and did much harm ; his own palace, with the whole houses of the canons, were thereby consumed, which was thought to have hastened his death. He departed this life in the eleventh year of his consecration.

17. William Deyn was made bishop in his stead. The most of his time the realm was infested with wars, whereby he was impeded in many good purposes that he intended, and had much ado to keep the clergy in obedience, for every man during the war took liberty to do what they thought good. He sate bishop the space of ten years.

18. After him, John Raith, doctor in divinity, was chosen bishop by the monks. He lived only six years bishop, and was buried in the quire of Aberdeen.

19. King David Bruce returning from France about this time, had brought with him in company one Nicholaus, a corrupt and ambitious man, who procured the king's recommendation to the chapter of Aberdeen for his election. The canons excused themselves, saying—" The church of Aberdeen was not so scant of men as to admit an unworthy person into the place. And howsoever the king in his king-

dom might do what he pleased, they were by their oaths astricted to admit none but learned men, and such as were approved for integrity of life; wherefore they intreated the king in humble manner to suffer them, as they had been accustomed, to elect some wise and grave person, that could discharge the place with credit;" which after some months they obtained, making choice of one Alexander Kinninmonth, who was consecrated in the town of Perth, the king himself being present. This man answered fully the hopes conceived of him, and took great pains in his calling; for on the ferial days he taught the civil and canon law, and the holydays he spent in preaching and prayer. Thrice every week he fasted, contenting himself in the holy eves with bread and water. He caused demolish the old church of Aberdeen, which he esteemed not so beautiful as was fitting for a cathedral church, and laid the foundation of another more magnificent. But ere the work was advanced six cubits high, he was employed by King Robert the Second in an ambassage to France, for renewing the old league, which he worthily performed. Shortly after his return he died, having sate bishop twenty-four years.

20. Adam Cunningham, a man well descended, and of great authority, was after him elected. This bishop is said to have been in such account for his wisdom and sincerity, that in all matters of importance propounded in Council his opinion did ever prevail. His frequent employments with the French king, as well before as after his preferment to the see, and the happy success he had therein, manifested his prudence and dexterity of wit: yet, as it falleth out often in courts, upon some envious delations, the king became jealous of him, as if he had practised with some noblemen against the royal succession, and pressed to reduce the old form of election of kings. Finding that the king had taken some impression of the report, albeit nothing was more false, he took counsel to retire himself, and attend his charge at home, where he had not long stayed when he fell into a new trouble with a base son of the king's, named Alexander, a man extremely vicious, and for his oppressions hated of all good men. To the bishop he bare a special grudge, because of the liberty he had used in reproving his wickedness; and hearing in what dislike the bishop was with the king, he

violently possessed himself in the bishop's lands, thrust forth his tenants, and behaved himself as master and lord of all. The bishop complained to the king, but finding no redress, he pronounced him excommunicate ; wherewith the wicked man incensed, associating a number as wickedly disposed as himself, did swear to take the bishop's life, and came to Aberdeen of that intention. Whereof the bishop getting advertisement, he went forth to meet him on the way, and how soon he saw him, discovering his head, which was all white, (for he was a man of great age,) said—" If this be it that thou seekest, I have brought it unto thee, take thee head, life, and all." The company admiring the old man's courage, and moved with some compassion of his white hairs, persuaded Alexander not to meddle with his blood. The report of this insolency going to the king, he sent for his son, and committing him to prison, caused satisfaction to be given for all the injuries the bishop had sustained, and surety for his indemnity thereafter. After which he enjoyed reasonable quietness until his death, which happened in the year of Christ 1390, having sate bishop ten years.

21. Gilbert Grinlaw, a man learned, wise, and of great esteem with the nobles of the kingdom, was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen the same year. He had been chancellor to King Robert the Third a long time, which office he discharged with great credit, and to the contentment of all the subjects. After the king's death, (the earl of Fife, brother to the deceased king, then governing the realm,) he was employed in an ambassage to Charles the Seventh of France, and went thither in the company of the earls of Buchan and Dowglas, who, with divers other noblemen, were afterwards unfortunately killed at the battle of Verneuil. The bishop, at his return, found all things out of frame, the governor dead, his son Murdoch placed in his room, and the whole estate miserable by the riots and oppressions which were used every where without punishment. This made the bishop retire himself, and live private at home, where soon after he died of a consumption, in the year 1424. His body was interred in the quire of the cathedral church.

22. After his death, Henry Leighton, bishop of Murray, was translated to Aberdeen, a man learned both in the civil

and canon law, of great experience, and in that regard postulated bishop by the canons. He stood doubtful a while whether he should condescend to the charge or not, yet was induced to consent at last, and so came to Aberdeen, where he applied himself carefully to do the charge of a bishop. But the Estates of the realm meeting in a solemn convention for putting some order to the present confusions, he was sent with some others in commission to England, to treat for the redemption of King James the First, who was there detained captive. This business happily performed, he returned with the king, to whom he gave great content by his services and forwardness in reforming public abuses. He advanced greatly the fabric of the church of Aberdeen, and bestowed large sums for perfecting that work; he built also the chapel called St John's chapel, within the cathedral, and was therein buried himself, in the year 1441, seventeen years after his translation.

23. Ingram Lindesay, doctor of the canon law, was upon his death, with the great applause of all good men, received bishop. He was at that time very old, and by the policy of one Alexander, who aimed at his place, moved to take journey to Rome, the man imagining that he should die in the voyage, whereof yet he was deceived. For the bishop sailing to Marseilles, in France, went from thence by sea to Rome, and after some months stay returned more healthful than before. Seventeen years he continued bishop, and ruled the affairs of the church very wisely. A man constant in his promises, of a spare diet, but very hospitable, for he entertained great numbers, both of learned men and others, especially the eldest sons of noblemen and barons in the north parts; and notwithstanding of his age and public employments, was ever at study when he could find any free time from those cares. A little before his death he fell in the king's displeasure for denying admission to some whom the king had presented to certain benefices, for that they were either mere ignorants, or for their years incapable. But this did not greatly trouble his mind, as being no way conscious to himself of any just offence offered. He died at Aberdeen, much lamented of the citizens, who loved him dearly, and buried him in the cathedral church with great solemnity.

24. Then was Thomas Spence, bishop of Galloway, translated to the see, a man of active spirit, and fitted for great business. Whilst he was yet very young, he went to France, trusted with a commission by King James the Second, and by his wise behaviour won such favour with Charles the Seventh, then reigning, as after divers great services performed to that king, he returned honoured with the place of a councillor, and a yearly pension of three thousand French crowns. About which time, the bishopric of Galloway falling void, he was held most worthy to be preferred thereto, and from thence, by the occasion of Bishop Lindesay his death, at the earnest entreaty of the canons, was translated hither. Most of his time, after he was translated, he spent in legations from the king and estate, sometimes to the duke of Burgundy, and sometimes to Edward the Fourth of England. Not the less mindful of his church, he adorned the same in a most rich and sumptuous manner, and built of new the bishop's palace, which, since the burning by the English, had been waste and ruinous. Amongst other charitable works, he erected an hospital at Edinburgh, acquiring thereto divers lands, and ended his life by sickness the 15th of April 1480. His body was interred in the Trinity College of Edinburgh.

25. Robert Blacader, being for the time at Rome, was by the provision of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, made bishop, at whose hands also he received consecration; a gentleman well descended, and of good knowledge both in divine and humane learning. Soon after he was translated to Glasgow, where he died.

26. William Elphinston succeeded to Blacader, a famous and memorable person. He was born in the city of Glasgow, and trained up in the pedagogie of that city, where he made such profit in his studies that all who knew him conceived, even in his younger years, great hopes of his advancement. By the advice of his uncle, Laurence Elphinston, he went to France, being twenty-nine years of age, and there abode some nine years, having purchased good reputation in the university of Paris for his skill in the laws, which six years together he professed, reading daily the lectures thereof in a most frequent auditory. Then returning into his country, was preferred first to be official of Glasgow,

afterwards made official of St Andrews, and promoted to be of the king's council. Some jars falling out at that time betwixt King James the Third and Lewis the Eleventh of France, which was like to have dissolved the ancient friendship betwixt the two nations, he was joined in commission with the bishop of Dunkeld and earl of Buchan for pacifying the same, and by a wise and most eloquent oration brought matters so about that the old league and amity was renewed, and all occasions of discord quite removed, whereupon the bishopric of Ross was at his return cast upon him, which he accepted with great difficulty. The see of Aberdeen afterwards falling void, he was translated thither, and at that time was made chancellor of the kingdom; in which charge he carried himself with that moderation and equity, as he was both loved and revered of all persons. But the unhappy troubles that fell out betwixt the king and some of his nobility, which by no means (though he did use his uttermost diligence that way) could be pacified, made him retire to his charge at Aberdeen, where he gave himself to reform such things as he found disordered in the Church, and had doubtless effected the same, if he had not been called back to court, and employed, much against his will, in public affairs.

King James the Fourth then entering his reign, he was by the consent of the whole estate sent ambassador to Maximilian the Emperor, to suit his daughter Margaret in marriage for the king; but she, before his coming, being promised to the prince of Spain, the business took no effect; yet that his travel should not be altogether unprofitable, in his return from the emperor's court he reconciled the variance which long had continued betwixt this nation and the people of Holland, and thereby grew in such favour with the king, that whatsoever business he had, either within or without the kingdom, the same was wholly committed to his trust.

Neither did he in the meanwhile neglect to use his best means for the advancement of learning, having built a stately college at Aberdeen, which for the beauty of the edifice and rich foundation was one of the rarest monuments this kingdom had seen. The expense he bestowed, partly on that work, partly for providing materials for building of the

bridge upon Dey, with the large alms he gave daily to the poor and religious of all sorts, (not to speak of the help and relief he made to others of his kindred,) exceedeth almost all credit and belief. For he was ever observed to keep a good table, and had no benefices *in commendam*, (which was then grown into a custom amongst churchmen,) yet upon the rents of his own bishopric, he did both maintain his estate, do all those great and magnificent works, and dying, left in treasure ten thousand pounds in gold and silver, which he bequeathed to the college and the finishing of the bridge at Dey ; so that in him we may truly see how it is not in the abundance of worldly goods, but the blessing of God, that maketh rich.

What time he could spare from the public service he spent in writing the history of his nation, and gathered in one volume all the antiquities that could be found thereof. The memories also of those holy men, who lived in former times in this kingdom, he studied to preserve, committing to writing their worthy and memorable acts, and giving order that on solemn days the religious should read some part thereof in their common meetings. Never was he seen to be idle, but always in labour, and striving how to benefit the public. Nor was there any man known to have been of more integrity of life and manners, sweet and pleasant conversation, of a cheerful countenance, and exceeding delightful. The constitution of his body was healthful and strong. Old age, which to others is itself a disease, wrought in him no alteration either of mind or body ; for being eighty years old, his judgment in the weightiest matters of state was observed to be as quick, and his memory as ripe, as when he was in the middle of his youth.

That which is supposed to have hastened his death was the unfortunate death of the king at Flowden ; for after the report of that loss he was never perceived to laugh, nor willingly did he hear anything that sounded unto mirth or gladness, and thereupon had resolved to live the rest of his time obscure and retired ; yet being called by the Council to assist some great business which for the time was in hand, he sickened in his journey towards Edinburgh, and the sixth day after his coming thither, died most christianly. His body embalmed was carried afterwards to Aberdeen, and entombed

in his own college, before the high altar. They write that the day his corpse was brought forth to the burial, the pastoral staff, which was all of silver, and carried by Alexander Lawder, a jurist, brake in two pieces, one part thereof falling in the grave where his body was to be laid, and that a voice was heard to cry, "Tecum, Gulielme, mitra sepe-lienda;" that is, "With thee the mitre and glory thereof is buried." Thirty years he sate bishop, and ended his course, being very old, in the year 1514.

27. The canons assembling according to their custom to elect a bishop in his place, the earl of Huntley, a man of great power in the north, came upon them unexpected, desiring that Alexander Gordon, his cousin, then chantor of Murray, might be chosen. The canons not daring refuse, did all give their consents. In the meantime was one James Ogilvy presented thereto by the duke of Albany, and at Rome, Robert Forman, dean of Glasgow, took a provision thereof from Pope Leo the Tenth. Yet both these did resign their titles afterwards at the duke of Albany his persuasion; Ogilvy having received in recompence the abbacy of Dryburgh, and Forman yielding at the desire of Andrew Forman, his brother, then archbishop of St Andrews, upon promise of the next place that should fall void. Thus after some month's delay Gordon was received, and consecrated bishop; but he enjoyed the place a short time, for he died, the third year after his consecration, of the hectic fever, and was buried in the cathedral church of Aberdeen.

28. Gawane Dumbar, archdeacon of St Andrews, and master of the rolls, a man of many excellent parts, was after him elected bishop. He set himself to perfect all those works which Elphinston had begun, and were not as yet finished; especially the building of the bridge upon Dey, with the houses that he had appointed for the several professors of sciences in the college. The executors of Bishop Elphinston he called to an account, and made them render the moneys left by him in legacy; adding thereto his own liberality, wherewith he accomplished all those works. He founded likewise an hospital for twelve poor men, and a preceptor to attend them; and all the time he lived bishop, which was thirteen years, whatsoever profit or commodity

he made by the Church, he bestowed wholly upon the poor and such public works, without applying a farthing either to his own use, or the enriching of any of his kinsmen. He departed this life at St Andrews on the ninth of March 1531.

29. To him succeeded William Stewart, son to the laird of Minto, a man given to virtue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work. He built the consistory house in Old Aberdeen, enlarged the territory of the college, and bestowed upon it a great part of the rent it now possesseth; he built likewise the library, with two schools, and founded therein four chaplancies; the office of the chancellor in the state, conferred upon him by the king, he discharged with good credit; and dying at Aberdeen in the month of April, in the year 1545, was buried in the cathedral church.

30. William Gordon, son to the earl of Huntley, succeeded in the place. This man brought up in letters at Aberdeen, followed his studies a long time in Paris, and returning thence, was first parson of Clat, and afterwards promoted to the see. Some hopes he gave at first of a virtuous man, but afterwards turned a very epicure, spending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapidated the whole rents by feuing the lands, and converting the victual-duties into money, a great part whereof he wasted upon his base children, and the whores their mothers—a man not worthy to be placed in this catalogue. He died in the year 1577.

THE BISHOPS OF MURRAY.

This bishopric was founded by King Malcolm the Third, a worthy and religious king; but who were the first bishops in this see, I find not. The first that is named is one William, who did consecrate Arnold, bishop of St Andrews, about the year 1160.

2. To him succeeded Simon, a monk of the abbey of Melrose, elected bishop in the time of William, king of Scots, who governed the see thirteen years. He died in the year of our Lord 1184, and was buried at Birnay.

3. Richard, a chaplain of King William, sate bishop nineteen years, and was buried in Spinie, where he died.

4. Bricius, prior of Lesmahagow, succeeded to him. He continued bishop twenty-four years, and was the first that founded the college of canons. He died in the year of our Lord 1227, and was buried with his predecessor.

5. After him Andrew, dean of Murray, was consecrated bishop. He founded the cathedral church of Elgin, and added ten canons more to the college. He died in the year 1247, and was buried in the quire of the church which he had founded, towards the south.

6. Simon, dean of the same church, was preferred next unto this see, and lived bishop nine years only. He was buried in the quire of Elgin.

7. After his death, Archibald, dean of Murray, was made bishop, and sate forty-seven years. He built the palace of Kinneddar, and departed this life in the year 1303, at Elgin, where his corpse was also interred.

8. David Murray, after his death elected, was consecrated at Avignon by Pope Boniface the Eighth. He lived bishop twenty-seven years, and died in January 1330.

9. John Pilmore, who then stood elected to the bishopric of Ross, was by the provision of Pope John the Twenty-second, consecrated bishop of Murray. He continued bishop thirty-seven years, and departed this life in the castle of Spinie.

10. Alexander Barre, licenciate in the laws, succeeded. He was consecrated by Pope Urban the Fifth, and died in the castle of Spinie the fifteenth of May 1397.

11. William Spinie, chantor of Murray, and doctor of the canon law, was after his death consecrated bishop by Pope Benedict the Thirteenth, and lived bishop nine years only. He died in the chanonry of Elgin the second of August 1406, and was buried in the quire of the cathedral church.

12. John Innes, parson of Duffus, and bachelor both in the canon and civil law, sate after him seven years, and died in the chanonry the fifteenth of April 1414.

13. Henry Leighton, parson of Duffus, a doctor in both laws, after he had sate bishop in this see ten years, was translated to Aberdeen.

14. Columba Dumbar succeeding, lived bishop ten years, and departing this life in the castle of Spinie, was buried in the aisle of St Thomas the Martyr.

15. After him John Winchester, chaplain to King James the Second, was preferred to the see; a man of good parts. He continued bishop thirteen years, and was buried in St Mary's aisle, within the cathedral church.

16. James Stewart, formerly dean of Murray, sate two years bishop.

17. To him succeeded David Stewart, his brother, parson of Spinie, who governed the see fourteen years, and was buried in St Peter and St Paul's aisle, upon the south of the cathedral church.

18. After his death William Tulloch, bishop of Orkney, was translated to Murray, and lived five years only after his consecration.

19. Andrew Stewart, dean of Murray, succeeded. He sate bishop nineteen years, and was buried in the quire of the cathedral church.

20. Andrew Forman after him sate bishop fifteen years, and was then translated to St Andrews.

21. Next after him James Hepburn governed the see nine years, and was buried in our Lady's aisle, nigh unto the tomb of Alexander, the first earl of Huntley.

22. Robert Shaw, abbot of Paisley, a man of great virtue, and exceedingly beloved, was next made bishop; but he lived not above two years in the place.

23. Alexander Stewart, brother-german to the duke of Albany, sate after him seven years, and was buried in the monastery of Scone.

24. To him succeeded Patrick Hepburn, who was also commendatory of Scone. In his time the Reformation of religion was made. He lived bishop thirty-six years, and died in the castle of Spinie the twentieth of June 1573.

THE BISHOPS OF BRECHIN.

In this see, since it was founded by King David, which was about the year 1140, there have been many worthy bishops; yet most of them are buried in oblivion. These few which follow I have gathered out of old records.

1. Uardus, or Edwardus, lived about the year 1260, a monk at first of Cowper in Angus, a man very zealous in his calling. for it is testified of him that he went on foot through

the whole kingdom (with one Eustathius, abbot of Aberbrothock,) preaching the gospel wheresoever he came.

2. Albinus after him was bishop some few years.

3. William, dean of Brechin, elected successor, died at Rome in the year 1275, whilst he was attending to have his election confirmed.

4. The fourth bishop I find mentioned is one John, who governed the see in the year of God 1318, and got a new confirmation from King David Bruce of all the lands, possessions, and privileges enjoyed by his predecessors in former times, because of their rights lost in the time of the last war. This confirmation is dated in the year 1359.

5. To him succeeded Adam, chancellor of the kingdom, but it seems he sat few years.

6. Then Patrick, who was his successor both in the bishopric and in the office of chancellor in the year 1372.

7. Steven, in the year 1384.

8. Walter, surnamed Forrester, in the year 1413.

9. John, who was likewise chancellor, anno 1434. In his time was the church of Cortoquhy annexed to the bishopric, by Walter, palatine of Strathern, earl of Athole, Lord Brechin and Cortoquhy.

10. George Shoreswood succeeded to him in both charges, anno 1459.

11. Another called John was made bishop in the year 1483. In his time was the church of Funeven made one of the chapter.

12. William Meldrum succeeded in the year 1500.

13. And after his death John Hunter, anno 1552.

14. To him succeeded John Sinclair, dean of Restalrig, a little before the Reformation.

THE BISHOPS OF DUMBLANE.

The see of Dumblane was founded likewise by King David.

1. Jonathas was the first bishop. He died in the year 1200, or thereabout, and was buried at Inchaffray.

2. Simon, who succeeded him, lived not above a year.

3. Abraham, chaplain to Gilbert, earl of Strathern, was consecrated in the year 1210. This was the earl who gave

a third part of his lands to the see of Dunblane, and another third part to the abbey of Inchaffray.

4. William, called Gulielmus de Bosco, was next preferred to the see, and shortly after created chancellor.

5. Osbert, abbot of Cambuskenneth, succeeded. He died in the year 1231.

6. The sixth bishop was Clemens, a friar of the Dominican order, consecrated in the Stowe Church of Weddall, in the year 1233. This man was an excellent preacher, learned above many of that time, and of singular integrity in conversation; he gave divers lands and rents to the church of Culross, and restored the cathedral church of Dunblane, which was decayed. Leander Bononiensis, in his third book, "*De viris illustribus Prædicatorum*," remembereth him with a special commendation. The like doth Philippus Wolphius in his third book, "*De vitis peritorum virorum*." He died in the year 1256.

7. Robert was after him elected. This is he who was sent with Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, by the rest of the prelates in the year 1268, to protest against the proceedings of Ottobon, the pope's legate, for the contribution imposed by him upon the Scottish clergy towards the charge of the Holy War.

8. Alpin after him governed the see some few years.

9. Then one Nicolaus was made bishop. He gave the half of the church of Strowan to the abbey of Inchaffray.

10. After him succeeded Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, a prelate of great spirit, who gave great encouragement to his countrymen in the famous battle of Bannockburn, and was therefore chosen by King Robert Bruce to be his confessor. After that battle, the see falling void, he was preferred to the same.

11. One William succeeded to him.

12. Then Walter Cambuslang in the year 1363.

13. And after him was Finlaw, commonly called Dermoch, who built the bridge of Dunblane, and died in the year 1419.

14. William Stephen, one of the first professors in the university of St Andrews, was after him preferred.

15. Upon his death Michael Ochiltre succeeded, a wealthy prelate, and well esteemed. He purchased to his see a great

part of the forfeited lands of Strathern, adorned the cathedral church with many rich ornaments, built the bridge of Knaig, at Machante, with the church of Muthill, and did in his time divers other good works.

16. After him succeeded Robert Lawder, who founded divers prebendaries and canonries in the church of Dunblane.

17. John Hepburn succeeded in the year 1471. This bishop had a long contention with the abbot of Inchaffray for certain churches claimed by the abbot, but the matter was afterwards pacified. He died in the year 1508, and was buried in the quire of the cathedral church.

18. After his death, James Chisholme obtained the bishopric by the pope's provision, and carried himself in his charge very commendably. A severe censor he was of the corrupted manners of the clergy, and recovered many lands and possessions which were sacrilegiously taken from the Church before his time. He died in the year 1534.

19. To whom succeeded William Chisholme his brother, a wicked and vicious man, who, for the hatred he bare to true religion, made away all the lands of the bishopric, and utterly spoiled the benefice.

THE BISHOPS OF ROSS.

1. This see was also one of King David's foundations. The first bishop I find was one Gregorius.

2. Reinaldus, a monk of Melrose, who died in the year 1213.

3. Andrew Murray was chosen in his place, but he shortly after resigned the same to

4. Robert, chaplain to Alexander the Second.

5. After him one Matthew was elected and consecrated by Pope Gregory the Tenth, at Viterbium, in the year 1274. Then succeeded these in order :—

6. Thomas Dundy.

7. Roger.

8. Alexander.

9. Thomas Urquhart.

10. Alexander Kilbinnes.

11. William Bullock.

12. Thomas Tullich.

13. Henry Cokburne.

14. James Woodman.

15. Thomas Hay.

16. John Guthrie.

17. John Fraser.

18. Robert Cokburne.

19. William Elphinston, who was afterwards bishop of Aberdeen.

20. James Hay.

21. Robert Carncrosse, abbot of Halyrudhouse, a man of great wealth, was preferred by King James the Fifth to this see about the year 1534, and lived ten years bishop.

22. After his death, David Panter, secretary to the governor, was elected in the year 1544, and immediately after employed in a legation to France, where he remained seven years. At his return he was solemnly consecrated, the governor and many of the nobility being present. He was a learned man, and of great experience in public affairs, and died about the year 1550.

23. To him succeeded Henry Sinclair, dean of Glasgow, and vice-president in the College of Justice; a man of singular wisdom and learning, especially in the laws, which place he discharged with good credit. By his advice many things were bettered in the form of justice, and divers abuses in the forms of process amended. His death fell out shortly after the Reformation, and in his place Mr John Leslie (of whom we shall have often occasion to speak) was preferred.

THE BISHOPS OF CAITHNESS.

1. This bishopric was founded by Malcolm the Third, about the year 1066, who preferred thereto one Barrus, whom he favoured greatly. This man lived long and in a good reputation, and after his death was honoured for a saint.

2. There succeeded to him one Andrew, of whom Roger Hoveden makes mention, saying, "that he came into England with William, king of Scots, in the year 1176, and shortly after his return home departed this life.

3. To him succeeded John, the bishop that Harold, the

earl of Orkney and Caithness, used most cruelly, cutting forth his tongue, and pulling out his eyes ; which King William (in whose reign it happened) punished exemplarily ; for he caused the earl his eyes first to be pulled out, then made him to be executed by the hands of the hangman, and all his male children to be mutilated, to extinguish their succession.

4. Adam, another bishop, whether his immediate successor or not, I cannot say, was no less barbarously used ; for in the year 1222, or much thereabout, some wicked people suborned by the earl of Caithness, assailed him, being private at home, and killing his chamber-boy, with a monk of Melrose that did ordinarily attend him (for he had been abbot of that monastery), drew him by force into his kitchen, and when they had scourged him with rods, set the kitchen on fire, and burnt him therein. King Alexander the Second was at that time upon his journey towards England, and upon notice of this cruel fact turned back, and went in haste to Caithness, where he put the offenders and their partakers to trial. Four hundred by public sentence were executed, and all their male children mutilated, that no succession should spring from so wicked a seed. The place where their stones were cast in a heap together is to this day known by the name of the Stony-hill. The earl for withholding his help, and because he did not rescue the bishop, was forfeited. And howbeit after some little time he found means to be restored, yet did he not escape the judgment of God, being murdered by some of his own servants who conspired to kill him, and to conceal the fact, set the house on fire, and burnt his body therein ; so he was paid home in the same measure he had used the bishop.

5. To this Adam succeeded Gilbert the Canon, surnamed Murray, and son to the lord of Duffus, who was in great esteem for the bold and courageous answer he made to the pope's legate at Northampton. He built the cathedral church of Caithness upon his own charges, and lived to see the same finished, and shortly after the dedication, died at Scravister in the year 1245. Posterity gave him the reputation of a saint.

6. William, who succeeded, followed his steps, and did much good in his time. He died in the year 1261.

7. Then Walter, doctor in the canon law, who lived ten years, and ended his days in the year 1271.

8. Archibald, a man much commended for his meek and tractable disposition, succeeding, died in the year 1288.

9. After his death, Andrew, a man skilled in the laws, was preferred, and lived bishop thirteen years.

10. Ferquhard succeeded to him. This bishop was a strong defender of the liberties of the Church, and died in the year 1328.

11. David that followed, lived twenty years bishop, and departed this life anno 1348.

12. Thomas Fingask was next bishop. He died in the canonry of Elgin anno 1360, and lieth buried in St Mary's aisle, in a tomb erected by William, earl of Sutherland, whom he left his executor.

13. To him succeeded Bishop Alexander, who lived many years in that see, and died in the year 1409. Then these in order :—

14. Malcolm, a zealous and devout man, who died anno 1421.

15. Robert Strathbrock died anno 1440.

16. John Innes, dean of Ross, in the year 1448.

17. William Mudie died anno 1460.

18. After whom one Prosper was elected, but he resigned the place in favour of John Sinclair, son to the earl of Caithness, who was never consecrated, and so the see remained void the space of twenty-four years ; during which time Mr Adam Gordon governed the affairs of that see.

After Sinclair's death, succeeded Andrew Stewart, commendatory of Kelso and Ferne. He died in the year 1517, and was buried in the cathedral church of Caithness.

Andrew Stewart, son to the earl of Athole, was preferred after him, and died in the year 1542.

Then Robert Stewart, brother to Matthew, earl of Lenox, was made bishop. He was afterwards prior of St Andrews, and created earl of March, upon his resignation of the earldom of Lenox to Duke Esme. A man of noble disposition, but much addicted to his servants, whom he rewarded with dilapidation of the church rents, whereto he was provided. He died at St Andrews very old, in the year 1586.

THE BISHOPS OF ORKNEY.

The islands of Orkney lying over against Caithness, have always, since they were made Christian, been governed by bishops ; but being possessed by the Picts, whilst that kingdom stood, and for a long time in the hands of the Norwegians, from whom Alexander the Third, king of Scots, recovered the same by composition, the first bishops and their successors are utterly unknown. Of the latter I have received no intelligence ; nor in the records that remain is there any mention of them, only I read of four or five that sate in this see before the Reformation.

1. One William that lived in the time of King Robert the Third.

2. William Tulloch, who was translated to Murray in the reign of King James the Third.

3. To whom succeeded one Andrew.

4. After Andrew, Edward.

5. And after Edward, Robert Reid, a man of excellent wit and great experience, employed in divers legations, and selected amongst others by the Estates, to assist the marriage of Queen Mary with the daulphin of France. He died in his return at Dieppe much regretted, for he was a man of great integrity, and careful in the administration of justice.

THE BISHOPS OF GLASGOW.

This city at first was made famous by Kentigern, commonly called St Mungo, who is esteemed the first bishop thereof. I spake of him before, and shewed how he was begotten by Eugenius the Third upon Thametis, daughter to the king of Picts. His mother finding herself with child, out of shame and fear of her father's wrath stole privately away, and entering into a little vessel that she found at the nearest coast, was by the wind and waves cast on land where the town of Culross is now situated ; there she was delivered of her birth, and leaving the child with a nurse, returned home. His parents being unknown, he was brought to Servanus, and baptised and bred up by him ; yet it seems by the hymn they did ordinarily sing in the

festivals, that his father came afterwards to be known, for thus it begins—

*O sacer antistes, Regis clarissima proles,
Per quem Laudonia nitet, et jam Cambria tota
Magnaue pars Scotiae fidei convertitur almae.*

They report of him that a lady of good place in the country having lost a ring which her husband gave her as she crossed the river of Clyde, and her husband waxing jealous, as if she had bestowed the same upon one of her lovers, she did mean herself unto him, intreating his help for the safety of her honour; and that he going to the river, after he had used his devotion, willed one who was making to fish, to bring him the first that he caught, which was done, and in the mouth of that fish he found the ring, and sending it to the lady, she was thereby freed of her husband's suspicion. The credit of this, I leave upon the reporters; but howsoever it be, the See and City do both of them wear in their arms a fish with a ring in the mouth even to this day. He was certainly a man of rare piety, and to the poor exceeding bountiful; lived to a great age, beyond the ordinary years of men, as in the conclusion of the hymn is said—

*Cum octogenos centum quoque quinque vir annos
Complerat, sanctus est Glasgow funere functus.*

After his death, for many ages the see was in a manner desolate, unto the reign of Malcolm the Third, who restored the same to some integrity. The first bishop I find named after the restitution was

1. John Achaian, who took great pains in building the cathedral, and having brought it to a reasonable perfection, did dedicate the same in the year 1137; King David being there in person, and bestowing upon the see the lands of Partick, which the bishops do yet enjoy. It was in his time that Thurstan, archbishop of York, encroaching upon his jurisdiction, (which at that time comprehended the country of Cumberland,) placed a new bishop at Carlisle, by the instigation of Henry, king of England. This the bishop took so heavily, as when he perceived his complaints not much regarded, he forsook his charge and went into France, in-

closing himself in the monastery of Tours, where he abode until the pope, at the request of King Malcolm the Fourth, compelled him to return ; after which time he lived not long, for he died at Glasgow in the year 1146, the 28th of May.

2. To him succeeded another, called John, who was greatly favoured by King Alexander the First, and did counsel Eadmerus, because of the king's dislike, to leave St Andrews, and return into England.

3. Herbert was his successor, and in his time the controversy with York was great, for the superiority claimed by one Roger, archbishop of York, over the bishops of Scotland. This contention drew Angelramus, archdeacon of Glasgow, and chancellor of the kingdom for the time, to travel unto Rome, as was touched before ; and Herbert dying whilst he was there ;

4. Angelramus, by an uniform consent of the clergy and laity, was elected in his place, and, upon notice given of the election, consecrated by Pope Alexander at Rome, from whom he obtained an exemption to the Church of Scotland from the jurisdiction of the English and all others, the apostolic see only excepted. Shortly after his return he died.

5. Jocelin, abbot of Melrose, was his successor. In his time the city of Glasgow was erected into a royal burgh. He died at Melrose, and was interred in that monastery.

6. Eugenius was chosen after his death, but how long he lived I read not.

7. Hugo, chancellor of the kingdom, succeeded, and lived but a few years.

8. After him William Malvoisin, a Frenchman, was elected, and consecrated in France by the pope's direction. He was afterward translated to St Andrews, and preferred to the office of chancellor.

9. Florentius, son to the count of Holland, was assumed in his place ; and shortly after, upon licence obtained of the pope, he resigned the office, and died at Rome in the year 1207.

10. And then Walter, chaplain to King William, was consecrated bishop. He lived in the place twenty-seven years.

11. William Babington, chancellor of the kingdom, was, after his death, elected bishop. In his time, as Boethius

writeth, the fabric of the church of Glasgow was fully accomplished : his words are—" *Absolutum est cœ tempestatis templum Cathedrale Glasguense, sedes profectò magnifica, cujus haud exiguam partem Gulielmus ibidem Episcopus liberalitate suâ extruxerat, nec diu operi perfecto superfuit.*" He died the twenty-fifth of January 1261.

12. The canons meeting to chuse a successor, condescended upon Nicol Moffat, archdeacon of Teviotdale ; yet shortly after, forethinking their election, they procured the same to be cased at Rome, whither he was gone to obtain confirmation. Thereupon, John de Cheyam, an Englishman, was by the pope provided to the see, whom King Alexander the Third admitted with great difficulty. This man is said to have been learned, but very troublesome to the canons, upon whom he laid grievous impositions. The discord betwixt him and them waxing hot, he left the country, and going to France, died there in the year 1268.

13. Nicol Moffat, archdeacon of Teviotdale, was, upon his death, provided to the see, notwithstanding the opposition of the canons : but he lived a short time, and died at Tuningham of the apoplexy. He was no less hated of his clergy, whom he is said to have vexed with many injuries.

14. William Wishart, archdeacon of St Andrews, and chancellor of the kingdom, was chosen of the canons in the year 1270. But St Andrews falling void by the death of Gamelinus, before his consecration, he was postulated thereto, and so returned to St Andrews.

15. Robert Wishart, archdeacon of Lothian, and cousin to the said William, was, upon his change, by the king's recommendation admitted to the place. This is he who made that reply to King Edward in the consultation held at Norham for the right of the crown, whereof we spake in the life of William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews ; a worthy man, and a great lover of his country, for which he suffered much trouble, being made prisoner and sent unto London, where he was kept some years. Afterwards obtaining liberty, he returned to his see, and therein performed many good works. He died the twenty-sixth of November 1316, and was buried in the church of Glasgow, betwixt the altars of St Peter and St Andrew.

16. John Lindesay succeeded, a man given much to the adorning of his church. He died the ninth of April 1325, and was buried in the cathedral, nigh to the altar of the blessed Virgin.

17. Mr Stephen Dundy was the same year elected bishop, and going to Rome to be confirmed, died by the way, not without suspicion of poison, given him at a feast made by the friars predicant of Glasgow.

18. In his place was chosen John Wishart, who in his return from Rome was taken prisoner by the English, and died some few days after.

19. William Rae, a good and zealous man, was after him chosen, by the consent of the whole chapter. He redeemed the possessions of the church which his predecessors had alienated, built the stone bridge at Glasgow, and, having done many good works, died in the year 1367.

20. After his death, Walter Wardlaw succeeded. Pope Urban the Sixth did prefer him to be cardinal in the year 1384; and in the third year after he died.

21. Then was Mr Matthew Glendonning provided to the place. In his time the steeple, which was all built of timber, was burnt by lightning; in place whereof, he intended to build one of stone, and made therefore great preparation, but was prevented by death in the year 1408.

22. His successor, William Lawder, finished the work. He was chancellor of Scotland, and, without the chapter's election, provided by the pope of mere authority; which was never done in that see before.

23. After him, John Cameron was bishop, a man given to violence and oppression, who committing many deeds full of cruelty and covetousness, especially upon his own tenants and vassals, made (as the fame goeth) a fearful and unhappy end; for in the year 1446, the night before Christmas day, as he lay asleep in his house of Lockwood, some seven miles from the city of Glasgow, he seemed to hear a voice summoning him to appear before the tribunal of Christ, and give an account of his doings. Thereupon he awaked, and being greatly terrified, did call his servants to bring lights and sit by him. He himself took a book in his hand, and began to read; but the voice being again heard, struck all the servants with amazement. The same voice calling the

third time, far louder and more fearfully, the bishop, after a heavy groan, was found dead in the bed, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This, reported by Buchanan almost in the same words, I thought good to remember, as a notable example of God's judgment against the crying sin of oppression.

24. To Cameron succeeded Mr James Bruce, who was translated from Dunkeld to this see in the year 1446, and preferred to be chancellor of the kingdom.

25. After him, Mr William Turnbull (others have called him David) was chosen bishop. He founded the college of Glasgow.

26. Upon his death, Andrew Moorhead was elected. The hospital near the castle was his foundation.

27. To Moorhead succeeded John Lang, who was chancellor of Scotland.

28. He dying, Mr George Carmichael was promoted, but not consecrated; for he died going to Rome for confirmation.

29. Robert Blacader, bishop of Aberdeen, was, after his death, translated to this see. In his time was the see of Glasgow erected into an archbishopric, for which arose a great contention betwixt Shevez, archbishop of St Andrews, and him, which was after some treaty pacified, and Galloway, Argyle, and Isles, appointed suffragans to Glasgow. He lived until the year 1500; at what time, taking his journey toward Jerusalem, he departed this life in the way thither.

30. Mr James Beaton, upon his death, was preferred, and sate bishop twenty-two years; thereafter he was translated to St Andrews, of whom you may there read.

31. Upon his translation, Mr Gawane Dumbar, tutor to the king, was promoted; a good and learned man. He was afterwards made chancellor of the kingdom, and administered the office with good commendation.

32. Mr James Beaton succeeded after his death, in whose time the Reformation fell forth, and of him we shall have occasion afterwards to speak.

THE BISHOPS OF GALLOWAY.

1. S. Ninian had his chief abode in the country of Galloway, and built there a church all of white stone, which was therefore called *candida casa*, and to this day in the country

language Whithern, as you would say, a white house. He is accounted the first bishop of this see.

2. In the year 631, one Plechelmus (Beda calleth him Pectelmus) was here bishop.

3. Frithwoldus succeeded to him, and died in the year 768.

4. After him Pethumus, who deceased anno 778.

5. Then Ethelbert.

6. And after him Baldulphus. Further mention I find not of any bishop in this see in those first times; and it seems it hath been quite decayed, before Malcolm the Third restored the same.

In the latter times I read only of these following.

7. John, bishop of Galloway, who resigned his charge, and became a monk in the abbey of Halyrudhouse.

8. Thomas Spence, translated from Galloway to Aberdeen in the year 1458.

9. David, who was also dean of the king's chapel.

10. Alexander.

11. Henry.

12. George.

13. And Bishop Alexander Gordon, who lived at the Reformation, and embraced the truth.

THE BISHOPS OF ARGYLE.

This bishopric was part of the diocese of Dunkeld, until John Scot, bishop thereof, obtained of Pope Clement the Third, a division of the bishopric, as you may read in the catalogue of the bishops of Dunkeld.

1. Then was Evaldus or Harold his chaplain consecrated bishop, and the seat appointed to be at Lismore, within the country of Argyle, whence the bishop of this see is styled *Lismorensis Episcopus*. This erection was made in the year 1200.

2. To Harold succeeded William, who perished by a tempest at sea, in the year 1240.

3. And to him another of the same name.

4. Then David, who was bishop in the year 1330.

5. In the year 1425, one Finlaw, bishop of Argyle, *vir ordinis Dominicani*, as Buchanan saith, upon the apprehension of Duke Murdoch, joined with the duke's youngest son

against King James the First, and fled with him into Ireland. The king complaining of him to Pope Martin the Fifth, he gave commission to the bishops of St Andrews and Dunblane to call him before them, and finding him guilty, to depose him from the place ; but he in the meantime died in Ireland.

6. So by the pope's provision George Lauder of Balcomie, in Fife, was preferred to the see. How long he lived bishop, and who succeeded since his time, I have not learned.

THE BISHOPS OF THE ISLES.

Of the bishops of the Isles I have less to say, only that the Isle of Man was at first the cathedral seat, as by occasion we touched before ; and that by the invasions of the Norwegians and English the same was translated unto Icolmkill.

In Man Amphibalus was the first bishop. I read of one Machilla likewise, that was there bishop, and confirmed the holy Brigida in her purpose of single life.

After the translation of the seat to Icolmkill, I find only one Onacus mentioned about the year 1289, who is reported to have been a good and godly man ; with another called Mauricius, whom King Edward the First of England sent prisoner to London. And thus far of the succession of bishops unto the time of the Reformation.

NOTES TO BOOK II.

I.—DIOCESE OF ST ANDREWS.

[**INSTEAD** of introducing corrections, omissions, and various readings at the bottom of the several pages, it seems more convenient to bring at once before the reader the result of researches made by more recent authors. The principal differences as to successions, names, and dates, apply to the diocese of St Andrews, and more particularly to the earlier portion of the series—from the ninth to the twelfth century—including about fifteen individuals who appear to have filled that see, and terminating with Robert, the prior of Scone. I shall conclude the several lists with the name of this Robert, who was elected in 1122, though not consecrated till after the lapse of two or three years. After his time the discrepancies are rare and unimportant.

The Catalogue according to ARCHBISHOP SPOTTISWOODE is as follows—

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Adrian. | 9. Tathaldus. |
| 2. Kellach I. | 10. Fothadus. |
| 3. Malisius I. | 11. Gregorius. |
| 4. Kellach II. | 12. Edmundus. |
| 5. Malmore. | 13. Turgotus. |
| 6. Malisius II. | 14. Godricus. |
| 7. Aluinus. | 15. Eadmerus. |
| 8. Malduinus or Maldouay. | 16. Robertus. |

According to the POET WYNTON—

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1. Kellauch. | 7. Aluinus. |
| 2. Foudauche. | 8. Macdouay. |
| 3. Malyss. | 9. Tualdus. |
| 4. Kellauch II. | 10. Fotauche. |
| 5. Malyss II. | 11. Turgotus. |
| 6. Malmoir. | 12. Robertus. |

According to SIR ROBERT SIBALD—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Adrian. | 9. Tutbaldus. |
| 2. Kellach. | 10. Fothadus. |
| 3. Malisius. | 11. Gregorius. |
| 4. Kellach II. | 12. Turgotus. |
| 5. Malmore. | 13. Godricus. |
| 6. Malisius II. | 14. Eadmerus. |
| 7. Aluinus. | 15. Robertus. |
| 8. Malduinus. | |

According to MARTINE, the author of the "*Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ*," being in substance the same as that compiled by Archbishop Spottiswoode—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Adrian. | 9. Tuthaldus. |
| 2. Kellach. | 10. Fothadus. |
| 3. Malisius. | 11. Gregorius. |
| 4. Kellach II. | 12. Edmundus. |
| 5. Malmore. | 13. Godricus. |
| 6. Malisius II. | 14. Turgotus. |
| 7. Aluinus. | 15. Eadmerus. |
| 8. Malduinus. | 16. Robertus. |

According to FORDUN—

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Fothadus. | 9. Tuthaldus. |
| 2. Kellach I. | 10. Fothadus II. |
| 3. Malisius I. | 11. Gregorius. |
| 4. Kellach II. | 12. Cathre. |
| 5. Malmore. | 13. Godricus. |
| 6. Malisius II. | 14. Turgotus. |
| 7. Aluinus. | 15. Eadmerus. |
| 8. Malduinus. | 16. Robertus. |

According to SIR JAMES BALFOUR—

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Sfothadus I. | 8. Gregorius. |
| 2. Kellach. | 9. Catharus. |
| 3. Kellach II. | 10. Edumerus. |
| 4. Malisius. | 11. Godricus. |
| 5. Malisius or Albuinus. | 12. Turgotus. |
| 6. Malduinus or Tuthaldus. | 13. Edumerus. |
| 7. Sfothadus II. | 14. Robertus. |

According to Mr THOMAS RUDDIMAN—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Kellach. | 10. Fothadus. |
| 2. Fothadus. | 11. Gregorius. |
| 3. Malisius. | 12. Catharus. |
| 4. Kellach II. | 13. Edmarus. |
| 5. Malisius II. | 14. Godricus. |
| 6. Malmore. | 15. Turgotus. |
| 7. Aluinus. | 16. Eadmerus. |
| 8. Malduinus. | 17. Robertus. |
| 9. Tuthaldus. | |

According to the ANCIENT CHRONICLE (*Vetus Chronicon*), published by FATHER INNES, and quoted by BISHOP KEITH—

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Kellach. | 3. Maelbrigd or Malisius. |
| 2. Fothach. | 4. Cellach or Kellach II. |

It is enough that I refer to the list of bishops in the Reverend C. J. Lyon's "*History of St Andrews*," which is compiled with great care and accuracy, chiefly in the earlier period of the Church, from the pages of Wynton.

It may be observed, that in all the lists the names are the same, though the spelling, and perhaps the pronunciation, varied at different times. It

must also be apparent to the reader that the number of successions is not the same in the several authors ; ranging from twelve to seventeen, even down to the time of Robert, the prior of Scone. But this apparent discrepancy is entirely removed by the fact, recorded by Fordun himself, that of the seventeen whose election he records, five died without having been consecrated. In some cases confirmation was refused by the pope ; and in other instances the individuals who had been either nominated or chosen to the office of bishop, declined the appointment, and refused to be consecrated. On this ground may be reconciled the varying statements of Church historians, without any impeachment of either their accuracy or their good faith.

Spottiswoode is said to have taken no notice of Walter, abbot of Melrose, who was elected to succeed Robert, the bishop of St Andrews, who appears to have died in 1159, or, according to the Chronicle of Holyrood-house, in 1158 ; under which year it is recorded in that register—" *Obiit bonæ memoriæ Robertus, Episcopus Sti. Andreae.*" But there appears no reason for impugning the accuracy of the archbishop on this head, for he relates, at page 35 of his History, " Bishop Robert deceasing, Walthemius, abbot of Melrose, was earnestly entreated to accept the charge, but would not forsake the monastery, saying, ' that he had washed his feet, and could not contaminate them again with the dust of earthly cares.' Whereupon Arnold, abbot of Kelso, was elected, and in presence of King Malcolm the Fourth, consecrated by William, bishop of Murray."

Martine, the author of the "*Reliquiæ Divi Andreae*," after having copied into his book the catalogue of the bishops and archbishops according to Spottiswoode, remarks, " although something unwillinglie," that in this enumeration of the prelates, " one Daniel, bishop of St Andrews, is omitted, whom I find particularlie named and designed one of the bishops of St Andrews, in Bishop William Landell his confirmation of the rights, &c. of the monasterie of Haddington, dated May 20, 1359 ; where the granter of the charter, speaking of the founders of, and benefactors to, this monasterie, there are some bishops of St Andrews twice named and thus ranked, Richard, William, David, and Daniel, being all the confirmer's predecessors in the see of St Andrews. But by Spottiswoode and the said catalogue there is no place found for this Daniel, except we conjecture that he immediatelie preceded Landell, the granter of the confirmation, at which time, according to this author, the see vaiked nine years. How to solve the primate's authority for omitting this Daniel, against the forecited testimonie, which is so expressive, I know not, except by admitting this criticisme, whereof a good antiquarie of my acquaintance hath sagaciouslie taken notice, that in the copies of the foundation, whereof each of us hath one, Daniel should be read Gamel (for Bishop Gamelinus), who preceded Landell, this confirmer. But the foundation (deed) being in good Latin, and correct, it seems not likelie that the name of a bishop was curtailed and mistaken so grosslie."

There is not, however, any evidence in ancient records for the existence of Bishop Daniel ; and the conjecture of the " good antiquarie " is worthy of consideration as a plausible ground for explaining a very doubtful statement.

It is likewise very probable that the varied form of Gregore and Cathre, the name of the eleventh bishop, originated in the carelessness of a transcriber. Considerable obscurity prevails at the close of the twelfth cen-

tury and beginning of the thirteenth, when the influence of the English crown directed the nomination of rival candidates for the Scottish episcopate. Upon a comparison of the several lists, as found in Fordun, Wynton, and the various monastic registers, it will appear manifest to every candid mind, that nothing was farther removed from the intention of the venerable chroniclers than concealment or mis-statement.

It is mentioned in the "*Anglia Sacra*," that Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canterbury, while an exile at Rome, had the primacy of St Andrews conferred upon him by the pope. He finds no place among Scottish prelates.

In the Harleian MSS. 2363, the name of Forman occurs, including a notice of his death in the following terms:—"Anno D'ni M^o V^o XXII^o. Andreas Forman, Legatus de latere, et Eps. Sti. Andreæ, in quadragesima diem clausit extremum, et Commendatarius fuit de Dunferlyn et Pittenweyme."

It is not surprizing that both Arundell and Danyelston are omitted in the Catalogue of Bishops. The former was never acknowledged by the Church; and the latter, who appears not to have been elected, though Wynton thought otherwise, merely enjoyed the revenue of the see during the vacancy which followed the appointment of Thomas Stewart, who, through modesty, declined to enter upon the discharge of his office.

NOTE ON WISHART.

In the history of this martyr it is usually stated that Cardinal Beaton viewed the execution from a window overlaid with tapestry, as if to glut his appetite for innocent blood, which, no doubt, he was disposed to shed without compunction. When the fire began to arise about the body of Wishart, the sufferer is said to have expressed himself in these, or similar terms:—"This flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit; but he who from yonder high place beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days ly in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself." This prediction was not unnaturally regarded by the friends of the reformer as a direct proof of that inspiration, or prophetic endowment, to which he was understood to lay claim.

But it is very doubtful whether the words were ever pronounced by Wishart; and every one who respects his character will be eager to find proof that he did not utter them. As to the fact of the words being spoken, it may be enough to observe that they are not mentioned by any contemporary historian. There is no allusion to them in the first edition of Knox's History, although he was an intimate friend of Wishart; was not far distant from the scene of martyrdom; lived several months in the Castle of St Andrews with those who murdered the cardinal; and could hardly fail to hear the prediction repeated by some one of those who had taken upon them to realize it with bloody hands. Sir David Lindsay appears not to have heard any thing of the prophecy; and Fox, in his Martyrology, makes no reference to it. It originated, there is reason to believe, at a later period, and is therefore less worthy of credit.

I have said that every one who respects the character of Wishart will be glad to find that he did not utter the words in question. Recent investigations in the State-Paper Office have removed all doubt from a suspicion, formerly entertained, that the murder of the cardinal was premeditated

by certain persons in the pay of Henry VIII., some of whom were intimate friends of the martyr. It would be no consolation to those who deplore his death, and admire his principles, to find, on evidence which can no longer be questioned, that he was privy to the plan of Beaton's assassination; and that in proclaiming his approaching murder, he spake only what he knew, and predicted an event which he was aware would certainly be attempted.

Such is the inference which would naturally be drawn by those who have traced a connection and a frequent intercourse between Wishart and those persons who corresponded with the English secretary, as to the expediency of assassinating the Scottish primate. That such a correspondence existed will no longer be denied; it is even certain that a person named Wishart involved himself in the conspiracy; and it admits not of the slightest doubt that Crichton, the laird of Brunstone, a friend of the martyr, was deeply concerned in it. This laird wrote to the earl of Hertford, offering, on certain conditions, to slay Beaton; stating distinctly that he relied on the aid of the "Larde of Grange, the Master of Rothes, the earl of Rothes' eldest son, and John Charters." It is not certain that the Wishart implicated in this murder was George who suffered at St Andrews; still, taken in connection with the plot to kill Beaton, "at some time when he shall pass through the Fife land," the prediction attributed to the martyr must have excited suspicion against him.

II.—DIOCESE OF DUNKELD.

This diocese, like several others, originated in a monastery, founded, it is said, by Constantine III., king of the Picts, so early as the year 729. In the year 1127, David the First, King of Scots, erected the monastic institution into a cathedral church, and obtained for Gregory, the abbot, the rank of bishop from Pope Alexander the Third, who at the same time granted an apostolical confirmation of the new see. To Alexander Mill or Miln, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century was one of the canons, and afterwards president of the Court of Session, we are indebted for the "*Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*;" a Work which, although it contains many interesting details, is not quite free from inaccuracies.¹

Gregory the Second is omitted by Mill, and also by Spottiswoode. He is mentioned by Sir James Dalrymple, and by Keith, who nevertheless questions his existence. No records remain by means of which such doubts might be removed.

¹ *VITE DUNKELDENSIS ECCLESIE EPISCOPORUM, A PRIMA SEDIS FUNDATIONE AD ANNUM MDXV. AB ALEXANDRO MYLN, EJUSDEM ECCLESIE CANONICO CONSCRIPTÆ.* Bannatyne Edition, 1831.

In reference to this Work Bishop Keith remarks, "Though it might reasonably be expected that Abbot Mill would have given a right exact series of the bishops of this see, yet, upon perusal, we find the ease to be very far otherwise, there being no greater confusion to be met with in any of the other Episcopal sees." Catalogue, p. 73, 2d edition.

There is reason to believe that "*Mill's Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*," down to the time of Bishop Thomas Lauder, in the middle of the fifteenth century, is a literal copy of the notices of those bishops contained in the MS. commonly called "*Extracta ex Chronicis Scotie*," and which is still to be found in the Advocates' Library. This tract is in reality a condensed, rather than an abridged copy of Fordun; on whose accuracy Mill reposes during several centuries.

The seventh bishop of Dunkeld, if the second Gregory be retained, is named Richard Provand by Archbishop Spottiswoode, and by other writers Richard de Probenda. He was one of the royal chaplains; but as the second bishop of this see bears the same name, and was also chaplain to the same king, doubts, similar to those which hold with respect to the two Gregories, have arisen among ecclesiastical antiquaries. The chief authority for the second Richard is the Chronicle of Melrose. He is omitted by Mill.

The ninth bishop, according to Spottiswoode, was Matthew, surnamed Scot, who was at the same time chancellor of the kingdom; but dying before his consecration, he is not included by Abbot Mill in the list of the Dunkeld prelates.

David, who was elected in 1250, seems not to have been consecrated, and is therefore omitted by Spottiswoode, and doubtfully received by Keith. His name is not mentioned by Mill.

In the year 1249 Mill inserts a bishop named Richard, chancellor to the king, remarking that he lived only one year. But it is manifest that the only Richard who was at once a royal chancellor and bishop of Dunkeld, was Richard of Inverkeithing, who was raised to the Episcopal chair in 1250, after the demise or resignation of David, who, it is clear, was not put in possession of the see.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there are several successions very obscurely marked, and, at the same time, incumbered with chronological difficulties, which it is impossible to reconcile. For example—William Sinclair, brother to Sir Henry Sinclair of Roslin, who is said to have obtained the see of Dunkeld in 1312, must, according to Keith, have been bishop in 1309; and again, his successor, Walter, is represented as in full possession of authority in 1324, as “*Episcopus Dunkeldensis ac conservator totius cleri Scotici*,” though William himself did not die till the 27th June 1337. A similar confusion prevails with regard to the two following prelates, Duncan and John, both of whom occupy part of the same series of years. It is true that Archbishop Spottiswoode, by following Abbot Mill in rejecting two of the number, avoids the difficulty in appearance, but not without neglecting the statement of writers who are esteemed high authorities at that epoch of Scottish history. This discrepancy might perhaps be removed by taking into consideration the occasional ascendancy of English power at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when several natives of the south were preferred in the Scottish church, and who probably withdrew, or were set aside, when the family of Bruce recovered the command of the kingdom. Indeed, Bishop Duncan is said to be an Englishman; but more probably by attachment than by birth.

In the year 1396, Robert de Cairney or de Cardin, succeeded Bishop Peblis, and is said to have held the see of Dunkeld till the month of January 1436. An incumbency of forty years might of itself excite doubt, were there no other reason for calling in question the length of time during which Robert presided in the diocese. But there are certain documents which afford at least a strong presumption that he was succeeded at a much earlier period by Nicholas. There is in the Chapter-house of Westminster, a deed executed by the latter, in the year 1402, to which is appended a beautiful seal. In Nash's History of Worcestershire is the following entry in the list of incumbents of the rectory of Belbroughton; “*Nicholaus Dei gratia Dunkeldensis Episcopus, 28 Martii 1411.*”

It is probable that the bishop may have officiated at Belbroughton, and entered his name in the vestry-book, as is still the custom in England, and even in Scotland, when strangers officiate in any church.

Nicholaus is not mentioned by Mill, Spottiswoode, or Keith ; and hence the doubt which attaches to his history.

Bishop Turnbull, who had been archdeacon of Lothian, and lord-keeper of the Privy Seal, was nominated to the see of Dunkeld in 1447. Owing to the death of Bruce, bishop of Glasgow, he was promoted to the latter see before consecration ; for which reason he is not mentioned by Spottiswoode as a bishop of Dunkeld.

Ralston, by some called Ralphston, by others Raleston, was the next bishop of Dunkeld, and more celebrated for his political zeal than for the discharge of his ecclesiastical functions. The following note, taken from the "Short Chronicle of the Reign of James the Second," refers to this prelate—"That samyn yer (1449) the xviii day of Juin, Quene Mary of Scotland came in Scotland, And this quene was the duke of Gellirlandis (Gueldres) donchter, and sister-douchter to the duke of Burgone. Thar come with hir xiii gret schippis and ane craike, in the whilk thar was the lord of Canfer with xv score of men in harness. Master Jhon Ralston, bischope of Dunkelden, and Schir William of Crechton, chanceler of Scotland that tyme, was the hame-bringaris of the quene, with the counsal of the king of Fraunce, the duke of Savoy, the Duke Ostrich, the duke of Bretane, the duke of Burgunye. And all thir war bundyn in suple and maineinans of King James of Scotland, the third day of Julii the yer forsaid."

Thomas Lauder, who succeeded Ralston in 1452, resigned the see in favour of James Livingston, the dean, the date of whose accession is 1476. In the *Rot. Scot.* (23d April anno 1447) there is mention made of Thomas de Livingston—"Episcopus Dunkeldensis et administrator monasterii Sancti Christopheri extra muros Taurinenses." This Thomas is not mentioned by Mill, Keith, or Spottiswoode ; whence we are led to conjecture that, owing to this confusion of names, some mistake must have arisen.

We again encounter similar difficulty in the year 1484, at which time there are traces of a Bishop Robert, between Alexander Inglis and George Brown. The name of Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, is found in certain public deeds, together with those of the bishops of St Andrews and of Aberdeen. There is some reason for adopting the opinion of Keith, who thinks that between Gawin Douglas and George Crichton, Bishop Robert Cockburn must have held the see during a short space. Archbishop Spottiswoode fails to insert either Bishop Brown or Alexander Inglis ; and also omits in his summing either Andrew Stewart or Gawin Douglas. Hence the bishops of Dunkeld down to the Reformation are, according to Mill, 29 ; to Spottiswoode, 31 ; and to Keith, 40. Mill's narrative descends only to the days of Bishop Gawin Douglas, in whose time he wrote, and to whom he has dedicated his "Lives."

The name of Bishop Brown claims especial notice on account of a fact recorded by Keith, and which seems to indicate the appointment of Rural Deans in Scotland. "This bishop," says the author just named, "has the reputation of having been a very good man, and a strict observer of discipline. He wrought no small reformation in all parts of his diocese, which he distributed into four deaneries, namely, one in the borders of

Atholl and Drumalbin ; another in Fife, Fotherick, and Strathern ; the third in Angus ; and the fourth in the parts besouth Forth." I can find but few other traces of archpresbyterial power in Scotland in Roman Catholic times ; and no proof that since the Reformation it has ever been revived in this section of Great Britain.

Mill, in his biography of Bishop Brown, supplies more ample details than are elsewhere to be found respecting the office of Rural Dean. He states at page 29, that the sub-dean, who was at the same time both commissary and rural dean, having been sent as a delegate to Rome, the bishop appointed Mr Walter Brown, a learned man, to be rural dean and official general. It was by the advice of this official that his Reverence divided the whole diocese into four rural deaneries, of which the incumbents were the following ; " in Atholl he placed, *Dominum Thomam Greig, propter patriæ idioma (Gaelic) suamque corrigendo severitatem ; in Angusia, Alexandrum Myll, scriptorem presentium, licet immeritum (the author himself) ; in Fife, Fotherik, et Strathern, de Forgundyny Prebendarium ; ex parte australi aque de Forth, Magistrum Thomam Grenlawe.*" The prebendary of Forgandenny was principal of St Andrews.

The Reverend William Dansey, in his most interesting Work, entitled "*Horre Decanice Rurales*," states,—Preface, page vii—an important fact as to the revival of the office in England—"I have great pleasure in recording that rural deans are acknowledged in several Acts of Parliament of late years, as concerned in the ecclesiastical administration of the empire ; and that his Grace, the Lord Primate, in his Charge delivered at his ordinary visitation in September 1840, expressly states that 'their authority, which has hitherto rested on the voluntary acquiescence of the clergy, will in future have the sanction of law.'"

In the Register of Aberdeen, lately printed, vol. ii. p. 11, under the head of "*Statuta Generalia Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*," section 18, archdeacons and deans are reminded of their duty in respect to the morality of the clergy—"Volumus quoque, et districte precipimus, ut archidiaconi et decani super hoc diligentiam fieri faciant per omnes decanatus inquisitionem, et quod statuimus observari." The word "*decanatus*" here, can only apply to rural deaneries, or must at least include them.

In Shaw's History of the Province of Moray, mention is made of "the Rural Deanery or Archpresbyterate of Strathbogie," which contained eight parishes, besides Drumblade and Inverkeithnie, now in the synod of Aberdeen. There cannot be any doubt that, in ancient times, every diocese was divided into deaneries, consisting of ten parishes or thereby, and placed under the charge of an archpriest, more usually called an archpresbyter. The title of archdeacon remains ; but the archpresbyter, or rural dean, is a title which has nearly become obsolete. The latter, as his title implies, had the subordinate charge of ten parishes ; and he was denominated "*rural*," to distinguish him from the dean, who exercised a certain power in cathedrals, whose title and office are still recognised.

This office is gradually reviving in England, and it has been introduced with advantage into some of the Colonial dioceses.

It is, perhaps, hardly worthy of notice, that Ware, the Irish chronicler, records that Gawin Douglas, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, died of the plague in 1521, and was buried in the church of the hospital of the Savoy at Westminster, in the same tomb with Thomas Halsay, bishop of Loughlin, in Ireland.

III.—DIOCESE OF ABERDEEN.

The original seat of this diocese was Mortlach, a hamlet situated in the county of Banff, about twelve miles from the mouth of the river Spey, and not less than forty from Aberdeen. If credit be due to a remote antiquity, it owed its foundation to a feeling of pious gratitude on the part of King Malcolm, the second of that name, who had gained, near the village just mentioned, a decisive victory over those formidable invaders, the Danes and Norwegians. The precise date of the erection cannot now be ascertained, because historians are not agreed either as to the date or the person of the monarch who vowed a house to the service of God. A chartulary, quoted by Keith, assigns this good work to Malcolm the Third ; while Nicolson, with greater probability, ascribes the merit to Malcolm the Second, an opinion which is confirmed by Sir James Dalrymple in his "Collections," p. 135.

It is true, that in the chartulary of Aberdeen, this erection is said to have been, "*Tempore Malcolmi filii Kennethi, per eum Malcolmmum constituta est primo sedes Episcopalis apud Murthlac, cui dotavit ecclesiam de Murthlac.*" Yet that chartulary, in another place, says that it was erected anno 1070. Many circumstances concur to strengthen the conclusion that the see was originally founded by Malcolm the Second. Malcolm the Second, and not Malcolm the Third, defeated the Norwegians at Mortlach. The see, as will be seen by the charter subjoined, was erected "*anno regni mei 6to ;*" which fixes it in 1010, which was the sixth year of Malcolm the Second. If Malcolm the Third had been the founder he would have been so called in the chartulary ; but he is mentioned only as a simple donor or contributor. And David the First would unquestionably have confirmed his father's charter, had he been the founder ; but this he does not. It is, therefore, to be presumed that the transcriber of the charter committed a mistake in writing 1070 instead of 1010—the figure 7 for 1—an error not unlike to occur, owing to the similarity of the two digits when hastily formed. Besides, it ought to be kept in mind, that the year 1070 is not the sixth year of any Scottish King's reign, while 1010 is certainly the sixth year of Malcolm the Second. Spottiswoode entertains no doubt on the subject. The royal charter runs as follows :—

"*Malcomus Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus suis, tam clericis quam laicis, salutem : sciatis, me dedisse, et hac carta meâ confirmasse, Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus Sanctis, et Episcopo Beyn de Murthelach, ecclesiam de Murthelach, ut ibidem construatur sedes Episcopalis, terras meas de Murthelach, Ecclesiam de Cloveth cum terris, Ecclesiam de Dulmeth cum terris ; ita libere sicut eas tenui, et in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam : Teste me ipso, apud Forfar, 8vo Octobris anno regni mei sexto.*"

It was in the reign of David the First that the seat of the diocese was removed from Mortlach to Aberdeen. At that period the principal part of the city stood on the estuary of the Don ; and the remains of the cathedral are accordingly to be found in what is now called the "Old Town." It is remarkable, however, that even in the beginning of the twelfth century, this original portion of the city was called the "*villa de Vetere Aberdonia,*" the hamlet of Old Aberdeen. The charter which conveyed the endowment to Bishop Nectanus is as follows :—

“ Charta Primaria Ecclesiae, Cathedralis Aberdonensis, facta Nectano
Episcopo Aberdonensi.

“ David, Dei gratia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terrae suae Clericis et Laicis, salutem : sciant presentes et futuri, me dedisse, concessisse, et hac presenti charta confirmasse Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, Beato Machario, et Nectano Episcopo Aberdonensi, totam villam de Vetere Aberdon. dimidiam aquam de Ourth, Sclettie, Goule, Muriecroft, Kimmundy, Mameulach, et ecclesiam de Kirktoon, Sciram de Clatt ; Sciram de Daviot Tullienestin ; Sciram de Raine ; Sciram de Daviot ; cum pertinentis earundem et ecclesiis ; decimam canum navium quæ veniunt, apud Aberdon. decimam annonæ in eodem loco ; decimam meam de redditibus de Aberdon. decimam Thanagiorum reddituum ac escheatarum mihi contingentiam infra vicecomitatu de Aberdon. et Bamff, tenend. et habend. dicto Episcopo Nectano, et ejus successoribus, in puram eleemosynam ita libere sicut aliqua eleemosyna in regno meo tenetur ; teste meipso apud Forfar, anno regni mei decimo tertio, tricesimo mensis Junii.”

LITTERA REGIS MALCOLMI SUPER DIVERSIS DONATIONIBUS.

“ Milcolumbus, Dei gratia Rex Scottorum, probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, Clericis et Laicis, salutem : Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse, et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, Beato Machario, et Matheo, Episcopo Aberdonensi, totam villam de Vetere Aberdon. cum ecclesia de Kirktoon, et pertinentiis ; dimidiam aquam de Don, Sclettie, Goule, Muriecroft, Kimmundy, Malmeulach, Tilliegrig ; Sciram de Clatt, cum pertinentiis et ecclesiam ; Sciram de Rayne cum pertinentiis et ecclesiam ; Sciram de Daviot cum pertinentiis et ecclesiam ; et ecclesiam de Feterneer, cum terra ejusdem et pertinentiis ; ecclesiam Beati Nicolai de Aberdeen cum pertinentiis ; terras de Ellon cum pertinentiis ; ecclesiam de Auchterless cum terris et pertinentiis ; ecclesiam de Oyne cum terra et pertinentiis ; ecclesiam de Invercluden cum terra et pertinentiis ; ecclesiam de Banchory-Devonief cum terra pertinentiis ; ecclesiam de Belhelvie cum terra et pertinentiis ; decimam canum navium quæ veniunt apud Aberdon. ; decimam annonæ in eodem loco ; decimam de redditibus meis, et omnium escheatarum mihi contingentium, inter duas aquas quæ Dee et Spey dicuntur ; decimam Thanagiorum meorum et escheatarum mihi contingentium, infra vicecomitatus de Aberdon. et Bamff, tenend. et habend. dicto Episcopo Matheo, ejusque successoribus, in puram et liberam eleemosynam, sicut aliqua eleemosyna in Regno meo tenetur liberius aut possidetur ; teste meipso, et Edwardo Cancellario, et Joanne, apud Striviling vicesimo die Aug. anno regni mei undecimo.”

In the month of November, the same year, Malcolm made another grant to the same bishop of the barony of Murthill, with common pasturage in the forest of Aberdeen. The charter is expressed as follows :—

“ Maleolumbus, Dei gratia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ, Clericis et Laicis, salutem : Sciant presentes et futuri, me dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, Beato Machario, et Matheo, Episcopo de Aberdon, totam baroniam meam de Murthill cum pertinentiis ; et pasturam in foresta mea de Aberdeen, ita ut liceat unam forestarum de quatuor ibi residentibus eligere et habere, in puram et perpetuam baroniam ; faciendo inde mihi servitiam et juramentum fidelitatis, sicut alii barones regni mei faciunt ; salvis sibi dignitate epis-

copali et libertate clericali ; et contra illas libertates nolo ipsum vel successores ejus in aliquo argueri. Teste meipso apud Bamff, die decimo quinto Novembris, anno regni mei undecimo."

CARTA WILLELMI REGIS SUPER TERRIS DE BRASS.

" Willelmus Dei Gratia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue, clericis et laicis, salutem. Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse concessisse et hac carta confirmasse Deo et Beate Marie et Matheo, Episcopo Aberdonensi, omnes illas donationes et libertates terras ecclesias et decimas reddituum meorum inter duas aquas qui Dee et Spee dicuntur deciman escætarum me contingentium infra vicecomitatus de Aberdeen et de Bamff quas Nectanus et Edwardus predecessores sui Episcopi Aberdonenses habuerunt ex donatione regis David avi mei et regis Malcolmī fratris mei cum justis pertinentiis suis. Tenendas sibi et successoribus suis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut predicti reges David avus meus et Malcolmus frater meus predecessoribus suis predictis episcopis dederunt concesserunt et ita libere sicut aliqua elemosina in regno meo possidetur seu tenetur. Preterea dedi et concessi et hac carta mea confirmavi de incremento predicto episcopo Matheo et successoribus suis episcopis pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum totas terras meas de Brass videlicet Ouchtirbrass. Drummenathy. villam ecclesie. Kynmondy. Balfoure. Tullysnacht. Erben-tuly. Ardensoule. Innercat. Parcī. Migstrath. Clone. Balneboth. Enachy. Ballinfady. Tulyquhorske. Tulycarman. Et forestam meam de Brass cum omnibus nativis dictarum terrarum. thaynis meis tantum exclusis. cum aliis justis pertinentiis et rectitudinibus in puram libram et perpetuam elemosinam ita libere quiete plenarie et honorifice, sicut aliqua elemosina in regno meo liberius, quietius, plenius, et honorificentius tenetur seu possidetur. Testibus Jocelino episcopo Glasguensi. Hugone Dunkeldensi episcopo. Ricardo Moravi. Turpino Brechinensi. Andrea episcopo Catenensi. David fratre meo. A. de Kalchuck. H. Abbate de Abirbrothock. W. Abbate Sanctæ Crucis. Robert. Abbate de Scona. Ricardo Abbate de Cupro. Hugone Abbate de Newbottyl. Reynerio Abbate de Kynloss. Comite Duncano Justiciario. Comite Patricio. Comite Gilberto de Strathern. Gilbrid. Comite de Angus. G. Comite de Marr. Willelmo Cumyne. Roberto. W. Capellanis meis. Hugo de sigillo clerico meo. Willelmo de Haya. Galfrido de Maleuile. Willelmo de Moraule. Apud Kynorn anno regni mei quinto."

HENRY DE LEIGHTON.—This prelate appears to have been a great benefactor to the diocese of Aberdeen. He began the west front and towers of the cathedral, which were afterwards finished by Bishop Elphinston, as also the great tower and steeple, which were likewise completed by the latter. The north transept or St John's aisle was built by Bishop Leighton, at the north end of which his body lies interred. His effigy, *in pontificalibus*, is on an altar-tomb with a canopy, under which is this inscription in black letter—

" Hic jacet bonæ memoriæ Henricus de Leighton utriusque juris doctor, qui ad ecclesiæ Moravien. regimen fuit olim assumptus, ubi septennio prefuit, demum ad istam translatus fuit, in qua 18 annos rexit, præsentisque ecclesiæ fabricam a chori statione seorsum usque ad summitatem parietum plene astruxit, A. D. MCCCXL."

Bishop Keith says (p. 113) that this prelate was translated from Moray to Aberdeen, in 1421 or 1423, and that he died in 1441; but if he was eighteen years in the latter see, his death could not have taken place sooner than 1412. His name occurs as a witness in 1441; and as Ingeram Lindsay, who is said to have "succeeded immediately," is not found Bishop of Aberdeen till the year 1442, there is good reason to believe that Bishop Leighton did not die so soon as is generally said.

The following curious entry, concerning Bishop Blacader and his predecessor, is in the Council Register of Aberdeen, vol. vi.

"The vij day of November m. ixc. iiij^{xx}. and one, (1481) the Aldermen counsel and communitie of the brugh of Abirdene the communitie gadrit throw warning of the belman ryply and weill avisit with ane assent nane sayande the contra has deliverit and ordinyt becaus that Robert elect afirmat of Abirdon has schavine hym vnkindly in the ristriction of the second tend of Abirdene quhilk is gevine be his predecessor bischop Thomas Spens quhom God assolze to the biging of the quer of Abirdene the foresaid Aldermen counsel and communitie has decretit deliverit & ordinyt that nane neighbour duelland within the said brugh sall mak na f'mas to the said Robert elect na zet to nane of his factoris on his behalf and quhatsoever he be that dois in contrar of this act sal tyne his fredom, and histak sall waik, & incontinent be disposit at the wil and sycht of the Aldermen counsel and communitie of the said brugh but ony faworis."

The following notice refers to Bishop Gavin Dunbar.—"*Curia Ballivorum*, &c. 14. April 1522.—The said day the provest, baillies, counsell, & communitie present for the tyme, prayt Wilzeame Rolland to gar mak xij prekatts of wax to be gevin my lord of Abirden, now at his cuming, to-gidder with xij bolls of schorcheat, because there is na gud wysis now to send his lordship. The quhilkis thai obleist thame to pay thankfullie to the said William."

Bishop William Gordon.—See Keith's Hist. Pref. xiv. Also Wood's Peerage, and the Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, where he is said to have died at Paris in the college of *les bons enfans*. Whether or not there were two bishops of Aberdeen of this name, it is not easy to determine. It would rather appear that there were really two.; one of them said to have been a very profligate character, who died in France previous to 1567; the other a son to Alexander, earl of Huntley, represented as a good and learned man, is said to have died at Aberdeen in 1577.

For some of the documents now quoted I am indebted to the "*REGISTRUM EPISCOPATUS ABERDONENSIS*," recently printed for the Spalding Club. The editor of this valuable collection of ancient papers does not maintain the entire authenticity or genuineness of the several charters and confirmations of which he has supplied copies, though there cannot be any doubt as to the substantial accuracy of the successive deeds by which the Crown, from time to time, endowed the diocese of Aberdeen.

From the same quarter some information may be derived as to the dates and order which marked the succession of the bishops who filled the see of Aberdeen, from the reign of Malcolm the Second down to the period of the Reformation; in other words, from Beanus, who was nominated by the royal founder of the establishment at Murtlach, to William Gordon, who was consecrated in the year 1547, and died, according to Bishop Keith, in 1577. The doubt which has prevailed as to whether there were not two bishops of the same name in close succession, has arisen from the

circumstance, that during his temporary absence in France, William appointed a vicar-general, aided by the chancellor of Moray, whose name was James Gordon.

Instead of introducing partial corrections, I shall give the list of bishops as it appears in the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, leaving to the curiosity of the reader the easy task of comparing it with the catalogues given by Spottiswoode and Keith, the most industrious of our Church historians.

Of the earliest bishops who presided at Murtlach, though chroniclers agree as to the order of their succession, there is not the same unanimity as to the period during which they ruled. Beanus or Beyn was followed by Donortius, who was succeeded by Cormauch, who, in the course of nature, yielded the mitre to Nectan ; in whose days the see was translated to Aberdeen, an event which is usually dated in 1125. From this epoch the catalogue is more distinct, and is in all respects less exposed to challenge.

5. Edward	. . . .	died in 1171.
6. Matthew	. . . .	— 1199.
7. John	. . . .	— 1207.
8. Adam	. . . .	— 1228.
9. Matthew Scot,	not consecrated.	
10. Gilbert de Stirling	. . . .	— 1239.
11. Ralph or Radolph	. . . .	— 1247.
12. Peter de Ramsay	. . . .	— 1256.
13. Richard de Pottock	. . . .	— 1270.
14. Hew de Benham	. . . .	— 1282.
15. Henry le Chen	. . . .	— 1328.
16. Alexr. de Kyninmond	. . . .	— 1340.
17. William de Deyn	. . . .	— 1350.
18. John Rait	. . . .	— 1355.
19. Alexr. de Kyninmond	. . . .	— 1380.
20. Adam de Tynninghame	. . . .	— 1389.
21. Gilbert de Grinlau	. . . .	— 1422.
22. Henry de Leighton	. . . .	— 1440.
23. Ingelram de Lyndesay	. . . .	— 1459.
24. Thomas Spens	. . . .	— 1480.
25. Robert Blacader, translated to Glasgow in the year	. . . .	1483.
26. William Elphinstone	. . . .	— 1514.
27. Alexander Gordon	. . . .	— 1518.
28. Gawane Dunbar	. . . .	— 1531.
29. William Stewart	. . . .	— 1545.
30. William Gordon	. . . .	— 1577.

The list now given presents strong claims to confidence, being founded on public acts, diocesan registers, and the records of monasteries, carefully collected and compared by the editor : And perhaps the date of the death of each succeeding bishop supplies a more certain basis for chronological accuracy than the period of his election or nomination, because the consecration was often delayed, and sometimes superseded by papal interposition or monastic jealousy.

IV.—DIOCESE OF MORAY.

The origin of the diocese of Moray is involved in darkness still more obscure than that which hangs over Murlach ; because, being connected with no civil or military event to which the gratitude of the nation might be attached, the recollections of the neighbouring inhabitants have not in any degree supplied the defects of monastic records or royal charters. A victory gained over formidable invaders, such as were the Danes and Norwegians, marked an epoch in the annals of the rude people who then possessed the shores of the Murray Firth ; while the mere piety of Malcolm Canmore, or of Alexander the First, would leave very faint traces in their historical poems or traditionary tales.

Shaw, in his History, supplied from ancient records evidence sufficient to prove that the diocese was established in the days of Alexander the First, who ascended the throne in the year 1107, though there may not be equally good reason for carrying back its origin to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, as has been attempted by Lesley and Buchanan. Gregorius Episcopus de Moravia appears as witness to two public deeds in 1115 and 1122 respectively. Hence the author of the "History of Moray" concluded that the erection of the see may be carried up to the beginning of the reign of Alexander the First, but no farther.

Bishops of Moray or Murray, according to Shaw, in "HISTORY OF THE PROVINCE OF MORAY"—

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Gregorius, Anno 1115. | 15. John Innes. |
| 2. William. | 16. Henry Leighton. |
| 3. Felix. | 17. Columba Dunbar. |
| 4. Simeon de Toeny. | 18. John Winchester. |
| 5. Andrew. | 19. James Stewart. |
| 6. Richard. | 20. David Stewart. |
| 7. Bricius. | 21. William Tulloch. |
| 8. Andrew de Moravia. | 22. Andrew Stewart. |
| 9. Simon. | 23. Andrew Forman. |
| 10. Archibald. | 24. James Hepburn. |
| 11. David Moray. | 25. Robert Shaw. |
| 12. John Pilmoze. | 26. Alexander Stewart. |
| 13. Alexander Bar. | 27. Patrick Hepburn. |
| 14. William Spynie. | |

From the "REGISTRUM EPISCOPATUS MORAVIENSIS," Bannatyne Edition, Edin. 1837—

1. Gregorius. He held the see, time of Alexander I. and of David.
2. William.
3. Felix.
4. Simon de Toeny or Tinei.
5. Richard.
6. Bricius de Douglas.
7. Andrew de Moravia.
8. Simon.
9. Ralph, supposed to have died before consecration.
10. Archibald, consecrated in 1253.

11. David de Moravia, consecrated June 1299.
 12. John Pilmore, consecrated March 1326.
 13. Alexander Bar or Bur, consecrated December 1632.
 14. William de Spynie, consecrated September 1397.
 15. John de Innes, consecrated January 1406.
 16. Henry de Leighton, consecrated March 1414.
 17. David, 1421.
 18. Columba de Dunbar, 1429.
 19. John Winchester, consecrated 1437.
 20. James Stewart, consecrated 1459.
 21. David Stewart, consecrated 1461.
 22. William Tulloch, translated to Moray 1477.
 23. Andrew Stewart, consecrated 1483.
 24. Andrew Forman, 1501.
 25. James Hepburn, consecrated 1516.
 26. Robert Schaw, 1524.
 27. Alexander Stewart, 1527.
 28. Patrick Hepburn, 1535.
 29. George Douglas, consecrated 1573.
- * * This last bishop belongs properly to the period of the Reformation.

Upon comparing the several lists, it will be apparent that the catalogue given by Shaw and the compilers of the Register are more correct, at least more complete, than those which were received by Archbishop Spottiswoode and Bishop Keith. I have added a few notes, especially those from the Harleian MSS., touching the two bishops James and David Stewart, who appear to have stood to each other in the relation of father and son. They are usually described as brothers: the *fs.* may be a misprint for *fr.*

David, bishop of Moray, conveyed to William, laird of Mackintosh, anno 1336, the district of Moy, in the shires of Inverness and Nairn.—Vide Carlisle's Topog. Dict.—This bishop is omitted by Keith.

Bishop Bar, anno 1362. See Robertson's Index, where his name is written Burre. It is also written Bur in other places.

Andrew was consecrated bishop of this see anno 1484, and died in the year following.—Chron. Melr.—This bishop is also omitted by Keith.

Bishop Innes, 1407.—He is mentioned in the papers of the late Mr Rose of Montcoffer, to have been sometime archdeacon of Caithness.

Bishop Leighton, 1414.—According to his epitaph, he was bishop of Moray only seven years.

Bishop Winchester, 1437.—“Anno Mo. IV^o. lxiij obiit *Johanes Wynsist. eps. Moravien.*”—Harl. MSS. 2363.

Bishop James Stewart, 1459.—The two following entries occur in Harl. MSS. 2363:—“Anno Mo. 4^o. lxvi. v. die mensis Augusti obiit *Jacobus Stewart, eps. Moravien.*”

“Anno M^o. 4^o. lxx. sexto obiit David Stewart fs. predicti *Jacobi epi. Moravien.*”

Bishop Alexander Stewart, 1527.—Keith observes, that he is said to have died anno 1534. But there is reason to doubt whether he was not living three years after that time, viz.—in 1537.

V.—DIOCESE OF BRECHIN.

Of this diocese our learned author remarks, that though there were many worthy bishops in it, most of them are buried in oblivion. In a marginal note he states that "since the writing of this catalogue, I have found four bishops succeeding Edwardus, one after another, Turpinus, Rodolphus, Hugo, and Gregorius; but how long they sate, I cannot say."

The following list is much more complete, compiled from the volumes of Nicolson, Dalrymple, and Keith; all of whom had access to sources of information which were not opened in the days of James the Sixth, when Archbishop Spottiswoode composed his history. The name of a bishop is indicated as early as the year 1155, though not with sufficient distinctness as to the date of his consecration. The next, who flourished in the reign of Malcolm the Fourth, and whom we must reckon the first, is

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|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Sampson. | 15. Philip. |
| 2. Turpin. | 16. Patrick. |
| 3. Rodolphus. | 17. Stephen. |
| 4. Robert. | 18. Walter Forrester. |
| 5. Hugo. | 19. John de Carnoth or Crennach. ¹ |
| 6. Gregory. | 20. Robert. |
| 7. Gilbert. | 21. George de Shoreswood. |
| 8. Albin. | 22. Patrick. |
| 9. William. | 23. John Balfour. |
| 10. Edward. | 24. Walter Meldrum. |
| 11. Robert. | 25. John Hepburn. |
| 12. William. | 26. Donald. |
| 13. John de Kinninmond. | 27. John Sinclair. |
| 14. Adam. | |

In the year 1424, a bishop, the initial of whose name was G. filled the see of Brechin; but nothing more is known respecting him. From a comparison of the dates given by Spottiswoode and Keith, there is little doubt that the G. in question is the first letter in Walter, written in the Latin form of Gualterius.

In reference to the bishops of this see, I have collected the following notes, which, as the Register of Brechin has not yet been printed, may prove of some use to the curious reader.

Sampson, Bp. temp. Malc. IV.—His name is written Sansane, in a charter in the archives of King's College, Aberdeen.

Bishop Adam, p. 161—"David Dei Gracia Rex Scotorum venerabili in Christo patri Ade Episcopo Brechinen. cancellario nostro salutem. Sciatis etc. concessisse confirmationem nostram Episcopo et ecclesie Brechinen. de capellania de Boith, &c. et de terra de Carnortye per quond. Walterum de Maulea de Pannur dat. et concess. quond.² Ade Episcopo Brechinen. et ecclesie prenotat. ac sibi de terra de Botinok in tenemento de Pannur, &c. Quare vobis mandam. Episcopum et ecclesiam Brechinen. predict. ut faciatis cartas nostras generaliter vel specialiter prout velit sub magno

¹ In the Chronicle of King James II. there is the following entry relative to this prelate. "August 1456, died John Crenueh, bishop of Brechyne, an active and virtuous man."

² He died in 1348.—(Perrage.)

sigillo nostro super confirmatione nostra supradicta, &c. Datum sub sigillo nostro secreto apud Edinburgh vigesimo die Novembris anno regni nostri *trigesimo primo*.”—Registr. Brechin. fol. cxli.

This paper will be of material use in correcting the erroneous account of Bishop Adam given by Keith, who had not discovered that there were two bishops of Brechin of that name.

R. bishop of Brechin, is a witness with Robert, bishop of Ross, &c. to a convention (without date) between the abbot and convent of Arbroath, and John, the son of Theobald, &c.—Vide Registr. de Aberbroth. f. cxxxiii.

Philip, 1351.—In the archives of the city of Brechin is a charter by him, dated 16. Mar. 1350-1.

Bishop Forrester, 1401.—He occurs 16th July 1420, in Reg. Eccl. Brechin. f. lxii.

Bishop John de Carnoth, 1435.—John is bishop of Brechin, anno 1429 and 1433. Reg. Ecc. Brechin. f. xviii. and lxxxiii.—He is styled “Conservator privilegiorum Ecclesie Scotice.” Ibid. f. lxxii.—He is mentioned as dead, anno 1459-60. Ibid. f. xxviii.

The following is an entry, under the year 1456, in the Short Chronicle of the reign of King James II.

“Item that samyn zer & moneth (August) decessit in Brechyne Mast Jhone Crennok, bischop of Brechyne, that was callit a gud actif and vertuis man, and all his tyme wele gouvernand.”—See the printed copy of the Chronicle.

William, anno 1511.—Omitted by Keith. The following curious paper is a copy of the original preserved in the archives of the viscount of Arbutnott :—

“We William, bischop of Brechin, grants ws to have resavit fra our chaplane Sir Thomas Thoulace in the nam & behave of ane honorabill man, James Arbutnott of that ilk, the soyme of xxxv marks gud and vsual mone of Scotland in hail payment of ane composicione of the teynd penny of the waird of the mariage of the said James, pertening to ws, of the quhilk soyme we hald ws weill content and pait, and be this our acquittance, quit claimis, and discharge the said James and all oderis of the said composicione and tend penny, for now and evir. In witnes of quhilk we have subscribit this acquittance with our hand at Brechin the penult of Maij in the zeir of God, ane M. ^{ve}. and xj zere befor thir witnesses Maister Thos. Meldrum chancellair of Brechin, Mr William Forsyth, viccar of Montross, Maister Jhone Meldrum, parson of Futhergill, and Mr Thomas Thoulace, with oderis divers; and for the mair securite we haue affixit our signet to this present writ befor the said witnesses, day, zeir, and place foresaid.

“WILLM's, Eps.

(L. S.)

“Brehneu.

“Indorss,—Acquittance of the teind penny for James Arbutnott's waird and mariage to the bischop of Brechin penult May 1511.”

The arms on the seal being unluckily so defaced as to be unintelligible, they cannot be of any use in endeavouring to discover the bishop's surname.

William, bishop of Brechin, previously occurs, viz.—6. May anno 1500, and 29. June 1505. in Reg. Ecc. Brechin. f. xiv. and xlvi.

The charter by Philip, bishop of Brechin, anno 1350-1, beforementioned,

is merely a grant, with the consent of the chapter, of a piece of land in Montrose, to a burgess of that place.

Bishop George Shoreswood, 1454.—He occurs 28. Jan. 1459-60, in Reg. Eccl. Brechin. f. xxviii.

George, bishop of Brechin, chancellor of Scotland, previously occurs, viz.—19. Apr. 1448. Ibid. fol. 99.

John, bishop of Brechin, chancellor, occurs 6. Sept. A. R. Jac. III. 21. Ibid. f. liii. ; and previously John is mentioned as bishop of Brechin, 17. Feb. 1466-7. Ibid. f. cxxii.

Bishop Whitford or Whiteford. He married Anne, one of the daughters of Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael.—Wood's Peerage, i. 753.

VI.—DIOCESE OF DUNBLANE.

This see, as well as that of Brechin, was founded by King David the First, although Keith asserts that it owes its erection to David the Second, and even towards the end of his reign. As the former died in 1153, the first bishop must have been consecrated early in the twelfth century. The most ancient notice of the bishop of Dunblane is found in a Bull issued by Pope Adrian IV, who ascended the papal throne in 1154. In this document he is described as "*M. de Dunblan*;" but as it enforces the subjection of the Scottish Church to the archiepiscopal see of York, the genuineness of it has very naturally been called in question on the northern side of the Tweed.

Archbishop Spottiswoode begins with Jonathan, who died in 1210, and who had at least three predecessors at Dunblane. By the authority of unquestioned documents, we are justified in ascending to the middle of the twelfth century, and begin with—

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| 1. Laurentius, who was bishop in 1160. | 14. Walter de Cambuslang. |
| 2. Simon. | 15. Andrew. |
| 3. Jonathan. | 16. Dougal. |
| 4. Abraham. | 17. Finlay. |
| 5. William. | 18. William Stephen. |
| 6. Rodolph, elect. | 19. Michael Ochiltree. |
| 7. Osbert. | 20. Robert Lawder. |
| 8. Clement. | 21. Thomas. |
| 9. Robert de Prebenda. | 22. John Hepburn. |
| 10. William. | 23. James Chisholm. |
| 11. Nicolas. | 24. William Chisholm. |
| 12. Maurice. | 25. William Chisholm, nephew to the preceding. |
| 13. William. | |

There is reason to repeat the regret expressed by our venerable author, as well as by Bishop Keith, that the records of Dunblane have been carelessly kept and badly preserved. The following notes do not contribute to throw much light upon the annals of the diocese, as the chief reliance of history must be placed on contemporary registers and other public deeds.

John Scot, bishop of Dunblane, is said to have anointed Edgar king of Scotland.—See Hist. of Families of the name of Scot, Part I, page 33.

Jouathan, bishop early in the 13th cent. Vide Registrum Prioratus,

S. Andr. fol. cxlii. l. where "*Jonatha, epo. de Stratheren*" occurs as a witness to an instrument without date.—See also Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*.

Ware, the Irish annalist, observes, that John Comin or Cumin, archbishop of Dublin, was thought by some to have been bishop of Dunblane in Scotland, and not of Dublin. He died in 1212.

Robert.—Vide Dempster. *Hist. Ec. Scot.* p. 515.

William, 1290.—Query whether he was not bishop of this see in the preceding year, 1289? See the Letter of the Community of Scotland to Edward I, proposing a marriage between the Prince, his son, and the Maiden of Norway.

Stephen, probably bishop of this see early in the 14th cent.—Vide *Reg. de Aberbroth.* f. lxvi. Omitted by Keith.

Walter de Conentre, 1371.—He is mentioned as one of those who took the oaths of homage and fealty to King Robert II on the day after his coronation.—Robertson's *Index*.—This bishop is also unnoticed by Keith.

Finlay, 1406.—The figure of an ecclesiastic lies on the north side of the church of Dunblane, near the east end, said to be that of Bishop Finlay.

William Stephen, 1420.—His surname was probably rather Stephenson.—Vide *Fordun*, XV. 22.

The following instrument appears in the *Reg. of Brechin*, f. lxii. : "In Dei nomine amen. Noverint universi, &c. anno ab incarnatione Dei 1420. Indictione 13, mensis Julii die 16^o. Pontificat. sanctissimi in Christo, patris ac domini Martini divini quidem pape quinti anno 3^o. congregata fuit apud Perth in ecclesia fratrum predicatorum synodus provincialis et consilium generale cleri regni Scocie prout moris est. In quo consilio post missam et invocacionem sancti spiritus et sermonem ad clerum, concorditer electus fuit in conservatorem privilegiorum Reverendus in Christo pater Dns. *Willm. Dei gracia Dunblanen. episcopus*, presentibus in Christo patribus dominis Dei gracia episcopis, viz. Henrico Sancti Andree, Willielmo Glasguen. Roberto *Dunblanen*.¹ Gilberto Abirdonen. Waltero Brechin. necnon procuratoribus duorum episcoporum. Henrici Moravien. Thome Candide Case. Alexandri Cathanen. ac Johannis electi confirmati Rossen." &c. &c.

William Chisholm, 1564.

"Gvillielmvs Chisholmevs, *Dunblanensis in Scotia Episcopus*, magno natu vir, vtpote genere Baro, sub Scotiæ defectione, se conferens, atque Episcopali dignitate se abdicans, impetrato a Summo Pontifice, qui eum ad altiora provehere studebat, consensu, ad maiorem contendit Cartusiam; in qua Monachum professus, ad annos aliquot quam humillime vixit, conferens subinde ordines sacros suis fratribus. Postmodum vero Lugduensis ac Romanæ Cartusiæ successive præfectus, Generalis fuit Ordinis Procurator apud Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum. Quin et legatus quoq. ad Jacobum Scotiæ Regem tunc, nunc vero Angliæ, missus, prudenter rem

¹ Sic in autogr. *Dunblanen*, seems clearly to be an error here for *Dunkelden*, as there was no bishop of any of the other sees of the name of Robert at that time. It would hence appear that Robert de Cairney had been deprived of the bishopric of Dunkeld, and afterwards reinstated; the see in the interim having been filled by bishop Nicholas, who was probably an Englishman. But these conjectures are humbly submitted to the judgment of the learned.

gessit ; quippe quum ex sacro fonte olim susceperat. Obiit vero anno MDXIII. XXVI. Sept.”—*Bibliotheca Cartuseana*, etc. Auctore F. Theodore Petreio, in *Bib. Mus. Brit.*

VII.—DIOCESE OF ROSS.

The foundation of this see is also attributed to David the First, who devoted much care and wealth to the extension of the Church in all parts of his kingdom. Rosmarkie appears to have been the earliest residence of the bishop, and hence the title was “*Episcopus Rosmarkensis*”—a designation which was afterwards superseded by the more modern name of the diocese. Macbeth, it is presumed, was the first of the series, though Archbishop Spottiswoode begins with Gregorius, who was not consecrated till 1161 ; whereas the other must have been elevated to the episcopal throne about the year 1124.

1. Macbeth was contemporary with Robert of St Andrews, John of Glasgow, and Gregory of Moray, all whose names are joined with his as witnesses to a charter granted by King David to the abbey of Dunfermline. He was succeeded by

2. Simon, who is described as “*Episcopus de Ross.*” His name also appears in a royal charter granted by the king just mentioned.

3. Gregorius.

4. Reinaldus, or Reginaldus, who had been a monk of Melrose.

5. Andrew Murray or Stewart, was elected but not consecrated.

6. Robert, whose accession is dated 1214.

7. Duthac, who is supposed to have died in 1249.

8. Robert was bishop in 1269 ; but in the year following there is another

9. Robert, who is said to have been archdeacon of the same see.

10. Matthew, who succeeded him, is understood to have been consecrated in 1274, and to have died in the year after, when proceeding to France in order to attend the Council of Lyons.

11. Thomas de Fifyne.

12. Robert, who appears to have been bishop in 1281.

13. Thomas de Dundie, 1309, in which year he recognizes the title of Robert Bruce.

14. John Pilmore, who before his consecration was nominated bishop of Moray.

15. Roger, whose signature appears as “*Episcopus Rossensis.*”

16. John was bishop of Ross in 1334.

17. Roger is a witness to a deed by King David II., anno 1343.

18. Alexander, who is supposed to have occupied the see about fifty years.

19. John.

20. Thomas Urquhart.

21. Henry appears bishop elect in 1163.

22. Thomas. This bishop founded the collegiate church of Tain.

23. William Elphinston, afterwards translated to Aberdeen.

24. John Fraser, the date of whose consecration is uncertain.

25. Robert Cockburn.

26. James Hay.

27. Robert Cairncross ; he was bishop in the reign of James the Fifth and the regency of Arran.

28. David Panter or Paniter.

29. Henry Sinclair, known as President of the Court of Session.

30. John Lesley, the celebrated historian, and friend of Queen Mary.

Upon comparing the list now given with the one contained in the "History of the Church of Scotland," it will appear that the archbishop has omitted seven bishops of Ross, all of whom were elected, if not consecrated, to the see. It is true that the vouchers in some cases are not free from doubt. The following notes throw some rays of light on the darkness of the earlier dates:—

Andrew Murray, elect, 1213.—See Lord Hailes's Annals.

Robert, 1269.—Vide Chartul. Arbr. f. cxxxiii.

Roger occurs bishop of Ross, anno 1338 and 1350.—MS. penes the late General Hutton.

Thomas, bishop of Ross, is a witness, and appends his seal to a deed by William, earl of Ross, 31st Oct. an. Reg. Rob. III.—See the copy in the Append. to the Lord of the Isles.

Alexander, 1357.—The see of Ross was vacant anno 1371.—Vide Rot. Compot. II. 3.

Alexander, 1404.—He and the bishop of the same name above noticed were certainly different persons, the former Bishop Alexander having probably died previous to the year 1371.

Thomas, 1449.—He occurs bishop of Ross in 1443. Coun. Reg. Aberd. Vol. IV. Thomas is also bishop of Ross anno 1455. See the Charter of Ja. VI. confirming the union of the burghs of Rosmarky and Fortrose, which contains a transcript of a charter by King James II.

The following is among the entries under the year 1443, in the Coun. Reg. of Aberdeen, Vol. IV.:—

"It is to remember that the bisshop of Ross presented to the baillies a letter of the kyngis in this form the xxiii day of Nouember.

"Jamys be the grace of God kyng of Scots to the aldermen & baillies of our burch of Aberdene gretyng. It is our will and we charge zow that ze diffend & supple a Renerend fadder in Crist the bisschop of Ross in the tak of the half net of the Rake as law will, giff it swa be that he makk sufficiand document that he has richt tharto, and this on na way beys ondon. Givin onder our signet at Strifflyn the xj day of Nouember and of our regne the seven zer."

Thomas Tulloch was bishop of Ross anno 1460. (Inscription on a bell at Fortrose.)

William is Electus Confirmat. Rossen. 22 Mar. 1481-2.—Reg. Eccl. S. Nicol de Aberd.

Bishop Frazer, anno 1485. He was a son of the Fam. of Fruid in Tweeddale.—MS. insertion in a copy of Keith's Catalogue by the late Gen. Hutton.

In the cathedral church at Fortrose is a monument with the effigies of a bishop *in pontificalibus*, said to be the monument of Bishop Frazer.

Bishop Cairncross, 1539.—He died 30th Nov. 1545, and was buried in the cathedral church.—Harl. MS. 2363.

Bishop Sinclair, 1560.—Vide Dempsteri, Pref. ad Appar. Hist. Scot.

Bishop Leslie, 1365.—Among the witnesses to an instrument, dated 1507,

is Thomas Leslie, a canon of the cathedral church of Moray, and presbytery of Kingussie, who, according to a note in the handwriting of the late Mr Rose of Moncoffer, was the father of Bishop Leslie.

The see of Ross was vacant 1st March 1573-4.—Chart. enes Family de Cromarty.

In the Lond. Chron. 12th Oct. 1797, is an account of the discovery of the body of a bishop in the cathedral of Fortrose, supposed to have been buried more than three hundred years.

VIII.—DIOCESE OF CAITHNESS.

In regard to the time when this see was erected, nothing more is certain than that it was accomplished before the reign of Malcolm the Fourth, who ascended the throne in the year 1153. Archbishop Spottiswoode states that it was founded by Malcolm the Third, who, he adds, about the year 1066, preferred thereto one Darrus, whom he favoured greatly. "This man," he continues, "lived long, and in good reputation, and after his death was honoured as a saint." In the Calendar of Saints, indeed, annexed to Keith's Catalogue, we find "St Barre, bishop and confessor, first bishop of Caithness," who died in 1074. The name, it is obvious, was Barrus and not Darrus, a typographical error; and though the authority be slight, I see no reason why he should be rejected from the list of Catensian prelates.

1. Barrus, about the end of the eleventh century.
2. Andrew, who was in the see in the reign of David the First.
3. Johu, who was murdered by Harold, earl of Orkney.
4. Adam, who it is said suffered a similar fate.
5. Gilbert, the canon of Moray, or archdeacon, celebrated for his bold answer to the papal legate at Northampton.
6. A. 1260.—Keith here inserts a bishop, the initial letter of whose name was A., and refers to the chartulary of Moray, in which I cannot find any authority for his statement.
7. William, who is said to have died in 1261.
8. Walter, who died 1271.
9. Nicolas was next elected, but was by the pope refused consecration; he is therefore omitted by Spottiswoode.
10. Archibald, formerly archdeacon of Moray.
11. Alan St Edmonds, noted for his subserviency to Edward the First of England.
12. Andrew, who is said to have held the see thirteen years.
13. Ferquhard. He was bishop before 1309, and appears to have died in 1328.
14. David, he is reported to have lived twenty years bishop.
15. Thomas de Fingask, consecrated in 1348, and died 1360.
16. Alexander, whose surname was Man, is classed in all the lists immediately after Thomas; but, as there is an interval of twenty-nine years betwixt them, it is conjectured by Bishop Keith that a prelate named Malcolm must have intervened.
17. Robert Strathbrock.
18. John Innes.
19. William Moodie.

20. Prosper. This clergyman was elected, but declined consecration.

21. John Sinclair. It is mentioned by historians that neither was this bishop-elect consecrated, and that the see continued vacant twenty-four years.

22. Adam Gordon, dean of Caithness, appears to have acted as bishop-coadjutor to Sinclair, and afterwards to Bishop Andrew Stewart, who devoted himself chiefly to sacred matters.

23. Andrew Stewart, elected in 1490, and died in 1510.

24. Andrew Stewart, son to John, earl of Atholl, from 1510 to 1542.

25. Robert Stewart, brother to the earl of Lenox, succeeded in 1542. By Keith he is described as "elect and administrator," for he never was in priest's orders, and had committed to him by the pope no other charge than the "administration of the cathedral church of Caithness." Having become Protestant, he got from his brother, the regent, the gift of the priory of St Andrews, which he retained all his life. He died at St Andrews, where a sepulchral monument was erected to his memory, on which the inscription states that he died 29th August 1586, at the age of sixty-three. Keith states that he died 29th March 1586, in the seventieth year of his age.

"Andr. Epo. de Katenes," is a witness to K. William's charter of protection to the burgesses of Aberdeen, without date.

Bishop Andrew was the successor of Bishop John, according to the Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland.

Bishop Gilbert Moray, 1222. See Hist. Earldom of Sutherland.

Bishop Alan, 1290.—A protection was granted under the Great Seal of Scotland, dated Aug. 14, 1291, to the bishop of Carlisle and A. bp. of Caithness, for their joint collection of the tenths of that kingdom.—Fryn. III. 450.

Bishop Ferquhard, 1301.—His surname occurs variously written: Belle-ganach, Deleganibe, Belleganube, Cleranumbe, Beleraumbe, &c.

An. 1328, the see of Caithness was vacant.—Vide Rot. Compot. &c. p. 22.

Alexander occurs bishop of Caithness, an. 1420.—Reg. Eccl. Cath. Brechin.—This bishop is omitted by Keith.

Bishop William Moodie or Mudy, an. 1455.

William Mudy, bishop of Caithness, occurs an. 1469.—Charter in the Gen. Reg. House.

And William, bishop of Caithness, occurs an. 1477, in Reg. Eccl. Brechin.

Prosper, bishop of this see, occurs an. 1489.—Coun. Reg. Aberd.

Bishop John Sinclair, 14—. He was son to William the third earl of Orkney. See Wood's Peerage, where he is styled Titular Bishop of Caithness.

Mr Adam Gordon, dean of Caithness, and parson of Pettie, administrator, an. 15—. He is called rector of Pettie, in the Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland. He was buried in the V. Mary's Aisle, in the cathedral church of Elgin.

Bishop Andrew Stewart, 1518.—The History of the Earldom of Sutherland calls him brother to the earl of Atholl. He occurs as a witness to an instrument penes Vic. de Arbutlnot, dated 1522.

Bishop Robert Stewart, 1542.—See Hist. Earldom of Sutherland.

Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, was admitted canon of Christ-Church, Canterbury, by proxy.—Dart's Hist. Canterbury Cathedral.

Bishop Abernethy, 1621.—See Hist. Earldom of Sutherland, p. 382, 488.

IX.—DIOCESE OF ORKNEY.

The origin of Christianity in the Orkney Isles, is, in the monkish history, ascribed to an act of despotism on the part of a Norwegian king, named Olave or Olaus, who presented to the natives the alternative of conversion or utter ruin. This monarch had himself received the rudiments of the true faith in early life, when resident in England; and inspired with suitable zeal, he resolved to propagate its principles in the islands subject to his dominion. Sigurd, the earl of Orkney, though not without some reluctance, consented to the terms proposed, publicly professed the Christian creed, and received baptism; his people following his example with one accord.

There is, indeed, a tradition, that Servanus in his day, and St Colm at a later period, endeavoured to extend the light into the Orcadian Isles; and accordingly, in the calendar of Scottish saints, we find the name of St Serf, bishop of Orkney. It is believed that Christianity was propagated for some time by the teachers whom the king of Norway had left behind him on the visit just mentioned; indeed, it is not improbable, by missionaries from Iona, who followed the rule of St Columba. The bishops of Orkney, it has been observed by an historian of that country, are first noticed by English authors, a circumstance which has led to the conclusion that the Archbishops of York, who claimed a species of supremacy over the Scottish Church, may have extended their views still farther north.¹

The church of St Magnus, a canonized earl of Orkney, was, if any confidence can be given to tradition, built in the twelfth century; but it is more difficult to determine the succession of bishops, because the whole of the northern archipelago, including also Zetland, belonged to the crown of Norway, down to the reign of our Alexander the Third. We find mentioned Thorolphus, Adalbertus, and Rodolphus Novellus, usually regarded as fabulous or nominal prelates; but that the last named was an actual bishop of Orkney is proved by the fact that he was a witness to a charter of King David the First. Archbishop Spottiswoode despaired of finding any account of the earliest incumbents of the see, and gives only four names, of which the said William is the first, who, he states, lived in the reign of Robert the Third.

Guided in some degree by the authority of Torphæus, the Danish historian, and the industry of Keith, I submit the following list, sensible of its many deficiencies, and want of authentic evidence:—

1. Rodolphus.
2. William, usually esteemed the first resident bishop.
3. William, who died anno 1188.
4. Biarn, died 1223.
5. Jofrier, died 1246.
6. Heroy, called also Hervey and Haufir.
7. Henry, died 1269.
8. Petrus, died 1281.
9. Dolgfinus, succeeded 1286.

¹ History of the Orkney Isles, &c. &c., by the Rev. George Barry, D.D., pp. 154-155, and Peterkin's Notes on Orkney, pp. 29-30.

10. William, succeeded 1310.
11. William, cruelly murdered 1383.
12. William. This bishop is mentioned as living in the time of King Robert the Third.
13. Henry, his name occurs 1394, as attending the coronation of Eric, King of Norway.
14. Thomas de Tulloch, 1422.
15. William, he is witness to a deed in April 1448.
16. William Tulloch, cousin to the former bishop of the same name. He was bishop of Orkney in the reign of James the Third, and was translated to Moray in 1477.
17. Andrew, succeeded 1478.
18. Edward Stewart, 1511.
19. Thomas, he made an endowment for choristers in his cathedral.
20. Robert Maxwell was bishop in 1536.
21. Robert Reid was President, and a Judge in Court of Session, 1554.
22. Robert, a generous and wise prelate. He bequeathed a sum of money for building a college in Edinburgh.

Bishop Radulfus, 1138.—See Lord Hailes's Annals, I. 73.

Bishop Edward Stewart, 1514.—Edward, bishop of Orkney, occurs anno 1509.—Council Reg. Aberd.

Bishop Reid, 1540.—“27^o Nouembris anno 1541, Robertus Reid creatus est Episcopus Orcaden. ac consecratus in loco Minorum Edinburgi in prima dominica adventus domini. Statimque postea missus est legatus cum ceteris oratibus ad Henricum 8. Regem Anglorum.”—Harl. MS. 2363.

In the Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, he is said to have died on the 15th of September 1558, and not the 14th of that month, as in Keith's Catalogue.

Bishop John Lesley, 16—.

Bishop Andrew Knox, 16—. “Andrew Knox, a Scotchman, bishop of Orkney, was translated to the see of Raphoe, 26th June 1611, and was afterwards made one of the King's Privy Council in Ireland. He died 17th March 1632, twenty-two years after his translation.”—Ware's Bishops, 56.

“John Lesley, D.D. born in Scotland, and bishop of Orkney, was translated to the bishoprick of Raphoe, June 1, 1633; and the same year made privy councillor in Ireland to King Charles I. He was translated to the see of Clogher in June 1661, and died at Glaslough in September 1671, where he is buried.”—See Sir James Ware's Commentary of the Prelates of Ireland. He is omitted by Keith.

The late Marchioness of Stafford drew and etched some views of the cathedral, &c. at Kirkwall. These, with other sketches, and letter-press descriptions, entitled “Views in Orkney, &c.” form a very elegant folio volume, in the library at Dunrobin Castle.

X.—DIOCESE OF GLASGOW.

The catalogue of bishops, as given both by Spottiswoode and Keith, is arranged under the two Provinces of St Andrews and Glasgow, both archiepiscopal sees. The suffragans of the latter, according to the views

of the two authors just named, were Galloway, Argyll, and the Isles, though it will appear, from an authentic document about to be quoted, that Dunblane and Dunkeld were also included, at an early period, in the province of Glasgow.

There is no doubt that the first Christian community was assembled in the great mercantile city of the west by Kentigern, whose youthful history is coloured with romance, and who is now more commonly known under the name of St Mungo or "the beloved." It is probable that he derived the principles of his faith from Servanus and Palladius, those primitive missionaries of the ancient Britons ; and there remains no room for doubt that he exercised his pastoral care, both as an evangelist and bishop, at Glasgow, the principal town in the district of Scottish Cumbria—a tract of country which is described in an ancient deed, as lying between England and Scotland. I allude to the celebrated paper entitled "*Inquisitio per Davidem principem Cumbrensem de terris Ecclesiæ Glasguensi pertinentibus facta*;" and which is now to be found in an authentic form in the "*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*," recently printed by the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs.

The object of this search or Inquisition was the recovery of such lands and other property as had belonged to the church of Glasgow, with the view of restoring them to the see ; the interests of which appear to have been long neglected by the temporal authorities. A number of bishops had discharged the duties of their office since the period when Kentigern assumed the charge of his little flock ; but, as their names and succession are nowhere distinctly recorded, the ecclesiastical annalist no longer attempts to penetrate a cloud beyond which nothing reveals itself to the most eager eye. The full light of history first falls upon Glasgow at the restoration of the diocese by King David ; which was accomplished by means of the remarkable investigation to which allusion has just been made. The memoir or deed which embodies the process, is very solemnly and numerously witnessed ; and it contains a verdict pronounced by five sworn jurymen, the most respectable and best informed in all Cumbria—"seniores homines et sapientiores totius Cumbrie." It is, says Mr Innes, "simply a statement made by the framers of the instrument, in the presence of the prince and his court, of the tradition and belief of the country at that time." They first relate the foundation of the church of Glasgow, and the ordination of St Kentigern as bishop of Cumbria. They mention the death of this prelate, and that he was succeeded by many bishops in the see ; but that the confusion and revolutions of the country at length destroyed all traces of the church, and almost of Christianity. Within the knowledge of all present was the restoration of the bishopric by David, and the election and consecration of John, who is commonly called the first bishop of Glasgow. Proceeding to the main object of their inquiry, they record the possessions of the church of Glasgow, as returned upon the oath of the juratores or sworn witnesses. It will not fail to be observed that the province of Scottish Cumbria, and the diocese of Glasgow, which, at the date of the Inquisition, seem to have been synonymous, included many places, described as the property of the church, in Dumfriesshire on the one side, and far down in Teviotdale on the other. The date, it is true, is not given in the deed itself, but Father Innes fixed it to be about 1116. We know that, on the nones of July 1136, the

newly built church of Glasgow was dedicated. On that occasion, the king, David the First, gave to it the lands of Perdeye (Partick) which were soon afterwards erected, along with the church of Govan, into a prebend of the cathedral.

The following list is extracted from the Register of the see, lately published for the first time, and supplies some additions and corrections to the catalogues compiled by our author, and by Bishop Keith:—

1. Kentigern.
2. John, surnamed Achaian by Spottiswoode, who also adds another John as his successor.
3. Herbert.
4. Ingleram ; written Angelramus by the Archbishop.
5. Joceline.
6. Hugh de Roxburgh.
7. William Malvoisin.
8. Florentius.
9. Walter, King's Chaplain.
10. William de Bondington, called Babington by Spottiswoode.
11. Nicolas de Moffat, superseded by John de Cheyam, but afterwards restored.
12. William Wischard or Wishart.
13. Robert Wischard, a renowned patriot.
14. Stephen, elected but not consecrated.
15. John de Wischard and John de Lindesay.
16. William Raa or Rae.
17. Walter de Wardlaw.
18. Mathew de Glendonwyn.
19. William de Lawedre.
20. John Cameron.
21. James Bruce.
22. William Turnbull.
23. Andrew Muirhead.
24. John Lang.
25. George Carmichael, elected but not consecrated.
26. Robert Blacader, postulated from Aberdeen.
27. James Bethune, elect of Galloway.
28. Gawin Dunbar.
29. Alexander Gordon. He resigned, and was succeeded by
30. James Bethune.

Bishop John de Cheyam, 1260. His name is also written Chicham, Chichaw, and Glenham.—(Ayloffe's Calendars, &c.) We are told by the author of the Chron. of Lanercost, that, "in the year 1258, John de Glenham succeeded to the church of Glasgow, being collated thereto by the pope, and consecrated at Rome ; an Englishman born, but no friend to the English : For in the latter part of his days, his covetousness increasing with his years, he pretended an ancient right in the parts of Cumberland and Westmoreland, saying that his diocese extended as far as Rerecross upon Stanemore ; and hastening upon that occasion to the Court of Rome, he died in his journey."—Nicholson and Burns's Westmoreland and Cumberland.

Bishop Robert Wiseheart, 1272.—The legend of a seal of this bishop is

very singular. "I have (says General Hutton) an imperfect impression of the seal. When entire, the legend is said to have run thus :—*REX FVRIT HEC FLORAT PATET AVRVM DVM SACER ORAT.*"

"The seal is appended to a charter dated 1285. Had the time been a little latter, the commencement of the legend might be supposed to allude to the treatment the worthy bishop had experienced from Edward when he was his prisoner. If I am not mistaken, the same seal is appended to a charter dated some years earlier."

Bishop Cameron.—"Ane thousand ccccxlvi, thar decessit in the castall of Glasgow, Master Jhon Cameron, bischope of Glasgow, upon Yule ewyne, that was bischope xix yer."—Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II.

Bishop Turnbull.—"Item, in that samyn yer (1449,) Master William Turnbull said his first mess in Glasgow the xx day of September."—Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II.

"That samyn yer (mccccli,) the privilege of the Universite of Glasgow come to Glasgow throw the instance of King James the Secund, and throw instigacioun of Master William Turnbull, that tyme bishop of Glasgow, and was proclomit at the croce of Glasgow, on the Trinite Sondag, the xx day of June. And on the morne thar war cryit ane gret indulgence gevin to Glasgow, at the request of thaim forsaid, be Pap Nycholas, as it war the yer of grace, and with all indulgens that thai mycht haf in Rome, contenand iiii monethis, begynnand the ix day of Julii, and durand to the x day of November.

"The samyn yer, the third day of December, thar decessit in Glasgow, Master William Turnbull, bischope of Glasgow, that brocht haim the perdoun of it."

Bishop Carmichael, 1482-3.—See Wood's Peerage, I. 752.

The following Bull constituted the diocese of Glasgow an archiepiscopal see in the year 1491.

BULLA INNOCENTII PAPE VIII. DE ERECTIONE ECCLESIE GLASGUENSIS IN METROPOLITANAM.

Innocentius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Super universas orbis ecclesias, Eo disponente qui cunctis imperat creatore et cui universa subserviunt, meritis licet insufficientibus, constituti, levamus in circuitu agri dominici oculos nostre mentis, more pastoris pervigilis, inspecturi quid ecclesiarum ipsarum, presertim cathedralium statui congruat; quid operis impendi debeat circa illas earumque statum prosperum et felicem; et divino fuleti presidio qui cuncta ex sua benignitate, pro populorum suorum fidelium salute disponit et que statui ecclesiarum hujusmodi congruunt nostri partes ministerii salubriter et utiliter impendere curamus, prout catholicorum regum et populorum exposcit devotio nosque in Domino conspicimus salubriter expedire. Attendentes igitur quod in toto regno Scotie unica duntaxat metropolitana, Sancti Andree videlicet, ecclesia existit cui Glasguensis et omnes alie ecclesie dicti regni metropolitico jure sunt subiecte, et quod si in illo esset una alia metropolitana ecclesia cui pars aliqua dicti regni pro sua archiepiscopali provincia assigneretur, exinde profecto salubriori diligentiori exercitio metropolitice jurisdictionis et commoditati ecclesiarum que illi metropolitico jure subjicerentur, ac illis nunc et pro tempore

precedentium prelatorum necnon cleri et populi civitatum et diocesum earundem que in eorum opportunitatibus ad presidentem ecclesieque in metropolitanam erigeretur facilius et commodius recurrere possent pariter et ejusdem ecclesie et prefati regni cujus reges et incole apostolice sedi devoti et fideles semper fuerunt decori et venustati plurimum consuleretur. Et ad magnam instantiam quam super hoc fecerunt et faciunt apud nos carissimus in Christo filius Jacobus iiii. dicti regni rex illustris, et trium statuum cleri scilicet et nobilium sive magnatum et popularium ejusdem regni persone debitum habentes respectum; habita super his cum fratribus nostris sancte Romane ecclesie cardinalibus deliberatione matura de illorum consilio ad Dei laudem et honorem ac fidei Catholice exaltationem, Glasguensem prefatam et Dunkeldensem ac Dunblanensem necnon Candide Case et Lismorensem ecclesias civitates et dioceses a provincia predictae metropolitane ecclesie Sancti Andree autoritate apostolica presentium tenore separamus dividimus et dismembramus, et venerabiles fratres nostros earundem sic dismembratarum ecclesiarum presules ac dilectos filios illarum civitatum et diocesum clerum et populum a venerabilis fratris nostri Willelmi moderni ac pro tempore existentis archiepiscopi Sancti Andree, metropolitici dominio superioritate et jurisdictione prorsus eximimus et totaliter liberamus. Volumus ecclesias sic dismembratas et earum prelatos clerum quoque et populum civitatum et diocesum earundem de cetero archiepiscopo Sancti Andree metropolitico jure minime subesse, ac prefatam Glasguensem ecclesiam inter alias dicti regni cathedrales ecclesias insignem et notabilem ac civitatis pulchritudine et celebritate et dioceseos amplitudine necnon cleri et populi earundem civitatis et dioceseos numerositate, agri quoque fertilitate decoram, in metropolitanam cum archiepiscopali dignitate jurisdictione et superioritate crucis delatione ac aliis metropolitici insignibus de eorumdem fratrum consilio dicta autoritate erigimus et creamus. Et illi Dunkeldensis et Dunblanensis ac Candide Case et Lismorensis ecclesiarum prelatos pro suis suffraganeis episcopis, capitula vero ecclesiarum ac clerum et populum prefatos civitatum et diocesum eorumdem pro suis provincialibus clero et populo de simili consilio dicta autoritate concedimus et assignamus et volumus eos quoad omnia metropolitana et archiepiscopalia superioritatem jurisdictionem et jura pro tempore existenti archiepiscopo Glasguensi esse subjectos et tanquam membra capiti obsequentes et de archiepiscopalibus juribus respondere debere, non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis et concessis archiepiscopo Sancti Andree litteris et privilegiis quibus illorum tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum exprimerentur presentibus pro expressis habentes quoad expresse derogamus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre separationis divisionis dismembrationis exemptionis liberationis erectionis creationis concessionis assignationis voluntatis et derogationis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominice mccccxi. quinto idus Januarii pontificatus nostri anno viii^{vo}.

The instrument now presented to the reader, is in the Register followed by another Bull issued by the same pope, enjoining obedience to the new archbishop, on the part of his suffragans, the bishops of Galloway, Dunkeld, Dunblane, and Argyll, in the usual terms—

"Bulla Innocentii P. VIII. Episcopis Dunkeldensi, Dumblanensi, Candidæ Case et Lismorensi. de obedientia et subjectione Archiepiscopo Glasguensi tanquam Metropolitano."

Innocentius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei venerabilibus fratribus Dunkeldensi Dumblanensi Candidæ Case et Lismorensi episcopis suffraganeis ecclesiæ Glasguensis salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Hodie ex certis et rationabilibus causis tunc expressis de fratribus nostrorum consilio Glasguensem et vestras ecclesias eorumque civitates et dioceses à provincia Sancti Andree de qua erant et tam illas quam vos et venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum presulem Glasguensem ac vestros successores ab omni archiepiscopali superioritate et jurisdictione venerabilis fratris nostri Willelmi moderni et pro tempore existentis archiepiscopi Sancti Andree, prorsus eximimus et totalitèr liberamus ac Glasguensem ecclesiam predictam in metropolitanam ereximus; et illi pro ejus archiepiscopali provincia vestras ecclesias eorumque civitates et dioceses predictas et vos vestrosque successores pro ejus suffraganeis assignavimus, ac volumus prefatum Robertum illi etiam quoad archiepiscopalem jurisdictionem et superioritatem in archiepiscopum preesse prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Quo circa fraternitatem vestram rogamus monemus et hortamur per apostolica vobis scripta, mandantes quatenus dicto Roberto tanquam membra capiti obsequentes exhibeatis eidem obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas ita quod mutua inter vos et ipsum gratia gratos sortiatur effectus, et nos devotionem vestram possimus propter hoc dignis in Domino laudibus commendare. Datum Rome apud Sanctum Petrum anno incarnationis Dominice MCCCXCI. quinto idus Januarii pontificatus nostri anno VIII^{mo}.

XL.—SEE OF GALLOWAY.

The bishops of Galloway are less completely represented by Archbishop Spottiswoode than those of any other diocese, if we except Argyll and the Isles; owing to the defective condition of the records preserved in the several cathedrals. The number given in the "History of the Church of Scotland," amounts only to thirteen, whereas Bishop Keith in his Catalogue gives the names of twenty-nine. Availing myself of the labours of both authors, I am enabled to present a more complete list than is given by either, though, in several cases, the vouchers are not beyond the reach of a minute criticism.

St Ninian, who founded this see in the fifth century, is the patriarch of the Scottish church, and his name was kept in remembrance by a grateful posterity, who chose him as the patron of their religious houses and other pious institutions. The name of the diocese originated in the colour of the stone of which he constructed his place of worship. Candida Casa, or Whitehouse, continued to designate the see of Galloway, as long as Latin was used as the ecclesiastical language of the nation. A mixture of Saxon has, in later days, converted the word into Whithern (Hwit-aern) commonly pronounced Whithorn. The chapter of the diocese were canons-regular of the priory of Whithern, founded by Fergus, lord of Galloway, in the reign of King David the First.

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| 1. Ninian. | 20. Elisaus. |
| 2. Octa, on the authority of Bede. | 21. Thomas. |
| 3. Pleithelmus. | 22. Alexander. |
| 4. Frethewaldus. | 23. Thomas Spens. ¹ |
| 5. Pictuinus. | 24. Ninian. |
| 6. Ethelbertus. | 25. George Vaus. |
| 7. Radulphus. | 26. James Bethune, elect of Gallo-
way, and advanced to the arch-
bishopric of Glasgow. |
| 8. Christianus. | 27. David Arnot. |
| 9. John. | 28. Henry, supposed to have been a
natural brother of James the
Fifth. |
| 10. Walter. | 29. Andrew. |
| 11. Gilbert. | 30. Alexander Gordon, who lived at
the period of the Reformation,
and resigned the see to his son,
a layman. |
| 12. Henry. | |
| 13. Thomas. | |
| 14. Simon. | |
| 15. Henry. | |
| 16. Michael. | |
| 17. Adam. | |
| 18. Thomas. | |
| 19. Andrew. | |

In the parish of Kirkmabrek, is a Tumulus, called the Holy Cairn, which, according to tradition, was raised over the body of the bishop of Whithorn, who was there slain in an engagement with the English in 1150.—*Carlisle's Topog. Dict.*

Christianus, bishop, 1154.—See *Hist. Westmorland and Cumberland*, i. 533.

Ægydius, Aldanus, *Episcopus Candidæ Casæ*, floruit an. 1240.—*Dempster. Hist. Ec. Scot.*

Thomas, 1296. He also occurs bishop of this see anno 1311.—*Wilkins' Concilia*.

This see was vacant in the 3d of King Robert Bruce.—See the king's charter to the prior and convent of Whithorn, dated the 24th November in that year, in *Bibl. Harl.* 4628.

Francis Ramsay, who took the Mathurine habit at Brechin, anno 1362, was elected bishop of Whithorn in 1373, and died in 1402, after he had governed the see twenty-nine years.—*Hay's Diplom.* III. 579.

Andrew, 1368.—*Vide Rot. Comp.* II. 49.

Oswaldus, *Episcopus Candidæ Casæ*, anno 1392, 1380?—*Brand's Hist. Newcastle.* I. 179. He granted an indulgence of forty days to such persons as should say their prayers devoutly at the church of St Andrew, Newcastle. "Dat. Eborac. in festo S. Martini, A. D. 1392 et nostræ consecrationis 12."

Benedict was bishop of this see when Archibald, earl of Douglas, con-

¹ "Immediately before this last mentioned bishop—Thomas Spens—one named John, is put in by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who tells that he resigned his charge and became a monk of Holyroodhouse. Now as it is evident, from unquestionable authority, that Thomas did immediately succeed to Alexander, so it is highly probable that John was at most only elect of the see." *Keith*, p. 276.

It ought to be remembered that the archbishop does not vouch for the order of succession. After Rodulphus, he says, "further mention I find not of any bishop in this see in those first times; and it seems to have been quite decayed before Malcolm the Third restored the same. In the latter times I read only of these following;" who, according to his catalogue, amount only to six or seven.

firmed the donation of the church of Kircum, by Dornagilla, to the abbot and convent of Sweetheart.—MS. note in a copy of Keith's catalogue.

Bishop Gordon, 1558.—See Hist. Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 137, 158, 172, 289, 290, &c. The last mentioned pages contain a long account of him. And see Wood's Peerage, i. 647.

Bishop Coupar, 161.—In the late Mr Gough's library was "The Life and Death of William Coupar, bishop of Galloway." 1619. 4to.

Bishop Sydeserf, 1631.—He ordained Dr John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury.—See Todd's account of the deans of that church, which contains some farther particulars concerning this bishop.

XII.—DIOCESE OF ARGYLL.

This see, originally included in that of Dunkeld, was separated from it in the episcopate of John Scot, commonly called the Englishman, who, because he was unacquainted with Gaelic, then called the Irish tongue, requested permission of the Pope Clement the Third to disjoin the Highland portion, and erect it into an independent diocese. The residence of the bishop was established in the island of Lismore, whence they were denominated "Episcopi Lismorenses." Some writers are of opinion that the origin of this new see should be dated in the pontificate of Innocent the Third, who ascended the papal throne eleven years later than the third Clement—a point of small importance. The name of the first bishop has been rendered doubtful by the various modes of spelling it; and it is now somewhat difficult to decide whether it ought to be Eualdus, Eraldus, Elvaldus, or Haroldus. At all events, it is agreed that he was chaplain to the bishop of Dunkeld, and distinguished by his knowledge of the "Irish tongue."

1. Eualdus, 1200.
2. Harold, 1228.
3. William, 1240.
4. Alan, 1250.
5. Laurence, 1261.
6. Andrew, 1304.
7. David, 1330.
8. Martin, 1342.
9. Finlay, 1425.¹
10. George Lauder or Lawater, 1437.
11. Robert Colquhoun, 1473.
12. John, 1499.
13. David Hamilton, 1505.
14. William Cuninghame, 1539.
15. Robert Montgomery, 1550.
16. James Hamilton, 1558.

The last named bishop belongs, perhaps, more properly to the period of the Reformation. Being brother to the duke of Chatellerault, he enjoyed

¹ Between the death of Bishop Martin and the accession of Finlay, no fewer than sixty years elapsed; namely, from 1362 to 1425. As no register remains, we have not the means either of filling up the chasm or of accounting for its existence. Archbishop Spottiswoode gives the names of only six bishops of Argyll.

ample patronage in the Church, and was promoted to several benefices which he was not permitted to enjoy. In the year 1558, he was put into the see of Argyll, and about the same time obtained in commendam the sub-deanery of Glasgow. It is doubtful whether he was ever consecrated; for the Reformers rising into power about the time he was nominated to Argyll, he yielded so far to the pressure of circumstances as to be content with his revenue, without insisting on the privilege of performing the duties of his diocese.

Bishop Colquhoun, 1473.—He is mentioned as dead, anno 1493.—Writs of the Burgh of Dumbarton.

Bishop Fletcher, 1662.—He died in March 1665.—MS. inserted in Keith's catalogue.

Bishop Maclean, 1680.—His Christian name was Hector.—MS. at Gordon Castle.

Lochboine is erroneously written in Keith for Lochbuie.

XIII.—DIOCESE OF THE ISLES.

This see, it is well known, comprehended not only the Hebrides or Western Isles, but also the Isle of Man, which, in former times, is understood to have belonged to the Scottish Crown. Bishop Keith mentions that the inhabitants in his day spoke a Celtic dialect, almost the same with the Gaelic spoken at present in the Highlands, somewhat different from the Irish, and still more different from the Welsh.

The bishops of the Isles, at successive epochs, had three different places of residence, namely, Iona or Icolmkill, Man, and Bute: and they were denominated with reference to the seat of the diocese, *Episcopi Maniæ et Insularum*; *Episcopi Hebudarum*; and *Episcopi Sodorenses*. The last of these titles was retained both by the bishops of the Isles and of Man, after the see was divided into two dioceses in the reign of David the Second. After the Norwegians took possession of the Western Isles, the Isle of Man was selected as the permanent site of the cathedral, the authority of Alexander the Third being fully established there. But in the reign of David the Second, this island was conquered by the English under Edward the Third, and from that period there have been bishops of Man, and bishops of the Isles, down at least to the Restoration, when Episcopacy was abolished in Scotland as the established form of religion.

Though I have already attempted to explain the origin of the term Sodor, I nevertheless avail myself of a communication from a learned friend, who has paid much attention to Scottish antiquities, more especially in the ecclesiastical department. "The Norwegians," he writes, "called the Western Islands of Scotland *Sudreyiar*, in opposition to the Northern Isles of Orkney; hence the bishop of the Isles was called 'Bishop of Sudoyer,' corrupted into Sodor. Afterwards the name of Sudreys was restricted to those situated southward of the point of Ardnamurchan; and the Isles northward of that point had the name of *Nordreyar* transferred to them. After being separated from the Western Isles, the bishop of Man continued, notwithstanding, to be called bishop of Sodor and Man; and those who were ignorant of the term Sodor supposed that it was a name applicable to St German's cathedral in Peel Castle."

The account of this see given by Spottiswoode is meagre in the extreme,

very little being known of the Isles two hundred years ago. Even Bishop Keith is not worthy of entire reliance, especially as to the early successions. They both agree in naming Amphibalus as the first bishop of Man ; the latter assigning the early date of 360.

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| 1. Amphibalus. | 25. Stephen. |
| 2. Germanus. | 26. Richard. |
| 3. Conindricus. | 27. Marcus. |
| 4. Romulus. | 28. Onachus. |
| 5. St Machatus, or Machilla. | 29. Allan. |
| 6. St Conan. | 30. Gilbert. |
| 7. St Contentus. | 31. Bernard de Linton. |
| 8. St Bladus. | 32. Thomas. |
| 9. St Malchus. | 33. William Russell. |
| 10. Torkiaus. | 34. Duncan. |
| 11. Roolwer. | 35. John. |
| 12. William. | 36. Michael. |
| 13. St Brendinus. | 37. Angusius. |
| 14. Wymundus. | 38. Angusius. |
| 15. John. | 39. Robert. |
| 16. Gamaliel. | 40. John. |
| 17. Reginald. | 41. George Hepburn. |
| 18. Christian. | 42. John. Electus Sodorensis. |
| 19. Michael. | 43. Ferquhard. |
| 20. Nicolas. | 44. Robert Maclean. |
| 21. John. | 45. Alexander Gordon. |
| 22. Simon. | 46. John Campbell. |
| 23. Laurence. | 47. John Carswell. Titular. |
| 24. Richard. | |

It is manifest that in this list we have a double series, the bishops both of Man and of the Isles. Some are described as "Episcopus Sodorensis," and others are designated "Bishop of the Isles." The first ten in the series are entered as *Episcopi Sodorenses* ; from which fact it may be inferred that the distinction of bishop of the Isles was not introduced until the succession was disturbed by the conquest of Edward the Third, which drove the Scottish line to Icolmkill.

"Anno 1429, obiit Simon Epis. Hæbudensis."—Vide *Orcades Torffai*.

Marcus, 1275.—See Lord Hailes's *Annals*, i. 207.

John Campbell, bishop of the Isles, 14—. See Nisbet's *Heraldry*, Vol. II. 212, and Wood's *Peer.* i. 231-5.

Bishop Gordon, 1353.—See Wood's *Peer.* i. 617.

Two of the bishops of the Isles were buried in the church of Rothesay.—*Topog. Dict.*

St Machatus. It is stated in Train's *History* of the Isle of Man that this bishop died in 553 or 554.

After William is placed, by Train, Bishop Hamundus, the son of Jole, commonly called Amundus M'Olay ; but it is more probable that this last prelate succeeded St Brendan, to whom a church in the Isle of Man is dedicated, usually denominated Kirk-Braddan. He is supposed to have held the see at the time of the Norman conquest. Matthew Paris writes, that the two sees of Man and the Isles were united in 1098—a statement

which may be explained by calling to mind, that though the Danes and Norwegians subdued the Isle of Man about 1065, they did not obtain possession of Icolmkill and the Western Isles till about the year 1098 ; and that it is probable, during the intervening period of thirty-three years, the Scots inhabiting the Western Isles did not own the authority of the bishops of Man who were nominated by their enemies the Norwegians ; but when these invaders obtained possession of the Western Isles, they reunited both parts of this ancient see.

Considerable light is thrown on the history of the earlier bishops by Johnstone in his "*Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ* ;" and some aid is likewise derived from the "*Chronicon Mannicæ*."

Between the 38th and 39th bishops, both denominated Angusius Episcopus Sodorensis, there appears to have been one, namely "John, bishop of the Isles," who was in the see in the year 1442.

Ferquhard, the forty-fourth bishop, is said by Keith to have procured from the pope license to resign the bishopric in favour of Mr Roderick Maclean, who was at that time archdeacon of the Isles, but appears not to have obtained possession of the see till after the year 1549, at which time, according to Keith, it was vacant.

On the separation of the Isle of Man from the Isles (the Sudoreyes) it had a bishop, who still retains erroneously the title of Sodor. The see of the Isles, as already indicated, was removed to Iona, where a small cathedral stood, of which only the ruins now remain ; and about the middle of the sixteenth century, the bishop removed to Bute, where he occupied a church about a mile distant from Rothesay, the walls of which can still be traced.—E.]

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.
THE THIRD BOOK.

THE CONTENTS.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH, AND HOW
IT IS WROUGHT.



HE petitions put up to the queen-regent for reformation of the Church taking no effect, some noblemen and barons, joining in counsel, did bind themselves by oaths and subscriptions to assist one another, and hazard their lives and substance in advancing the cause of religion. The principals were Archibald, earl of Argyle, Alexander, earl of Glencarne, James, earl of Morton, Archibald, lord of Lorn, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, John Erskine of Dun, and William Maitland of Lethington, younger. They meeting together, after deliberation what should be fittest first to do, concluded—"That in all parishes the curates should be caused read the prayers and lessons of the Old and New Testament on Sundays and other festival days, according to the form set forth in the Book of Common Prayers; and if they should refuse, that the most qualified in every parish should do the same. But for preaching and interpretation

of Scripture, the same should be used only in private houses, after a quiet manner, till God should move the queen to grant farther liberty."

This accordingly was performed where they had authority or influence, and by their example in divers towns and parishes of the country, the like was done, to the great offence of the clergy, who complaining of that boldness to the queen-regent, were answered—"That it was not fit time to enter into these matters, and that she should find occasion, ere it were long, to put order unto them." But the clergy fearing delays, did forthwith call a provincial council at Edinburgh, where, professing to make reformation of abuses, they renewed some old popish Constitutions, which they made to be imprinted and affixed upon the doors of all the parish churches.

The bishop of St Andrews, advertised of the reformation begun in Argyle, sent to the earl Sir David Hamilton his cousin with a letter, wherein, after he had shewed the peril in which he did cast both himself and his house by that open defection from the Church, he desired him in some honest fashion to rid himself of that defamed and perjured apostate who had seduced him—(this was one Mr John Dowglas, whom the earl had taken to be his minister)—offering to provide him of a learned and wise preacher, for whom he would lay his soul in pawn that he should teach no other but true doctrine, and agreeable to the Catholic faith. The earl answered—"That for peril he feared none either to himself or to his house, having resolved to live in obedience to his prince, and to serve God as well as he could according to his written word; and for the defection alleged, since it had pleased God to open his eyes, and give him the knowledge of his truth, which he took for a great argument in his favour, he would not relinquish or forsake it for fear of any inconveniencies. As to the man he wrote of," he said "that he heard him teach the doctrine of Christ—condemn idolatry, adultery, fornication, and such like wickedness, and that he should make him give an account thereof whensoever he should be cited. But to call him defamed and perjured there was no reason, seeing he was not declared to be such by any sentence; and if he had in former times made any unlawful oath, he had done much better in violating

the same than if he had observed it. Farther, whereas he made offer to provide him of some learned man, he gave him thanks, considering the necessity there was of labourers in the Lord's harvest ; but he understood what his meaning in that was, and minded not to be led by any such teachers. In end, he wished him not to begin the battle with him, whereof the event would be doubtful ; for as to himself he knew God was God, and should be God still, whatsoever man's craft could work or devise."

The bishop receiving this answer, did communicate the same with the chief of the clergy, who thereby conceiving that there was some business in hand, began to think of other defences ; and the feast-day of St Giles, or Sanctus Egidius, falling out about that time to be kept at Edinburgh, they intreated the queen-regent to honour the solemnity with her presence. The custom was in that time of the year to carry the image of the saint in procession through the town (for they had St Giles to their patron), with drums, trumpets, and all sorts of musical instruments ; neither was there any day kept more superstitiously than this. The queen agreed the rather to accompany the procession, for that some tumult was feared, which she thought her presence would repress. But when the time of the solemnity was come, the saint was missing, for some had stolen the image out of the place where it was kept. This made a stay till another little image was borrowed from the Gray friars ; which the vulgar in mockery called Young Saint Giles. Herewith they set forward, the regent accompanying the people till the procession was nigh ended ; then withdrawing herself to the lodging where she was to dine, she was no sooner gone than some youths, provided for the purpose, drawing near unto the fertor (bearer), and making a shew to carry it upon their shoulders, after they had walked some few paces, and perceived by the motion they made the image was fixed to the fertor, they threw all to the ground, and taking the image by the heels, dashed the same against the stones, so as head and hands were beaten off, and the idol wholly defaced. The people hereupon fell a-crying, the priests and churchmen betook them to flight, and a great stir was in the streets. Some hours the fray continued, and being in end settled by the authority of the magis-

trates, the whole clergy that were in town assembled themselves; and making the best countenance they could, indicted a solemn meeting in the beginning of November next.

To this diet Paul Methven was summoned, and not appearing, was decreed for his contumacy to be banished the realm; a prohibition likewise was given to all the subjects, that none of them should entertain or receive him in their houses. Nottheless the town of Dundee, where he abode, forbare not to hear his sermons, and minister unto him all necessities. Meanwhile they who had combined for working a reformation did send into all parts of the realm to solicit persons to join in that cause, and purchase the subscriptions of those that were willing unto a bond which was framed to that effect. Some moved with a zeal to religion, others out of a desire of change, and the greatest part longing to be relieved of the oppressions of the churchmen, were easily moved to consent. So when they understood by the return of the subscriptions that the country for the most part was inclined that way, and that in force and power they were nothing inferior to their adversaries, they resolved to begin and make an end of the work. Yet lest they should seem to contemn authority, they concluded to present a supplication to the queen-regent and council, to whom "the redress of all enormities, both ecclesiastical and civil, did orderly belong;" (these were the words of the supplication), and to this effect made choice of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, an honourable baron, and of great account, to present the petitions following:—

1. That their ministers might be permitted, in the conceiving of public prayers and the administration of the sacraments, to use the vulgar language understood by the people.

2. That the Sacrament of the Supper might be ministered in both kinds, according to our Saviour's institution.

3. That the election of ministers should be according to the manner used in the primitive church, that those who had the charge of election should enquire diligently of the life and doctrine of such as were admitted.

4. That, seeing by corruption of time, ignorant and scandalous persons had been promoted to ecclesiastical offices,

they should after trial be discharged, and others more sufficient put in their places.

These petitions were no way pleasing to the queen-regent, yet because the parliament was approaching, wherein the matrimonial crown and naturalization of the French were to be passed, she thought best to keep them in hope, saying, "That all they could lawfully desire should be granted unto them; meanwhile they were licentiated to use their prayers and service in the vulgar language, providing they did keep no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith, for eschewing of tumults."

The prelates having notice of this were highly incensed, and when their consent was required (for the same petitions were presented to them), carrying themselves more imperiously than before, answered, that "they would not depart one jot from the decrees of Trent." Afterwards being a little calmed, they made offer to commit the cause to dispute, which by those of the Congregation (this was the title given commonly to the reformers) was accepted upon two conditions; one, that the controversies in religion might be decided by the Scripture; the other condition was, that such of their brethren as were exiled or condemned might assist the dispute, and have safe conduct given them to that effect. But both the conditions were denied; for neither would they admit any other judge but the canon law and councils, nor would they dispense with any sentence by them pronounced. Some of them that affected quietness proponed other conditions of reconciliation; namely, that if the Congregation would suffer the Mass to be held in the wonted reverence, if they would acknowledge purgatory, confess the invocation of saints, and admit prayers for the dead, they should be allowed to pray and administrate the sacraments in a known language. But those conditions were held so ridiculous and absurd, as they were not vouchsafed any answer.

Soon after this the Parliament being assembled, the articles following were presented to the queen-regent.

1. That in regard the controversies in religion, which had a long time continued betwixt the protestants of Germany and the Roman Church, were not as yet decided by a lawful general council, and that they themselves upon the same

grounds could not any longer communicate with papists in their idolatrous religion, the humble desire of the Congregation was, that all such Acts of Parliament as warranted churchmen to proceed against heretics might be abrogated, or at least suspended, till in a lawful general council the controversies depending were determined.

2. And lest it should hereby seem that they desired a liberty to profess what they pleased, they humbly required that all such processes might be led before the temporal judge, the prelates and their officers being only permitted to accuse; with this proviso, that an authentic copy of the accusation should be delivered to the person accused, and a competent term assigned him to answer.

3. That all lawful defences should be received from persons accused of heresy, and they allowed to except against the witnesses, according to law.

4. That the party accused should have liberty to expone his own mind, and that his declaration might carry more faith than the deposition of any witnesses whatsoever; forasmuch as no person ought to suffer for religion, who is not known to be obstinate in his wicked opinions.

5. That none of their profession should be condemned for heresy, unless they were first convinced by the Word of God to have erred from the faith which the Holy Spirit witnesseth to be necessary to salvation.

The queen receiving the articles, answered in effect as before, that it was not safe for her to utter her mind at that time; which if she should do, the Spiritual Estate would not fail to oppose her in all business. But how soon the public matters were passed, they should know what a good mind she bare unto them. Howbeit this answer did no way content the wiser sort, yet knowing that the articles would not pass in an Act if she should disassent, they resolved to surcease from presenting them to the Estates, only desired they might be permitted to make a protestation, which they did in this sort:—

“ It is not unknown to this honourable Parliament what controversy is of late arisen betwixt those that will be called prelates and rulers of the Church, and a great number of us, the nobility and commonalty of this realm, for the true worshipping of God, the duty of ministers, and the right

administration of the holy Sacraments ; and how we have complained to the queen-regent, that our consciences are burthened with unprofitable ceremonies, and we compelled to endure many idolatrous abuses ; that such as take upon them offices ecclesiastical do perform no part of the duty which is required of true ministers, and that we and our brethren are most unjustly oppressed by their usurped authority. As also we suppose it to be sufficiently known to your honours, that we were of mind at this present Parliament to seek redress of these enormities ; but considering the troubles of the time do not suffer such a reformation as we, by the warrant of God's Word do require, we are enforced to delay that, which of all things most earnestly we desire ; and yet lest our silence should give our adversaries occasion to think that we repent us of our former intentions, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that unjust tyranny which heretofore patiently we have sustained.

“ Therefore, first, we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain just reformation according to God's Word, that it may be lawful to us to use ourselves in matters of religion and conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true ministers of Christ's Church, and purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering ourselves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred authority shall please to give us audience.

“ Secondly, we protest, that neither we, nor any other of the godly that please to join with us in the true faith, which is grounded upon the Word of God, shall incur any danger of life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such Acts as have passed heretofore in favour of our adversaries, or for violating such rites as have been invented by man without the commandment of God.

“ We thirdly protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of the realm for the diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to us, who now do most humbly seek that all things may be reformed by order ; but that whatsoever inconveniencies shall happen to ensue for lack of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those

that will not, as now, hearken to our petitions for reformation.

“And lastly we protest, that these our requests proceeding from conscience, do tend to no other end but only to the reformation of abuses in religion; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to think of us as faithful and obedient subjects, and take us into their protection, keeping that indifferency which becometh God’s lieutenants to use towards those that, in his name, do call for defence against cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants.”

These protestations made in face of Parliament, were desired to be insert in the book of public records; but the queen-regent answering that she should remember what was protested, and put a good end to all things, the desire was rejected.

Yet how soon the Parliament brake up, and that all matters in it went to her contentment, it was observed that her countenance was quite altered upon those that favoured the Reformation, and often she was heard say, “that being now freed of the vexations which most troubled her mind, she would labour to restore the authority, by some notable example, to that reverend esteem which in the late times it had lost;” whereby divers did apprehend that a tempest was breeding, albeit the same did not break forth until the next spring; at which time taking up the names of all the ministers in the country, she caused summon them to appear at Stirling, the tenth of May. Hereupon the earl of Glencarne, and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, were sent to inquire the reason of that citation, and to intreat her not to molest the ministers, unless they could be charged with preaching false doctrine, or behaving themselves disorderly. The queen in passion replied, “That maugre their hearts, and all that would take part with them, these ministers should be banished Scotland, though they preached as soundly as ever St Paul did.”

The noblemen, marvelling what should move her to such passion, besought her in humble manner to think of the promises she had made to them from time to time. Hereat, growing into a great choler, she said—“That the promises of princes should be no further strained than it seemed to

them convenient to perform." Then said they—"If this be the conclusion which you have taken, that you will keep no promises to the subjects, we cannot any longer acknowledge your authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniences may arise of this, you may bethink yourself." This unexpected answer calming the queen a little, after a few more words, she said—"that she would think how to remedy these evils in the best and most quiet sort."

The same day, at night, advertisement was brought to the queen of the Reformation begun in the town of Perth, where-with she was much disturbed, and calling the Lord Ruthven, commanded him to go and repress these novations. He answering—"That he should make their bodies and goods subject, but had no power over their minds and consciences," she was so commoved, that she avowed to make both him and them repent what they had done.

The diet appointed for the appearing of the ministers at Stirling drawing nigh, the professors in all parts of the country prepared to accompany them. In the parts of Angus and Mearns, such was the zeal of the people, as none would stay at home, all professing to go and yield confession of their faith with their ministers.

The queen, advertised of this concourse of people from all parts, employed John Erskine of Dun to cause them return home, promising that the diet should desert, and nothing be done to the prejudice of the ministers. This he signified by letters to the principals of the Congregation, advising them to dismiss the multitude. But they suspecting (as it also came to pass) that some advantage should be taken of the ministers not compearing at the day, resolved to make the commons return to their houses, the barons and gentlemen staying at Perth in the meanwhile with the preachers. When the day appointed came, notwithstanding of the promises made, the preachers not appearing, were denounced rebels. The laird of Dun offending herewith, departed from court, and coming to Perth excused himself of the advice he had given, declaring that they were not to expect any favour, and that they should do wisely to provide against the worst.

Whilst these things thus passed, John Knox returned

from Geneva unto Scotland, and joining with the Congregation, did preach to them at Perth. In his sermon he took occasion to speak against the adoration of images, shewing that the same tended to God's dishonour, and that such idols and monuments of superstition as were erected in churches ought to be pulled down, as being offensive to good and godly people. The sermon ended, and the better sort gone to dinner, a priest, rather to try men's affections than out of any devotion, prepared to say Mass, opening a great case, wherein was the history of divers saints, exquisitely carved. A young boy that stood by, saying that such boldness was unsufferable, the priest gave him a blow. The boy in anger casting a stone at the priest, happened to break one of the pictures: whereupon a stir was presently raised, some of the common sort falling upon the priest, others running to the altar and breaking the images, so as in a moment all was pulled down in the church that carried any mark of idolatry. The people, upon the noise thereof, assembled in great numbers, and invading the cloisters, made spoil of all they found therein. The Franciscans had store of provision, both of victuals and household-stuff: amongst the Dominicans, the like wealth was not found; yet so much there was as might shew the profession they made of poverty to be feigned and counterfeit. The Carthusians, who passed both those in wealth, were used in like manner; yet was the prior permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and silver plate. All the spoil was given to the poor, the rich sort forbearing to meddle with any part thereof. But that which was most admired, was the speed they made in demolishing those edifices. For the charter-house (a building of exceeding cost and largeness) was not only ruined, but the stones and timber so quickly taken away, as in less than two days space a vestige thereof was scarce remaining to be seen. They of Couper in Fife hearing what was done at Perth, went in like manner to their church, and defaced all the images, altars, and other instruments of idolatry; which the curate took so heavily, as the night following he put violent hands on himself.

The report of these things being brought to the queen-regent, she was greatly incensed, especially against those of

Perth, and presently dispatched letters to the duke of Chatelherault (the Lord Hamilton was then so styled), and to the earls of Argyle and Athole, desiring them to come to her with diligence. The French garrisons were likewise called, her purpose being to surprise the town at unawares. But they within the town receiving advertisement of her preparation, sent messengers to all the parts of the kingdom for aid and assistance. Many came unto their succours from Angus, Mearns, Fife, and the adjacent shires; some also from Lothian. But the celerity which Alexander, earl of Glencarne used, was most admired; for he, upon warning given him of the danger wherein the town stood, taking his way through the mountains, travelled night and day till he came to Perth, bringing with him two thousand and five hundred men, a good and opportune support; the Lord Ruthven having a little before fallen from them, and gone to the queen, which bred a great discouragement to the rest. The principals that came in Glencarne's company were the lords of Boyde and Ochiltrie, the sheriff of Ayr, the lairds of Cragie, Sesnok, Carnall, Bar, and Garthgirth.

The queen getting intelligence that the earl of Glencarne was come to assist them, and that in the town there was seven thousand gentlemen, besides the burghers, resolute men all, sent the earl of Argyle and the prior of St Andrews, called then Lord James, to inquire the reason of their convocation, and mediate an accord. The earl of Glencarne and laird of Dun selected to treat with them, answered to the first point—"That they were come thither to defend their friends, and save the town from destruction." As to the accord they professed to mediate, they said—"That if the queen-regent would cease from troubling the professors of true religion, and suffer the Reformation begun in the town to proceed, they should in all other things be obedient to her commandments."

The noblemen employed in this treaty were known to be well affected to the cause, which made them within the town hearken to the conditions proponed; and so much the rather, that the noblemen did promise, if the queen did either refuse to accept reasonable conditions, or the same being accepted, did violate the least iota thereof, they should in that case join themselves openly with the Congregation,

and undergo the like hazard that they did. Thus, at their persuasion, the articles following were drawn up and agreed unto by both parties.

1. That both the armies dissolving, the town should be left patent to the queen.

2. That none of the inhabitants should be molested or called in question for the alteration they had made in religion.

3. That no Frenchmen should enter into the town, nor approach to it by the space of three miles; and that when the queen retired, there should no French garrison be left in the town.

4. That all other controversies should be delayed unto the next Parliament, or meeting of the Estates.

This appointment was made the twenty-ninth of May, anno 1559. After which, public thanks being given by John Knox for the good issue of the present trouble, the Congregation departed forth of the town, having first obliged themselves one to another, that they should all concur in maintaining the true religion, and be ready at all occasions to defend the professors thereof; for still they feared that promises should not be kept with them, and that the queen would find occasions to violate the articles whensoever she pleased, as the success also declared.

For immediately upon their departing, she entered into the town with some French soldiers in her company, contrary to the articles; one of whom marching by the house of Patrick Murray, a citizen who was known to be most forward in the cause of religion, whether casually or of purpose, it is uncertain, killed with a shot his son, a boy of thirteen years old, that was beholding the queen's entry. The child being brought and laid before the queen's lodging, she asked whose son he was; answer being made that he was the son of one Patrick Murray, she said that "the case was to be pitied; and the more, that it had fallen on the son, and not on the father; but she could not help misfortune." Before three days passed, all the heads of the capitulation were broken, some of the citizens exiled, others fined in great sums, the present magistrates thrust out of office, new rulers intruded, and four companies of soldiers left in the town for a garrison, who were charged to permit no

other service but that of the Roman Church, which, against promise, she had of new established. Some that desired matters should be more peaceably carried, told her that the placing of a garrison would be interpreted a breach of the articles. She answered—"That the promise was to leave no French soldiers in the town, which she had done, for they were all Scottishmen that were left there." And it being replied, that all who took wages of the French king would be counted French soldiers, she said, "that promise was not to be kept to heretics, and if she could make as honest an excuse after the fact committed, she would take upon her conscience to kill and undo all that sect." But "princes," saith she, "ought not to have their promises so strictly urged."

These speeches being divulged, did procure to her much ill will. Some reason indeed she had to assure the town, it being the town of all the kingdom most commodious for the assembling of forces out of all quarters, and the people by nature bellicose, and at that time greatly inclined to those of the Congregation; but the advantage she made of this was little or nothing to the malice she incurred by the breach of promises. Neither did she after this time ever see a good day, but was of all sorts of people despised and misregarded.

The earl of Argyle and Lord James, thinking their honours touched by the breach of the peace which they had mediated, did forsake her and went to the Congregation; whereupon they were charged to appear before the Council, but they answered—"That seeing the queen had broken conditions, which by warrant from herself they had made with the Lords of the Congregation, they would have no more meddling in such dishonest courses, and do the best to repair things."

The noblemen remained at that time in St Andrews; and because they foresaw this their answer would not be well accepted, and feared some sudden attempt (for the queen with her Frenchmen lay then at Falkland), they sent to the lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, and others that favoured religion in the countries of Angus and Mearns, and requested them to meet at St Andrews the fourth day of June. Meanwhile they themselves went to the town of Crail, whither all that had warning came, shewing great forwardness and resolution; and were not a little encouraged by John Knox,

who, in a sermon made unto them at the same time, put them in mind of that he had foretold at Perth, how there was no sincerity in the queen-regent's dealing, and that conditions would not be kept, as they had found. Therefore did he exhort them not to be any longer deluded with fair promises, seeing there was no peace to be hoped for at their hands, who took no regard of contracts and covenants solemnly sworn. And because there would be no quietness till one of the parties were masters, and strangers expelled out of the kingdom, he wished them to prepare themselves either to die as men, or to live victorious.

By this exhortation the hearers were so moved, as they fell immediately to the pulling down of altars and images, and destroyed all the monuments which were abused to idolatry in that town. The like they did the next day in Anstruther, and from thence came directly to St Andrews. The bishop hearing what they had done in the coast towns, and suspecting they would attempt the same reformation in the city, came to it well accompanied, of purpose to withstand them; but after he had tried the affections of the townsmen, and found them all inclining to the Congregation, he went away early the next morning towards Falkland to the queen.

That day being Sunday, John Knox preached in the parish church, taking for his theme the history of the Gospel touching our Saviour's purging of the Temple; and applying the corruption which was at that time in Jerusalem to the present estate of the Church, and declaring what was the duty of those to whom God had given authority and power, he did so incite the auditors, as, the sermon being ended, they went all and made spoil of the churches, razing the monasteries of the Black and Grey friars to the ground. The report of this carried to the queen-regent, she was sore incensed, and presently gave order for the marching of the French companies towards St Andrews, directing proclamations to all the parts about, for meeting her in arms the next morning at Couper.

The lords taking purpose to prevent her coming, went the same night thither accompanied with a hundred horse only, and as many foot; but such was the readiness of men in that quarrel, as before ten of the clock on the next day,

their number grew to three thousand. The earl of Rothes and Lord Ruthven brought with them many gentlemen from Lothian; the lairds of Calder, Ormiston, Halton, Restalrig, and Coalston, brought only a few; for the warning they got was late, yet their presence did greatly encourage the rest. The towns of Dundee, St Andrews, and Couper, shewed great resolution and courage.

In the morning early, the noblemen had drawn forth their companies to the moor on the west side of the town, and committed the direction of all things to Mr James Halliburton, provost of Dundee, a man of good experience, and much esteemed both for valour and counsel, who made choice of a plot of ground most convenient for defence; for it lay so, as the munition might play on all sides upon the enemy, without receiving any annoyance from them, till it should come to handy blows. A little river also ran between the armies, which the enemies behoved to pass before they gave the onset. The Lord Ruthven with the horsemen was placed in the vanguard; the other lords, with the gentlemen of Angus, Mearns, Fife, and Lothian, made the battle. The townsmen of Dundee, St Andrews, and Couper, were set in the rear, and a certain space from them were the serving-men and followers of the camp appointed to stand, which made shew of an auxiliary force provided against all accidents.

In the queen-regent's army the French were commanded by Monsieur d'Oysell, and the Scots by the duke of Chatelherault; the morning was dark, and the fields covered with a foggy mist, which hindered the armies that they could not see one another. About noontide, when the air began to clear, the French sent some of their company to view the numbers and order kept by the Congregation; who beholding them from afar, as they stood ranged in three battles, and perceiving behind them the multitude of serving people, which they took to be a supply of fresh men, affirmed at their return the numbers to be greater than in truth they were. Upon this a post was directed to the queen (who was not as yet come from Falkland), to inform her how matters went, and to shew that the lords were much stronger than was supposed, and very forward to fight; as likewise they perceived a secret mutiny in their own army, some

openly professing that they would not fight against their own friends and countrymen for the pleasure of strangers. She hearing this, was content they should treat for peace. So the Lord Lindesay and Waughton were employed by the duke to confer with the lords, who at first were not suffered to approach nigh to the army, and had answer that they knew the queen had sent those forces to pursue them, and if they would invade they should find them prepared to defend. But they professing all their desires to be for peace, and that they were sent to that effect, were afterwards permitted to go unto the lords, who told them—"That they had been so often abused with the queen-regent's promises, as they could not trust her words any more; but if she would send back the Frenchmen that troubled the country, and give surety that no violence should be used to those that profess the true religion, they should not be found unreasonable." It was answered—"That for dimitting the Frenchmen she could say nothing till the French king was advertised; and for the security craved, she could give no other but her own word, nor stood it with her honour to do otherwise." Thus, because a present peace could not be concluded, a truce for eight days was made, upon condition that the French soldiers should be transported unto Lothian, and promise given that "before the expiring of that time some indifferent men should be sent to St Andrews, authorised with sufficient power for making a firm and solid peace." This truce, made at Garlibank the thirteenth of June 1559, was signed by the duke and Monsieur d'Oysell in name of the queen,

This done, the Lords of the Congregation departed, leaving the fields first, at the duke's request, and returning to Couper, gave public thanks for that the enemies had failed of their purpose. The next day, dismissing the multitude, they went to St Andrews, where, attending some days (but in vain) the coming of those indifferent persons who were promised to be sent thither for concluding a final peace, complaints were daily brought unto them of the oppressions used by the laird of Kinfauns, whom the queen-regent had placed provost in the town of Perth. The earl of Argyle and Lord James did hereupon write to the queen, shewing how, at her special desire, they had travelled with the Con-

gregation, then being at Perth, and brought them to accept of the conditions proponed by herself; the breach whereof, chiefly in one point, that is, the placing of a garrison of soldiers in the town of Perth, was no less dishonourable to them who had given their promises to the contrary, than it was grievous to the people. Therefore they desired the garrison might be removed, and the town restored to the former liberty.

No answer returning, the lords resolved to expulse the garrison by force, and coming to Perth the 24th of June, they summoned the provost, captains, and soldiers to render, assuring them, if they held out, and that it happened any one to be killed in the assault, all their lives should pay for it. The provost and captains answered that they had promised to keep the town for the queen-regent, and would, to the last drop of their blood, defend the same. As these things were in doing, the earl of Huntley, the Lord Erskine, and Mr James Bannatyne, justice-clerk, came by direction of the queen to persuade the lords to delay the siege at least for some days; but they refused to defer it the space of one hour, praying them, if they loved the safety of the besieged, to advise them to render, for if any harm should be done in the assault, their lives should answer it. Huntley, offending that his intercession availed nothing, left them without a farewell.

Then were the provost and captains again summoned; but they expecting no sudden assault, and being confident that the queen would send relief, answered as before; whereupon the Lord Ruthven, that lay on the west quarter, began to batter the walls with his munition. The men of Dundee who lay upon the east side, played upon the town in like manner with their pieces, which put the besieged in fear; so as considering their own weakness, and doubting the succours should come too late, they demanded a parley, wherein it was agreed that if the queen did not send relief within the space of twelve hours, they should depart and go forth of the town with their weapons and ensigns displayed. Thus was the town yielded, Kinfauns expelled, and the Lord Ruthven repossessed in his charge, and the inhabitants restored to their liberties.

The next day the abbey of Scone, situated a mile above Perth, was burnt to ashes by the townsmen of Dundee,

The noblemen were earnest to have the church and house saved from fire ; but the people were in such fury, because one of their company was killed by a shot from the house, as by no means could they be pacified.

Intelligence in the meantime coming to the lords, that the queen was of mind to place a garrison of French soldiers in Stirling to stop that passage, and seclude the professors beyond the river of Forth from those of the south, they made haste to prevent her, and rising at midnight, came early in the morning to the town, and immediately after their coming pulled all the monasteries to the ground. The altars and images in all the churches within and about the town were broken and defaced, and the abbey of Cambuskenneth ruined and cast down. Three days they abode at Stirling, and on the fourth marched towards Edinburgh, doing the like at Linlithgow which is in the way. The rumour of their approach, though they were but few in number, (for they passed not three hundred men in all,) did so terrify the queen and the companies that were with her, as, with all the haste they could make, they fled to Dunbar. The Lord Seaton, who for the time was provost of Edinburgh, and took upon him the protection of the Black and Grey friars, abandoned his charge, and left all to the spoil of the multitude, who, before the arriving of the lords, had demolished all the monasteries within the town, and carried away whatsoever they found in the same. It is strange to think how by so weak means, in such a disorderly way, those things should have been wrought, seeing, upon the least shew of resistance, the enterprisers would in all probability have left their attempt ; but God had put such a fear in the adversaries' hearts, as they did flee, none pursuing.

The queen-regent not knowing how to redress these things, gave forth a proclamation, wherein she declared, " that having perceived a seditious tumult to be raised by a part of the lieges, who named themselves the Congregation, and under pretence of religion had taken arms, she, by the advice of the lords of the privy council, for satisfying every man's conscience, and pacifying the present troubles, had made offer to call a Parliament in January next, or sooner if they were pleased, for establishing an universal order in matters of religion by the advice of the Estates,

and in the meantime to suffer every man to live at liberty, serving their conscience without any trouble, until farther order were taken. And because much appeared to consist upon the state of the town of Edinburgh, she in like manner had offered to permit the inhabitants to use what manner of religion they would during that time, to the end none might have just cause to say that they were forced to anything against their minds. But that they of the Congregation, rejecting all reasonable offers, had by their actions clearly shewed that it is not religion, nor any thing pertaining thereto that they seek, but only the subversion of authority and the usurpation of the crown. In testimony whereof they daily brought Englishmen into their houses, that came with messages unto them, and returned answers back to England, and of late had violently possessed the palace of Halyrudhouse, and intromitted with the irons of the mint-house, one of the chief things that concerned the crown. Wherefore she commanded all persons belonging to the said Congregation, (the inhabitants of the burgh excepted,) to depart forth of the town of Edinburgh within six hours after the charge, as likewise all that were of their society to forsake them, and live obedient to the authority, except they would be reputed and holden traitors to the crown," &c.

Together with this proclamation, rumours were dispersed that the lords of the Congregation had conspired to deprive the queen-regent of her authority, and to disinherit the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs of their succession and title to the crown. These rumours were believed of divers, and prevailed so far as many that had assisted the Congregation began to shrink and fall away. In regard whereof it was thought needful they should clear themselves both by their letters to the queen, and by open proclamation to the people ; which they did in manner following.

First, in the letters directed to the queen, they said " that they had notice given them of a proclamation lately made, wherein they were traduced as usurpers of their sovereign's authority, and invaders of her person, who in the absence of their sovereigns, governed the realm, which they esteemed to proceed of a sinistrous information made by their enemies, and was an imputation most false and odious ; their inten-

tions being no other but to abolish idolatry and superstitious abuses that did not agree with the Word of God, and maintain the true preachers thereof from the violence of wicked men. They did therefore beseech her to use her authority to that effect, and for other matters she should find them as obedient as any subjects within the realm; whereof they promised to give testimony and assurance, so as they might have safe access to her highness." This was the substance of the letter which was sent by the Lords Ruthven and Ochiltrie unto her.

In the proclamation they did call God to witness, "that such crimes as they were charged with never entered into their hearts, and that their only intention was to banish idolatry, and advance true religion, and defend the preachers thereof; promising to continue in all duty towards their sovereign and her mother their regent, provided they might enjoy the liberty of their consciences." As to the intromission with the irons of the mint-house, they said—"That they, being born counsellors of the realm, and sworn to procure the profit thereof, when they understood the subjects to be greatly hurt by the baseness of the money, which increased the dearth of all necessary wares, they could do no less of their duties than stay the coining of more lay money, until the nobility and council had taken further deliberation therein. And where it was given out that they had spoiled the mint-house of great sums, in that point they did remit themselves to the declaration of Mr Robert Richardson, master of the mint, in whose hands they delivered all the gold and silver, both coined and uncoined, which there was found," &c. For the intelligence with England nothing was replied; whereby it seemed there was some dealing that way for expelling the Frenchmen, which they would not deny, and thought not convenient as then openly to profess.

The queen taking hold of the last words of the letter sent unto herself, and desiring to know what they would say, as likewise trusting to gain somewhat by conference with them, did offer a safe conduct to any that pleased: whereupon the lairds of Pittarrow and Cunninghamhead were sent in the name of the Congregation, to declare "that their intent and purpose was no other but that they might enjoy the liberty

of their consciences, and unable ministers be removed from all ecclesiastical administration; that Christ Jesus might be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly administered; and that their preachers might be licenced to do their offices without molestation, until such time as, by a general council lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the realm, the controversies of religion should be decided. Which things being granted, they did faithfully promise in all other things dutiful obedience. Only, to be assured of sincere dealing, they desired that the French companies which were to the country a burthen, and fearful to them, might be sent home to their native country."

These propositions were not very pleasing, yet made she no shew of any dislike, but using gracious words, said—"That if she could be assured of their honest and dutiful meaning to her daughter and herself, their demands seemed not unreasonable. But she longed to speak with some of their number who were of greater authority," meaning, as afterwards she uttered, that her desire was the earl of Argyle and Lord James should come unto her; for when she saw the Lord Ruthven and Ochiltree returned not unto her with the laird of Pittarrow, she fell a complaining that she was not sought in a courteous manner, and that they in whom she put most confidence had left her in her greatest need. In end, she said—"That she could not be satisfied till she spake with the earl of Argyle and Lord James, for still she suspected there was some higher purpose amongst them than religion."

This reported to the lords, they would not by any means condescend that these noblemen should go unto her, doubting some practice against them; for she was heard say—"That if the means could be found to divide these two from the rest, she was sure to prevail." One likewise of her chief attendants was said to have bragged, "that before Michaelmas next both these noblemen should lose their heads." This not succeeding, it was agreed that the duke, the earl of Huntley, the Lords Erskine and Summerville, with the abbot of Kilwinning, and justice-clerk, should meet for the queen with such as the Congregation did appoint, for treating of the best means to settle a constant and solid peace; and for the part of the Congregation, were named

the earls of Argyle and Glenearne, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, the Lord James, the lairds of Dun and Pittarrow.

These meeting at Preston, to the number of an hundred on each side, (as was appointed,) conferred together a whole day, but without any conclusion; for the queen, seeming to yield unto the free exercise of religion, would have it provided, that in what place she happened to come, the ministers should cease from preaching, and the Mass only be used. The lords answered—"That this were to leave them no church; for when the queen pleased, she might change the place of her residence, and so there could not be any certain exercise of religion, which were all alike as to overthrow it." In these terms they parted that night; yet the lords named for the Congregation, unwilling to break off the conference, said they would think more of the business, and advertise what would be yielded unto.

After some deliberation, the Lord Ruthven and the laird of Pittarrow were remitted with this answer—"That as they could not impede her to use what exercise of religion she pleased, so could they not agree that the ministers of Christ should be silenced upon any occasion, much less that the true service of God should give place to superstition and idolatry. Wherefore they humbly requested (as often they had done) liberty to serve God according to their consciences, and did beseech her to remove the French soldiers, otherwise there could be no firm and solid peace." The queen hearing all, replied only that she wished there might be peace; but to none of the points proponed made she any direct answer. Whereupon the noblemen resolved to abide together at Edinburgh, and not depart till matters were fully composed.

News in this time were brought of the French king, Henry the Second, his death, which put the lords in some better hopes, but withal made them more careless; for divers, as though nothing was now to be feared, did slide away to attend their private affairs, and they who remained, expecting no invasion, lived secure, keeping neither watch nor ward, as if there had been no enemy to fear. The queen, on the other side, became more watchful, observing all occasions whereby she might weaken the faction, and assure herself; so getting notice of the solitude which was at Edinburgh,

she hasted thither with the companies she had. The lords advertised of her coming, grew doubtful what to do; for howsoever they might save themselves by flight, they saw the town, by their retiring, should be lost, and the Church, which in some good fashion was then established, be utterly cast down; therefore, with the small number they had, they issued forth of the town, and putting themselves in order, stood on the east side of Craighingate, to impede the approach of the French. The duke, and the earl of Morton, who were gone that morning to meet the queen, and give her the convoy, laboured to compose things, but prevailed not; only that day they kept the parties from falling into an open conflict. The next day when the queen, who lay all that night at Leith, prepared to enter into the town by the West Port, and that the lords were advanced to stop her in the way, the Lord Erskine, who until that time had carried himself a neuter, threatened to play upon them with the cannon, unless they suffered the queen to enter peaceably and without trouble. This it was supposed he did to make them accept the conditions of truce offered the day before, which they seeing no better way, were content to yield unto. The articles were as followeth:—

1. That the Congregation and their adherents (the inhabitants of Edinburgh only excepted), should depart forth of the town within the space of twenty-four hours, to the end the queen-regent and her companies may enter peaceably in the same.

2. That the Congregation should render the palace of Halyrudhouse, with all the furnishing they found therein, redeliver the mint-house and printing-irons the next morning before ten o'clock; and for observing this and the former article, the Lord Ruthven and laird of Pittarrow should enter as pledges to the queen.

3. That the Lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, should remain obedient subjects to the king and queen's authority, and to the queen-regent, as governing in their place, observing the laws and customs of the realm, as they were used before the raising of this tumult, in all things, (the cause of religion excepted) wherein the order after specified should be followed.

4. That the Congregation should not trouble nor molest

any churchmen by way of deed, nor make them any impediment in the peaceable enjoying and uplifting of their rents; and that it should be lawful for them to dispone and use their benefices and rents according to the laws and customs of the realm, until the tenth of January next.

5. That the Congregation should use no force nor violence in casting down of churches, religious places, or defacing the ornaments thereof, but the same should be harmless at their hands, until the tenth of January next.

6. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion they pleased until the said day, and none of the subjects in other parts of the country be constrained against their minds in matters of that kind.

7. That the queen should not interpone her authority to molest the preachers of the Congregation nor any other their members, in their bodies, lands, possessions, pensions, or whatsoever other kind of goods they enjoyed; nor yet should suffer any spiritual or temporal judge to trouble them for the cause of religion, or other action depending thereupon, until the said tenth of January, but that every man should live in the meantime according to his own conscience.

8. That no man of war, French or Scottish, should be put in garrison within the town of Edinburgh; only it should be lawful to the soldiers to repair thither for doing their lawful affairs, which done, they should retire themselves to their proper garrisons.

This truce and the heads thereof published, the lords departed towards Stirling, leaving John Willock, minister, to serve in the church of Edinburgh. As they departed, the duke and the earl of Huntley met with them at the Quarryholes, promising, if any part of the appointment should be violated, to join all their forces for expulsing the French out of the realm: and indeed the queen was then more careful nor in former times she had been, to see that no breach should be made; howbeit, many ways she went about to re-establish the Mass, and bring the favourers of religion in contempt. In Edinburgh she employed the duke, the earl of Huntley, and Lord Seaton, to deal with the magistrates and council of the town, that they would appoint some other church than St Giles' where their minister might preach. reserving that

church to her use, and for the exercise of the Mass. The magistrates answered—"That St Giles' church had been the ordinary place of their meeting to sermon and other religious exercises, and could not be taken from them without a manifest breach of the truce ; seeing by one of the articles it was provided, that the preachers of the Congregation should not be molested in anything they possessed at the making of the appointment." Huntley replying—"That the queen meant to keep all conditions, and desired this only of their favour ; or if they would not change the place of their preaching, that at least they would permit Mass to be said, either before or after sermon, in the church of St Giles:" they answered—"that they were in possession of that church, and would never consent that idolatry should be there again erected, or if men would do it violently, they behoved to suffer, and would use the next remedy."

This being refused, another device was invented, that the French captains with their soldiers should, in time of sermon and prayers, keep their walks in the church and trouble the exercise so much as they could. This they thought would enforce them to make choice of a more retired place for their sermons, or then irritate the people and breed an occasion of some disorder, so as the breach of the peace should proceed from them. The insolence was great they committed in this kind, for they did laugh and talk so loud all the time, as the preacher could not be heard ; yet was it patiently digested, knowing that an occasion of trouble was only sought. In other places their behaviour was no better, for at Leith they did cut in pieces the pulpit erected for the preachers, and set up the Mass which had been suppressed before in that town. The like they did in the abbey-church, forcibly abolishing the service of Common Prayers which there was ordinarily used. And in what place soever they came, some one disturbance or other they wrought to the professors of the truth. Herewith a rumour was dispersed amongst the vulgar, "That it was not religion, as the Congregation pretended, but an open rebellion they went about ; and that their purpose was to disinherit their lawful queen, and set up Lord James, her base brother, in her place ;" which by divers was apprehended as truth, and wrought a great alienation of minds from the cause.

About the same time came Monsieur La Croq, a French gentleman, with letters from the queen and King Francis her husband to Lord James, full of exprobatons and menacings, as appeareth by the copies here insert.

Francis, King of France, to James, Prior of the Monastery of St Andrews.

“Cousin, when I understood, as well by letters as common report, the tumults raised at this time in Scotland, I was much commoved, especially when it was said that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceased, and myself, have given so many benefits, should be the head and principal fosterer of the same. That you should be so forgetful of our love and of the duty you have at all times professed unto the queen, I would not believe; or if it was so, as the fame commonly reporteth, I did think that you were induced by the promises and flattering persuasions of others to take the fault upon you, whereof they were the cause, supposing the offence would be esteemed either none or very small in your person. This my conceit of you, if it be true, shall be as joyful to me as that which should be most joyful; for I should wish by this mean some part of my displeasure mitigated, into which you are worthily fallen, having deceived the hope which I had of your piety towards God, and your faithful service towards myself. Therefore, since nothing can be more acceptable to me than to hear that controversies are composed, and all things compacted without tumult, according to law and good order; and since I am persuaded this may be easily done by your credit, I thought meet to advertise you by these letters, and for the good will I bear you, I do earnestly request that you will return to the obedience from which you have foully fallen, that so I may see you carry another mind than that which your foolish actions have manifested. This will appear to be so, if that you apply your diligence to bring those things which now are out of order in those parts, back again to the ancient and sound form of obedience which you know is due to God and me. Otherwise, I would have you, and all those that adhere unto you persuaded, that ere it be long I shall take

such punishment of you and them as your wickedness deserveth, which I have given the bearer charge to make known unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as myself, praying God, my cousin, to have you in his protection. Paris, the seventeenth day of July 1559."

The letter sent by the queen was of the tenor following:—

Mary, Queen of Scotland and France, to James, Prior of the Monastery of St Andrews.

"I cannot, my cousin, wonder enough how you, that are highest us in blood and greatly benefited by our liberality, as yourself knoweth, should be so presumptuous and wickedly disposed, as by one and the same fact to violate the majesty of God, and the authority belonging to me and my husband; for to me it is a wonder that you, who being with me, did complain of the duke of Chatelherault and divers others, for dismissing my authority, should now be the leader of a faction in matters of greatest weight, wherein not only the honour of God is touched but my authority all utterly taken away, which I would have more easily believed of any other of my subjects than of you, for I had a special hope of your fidelity, and am not a little grieved that you should have deceived me. Though yet I can scarce be persuaded that you are gone so far from truth and reason as to be carried away with such blind errors, which I wish were not as any in the world else; beseeching God to illuminate you with his light, that returning into the right way, you may shew yourself (by doing things contrary to that you have already performed) a good man, and obedient to our laws; whereof by these letters I thought good to admonish you, and withal earnestly to intreat you to amend your bygone faults with better deeds in time coming, that the anger which I and my husband have conceived against you, may by that means be mitigated: otherwise, I would have you understand that we will take such punishment of you, that you shall ever remember us, which shall be to me a most grievous thing. God I beseech to keep you from all danger. Paris, the twenty-fourth of July 1559."

Lord James having perused the letters, and conferred a space with the gentleman, who was commanded to say unto

him, "That the king would rather spend the crown of France, than not to be revenged of the seditious tumults raised in Scotland," made answer by writing as followeth :— "That he was no way conscious to himself of any undutifulness either in word or deed against his sovereign's laws. That it was true he had joined himself with those of the nobility who went about the reforming of religion, and would not deny it ; but this he did not esteem a fault against the king or queen, for thereby nothing is sought but the advancement of God's honour and the gospel of Jesus Christ, from which, if he should desist, it were in effect to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then this cause only excepted, he and the rest who were charged with the crime of rebellion, should in all other things be most obsequient." This writing he delivered to Monsieur la Croq, who gave it to the queen-regent. She opening the same, and reading it, said, "That such a proud and rebellious answer was never given to a king and queen."

Some few days after this, arrived a French captain called Octavian, with a regiment of soldiers, who brought with him great sums of money, and other necessary provisions for war. But the queen did incontinent send him back to intreat the French king for other four companies to make up the number of twenty ensigns, with one hundred horsemen, and four ships well appointed, to keep the haven of Leith ; trusting therewith, as she said, and with the assistance she promised herself in the country, to daunt all the rebels and bring them to obedience. Meanwhile she began to fortify the town of Leith, as being a port fit to receive fresh supplies, and a place that might serve the French companies for a refuge, if they should happen to be redacted to any necessity.

The Lords of the Congregation kept at that time a convention at Stirling, and thither came the earl of Arran (the duke his eldest son), having left France upon this occasion. Being one day in conference with the duke of Guise, (who then ruled all things in the French Court) and falling in speech of those that professed the reformed religion, he did utter his mind too freely in their favours ; which was so ill taken as it was resolved to call him in question. Of this, and other speeches that had escaped the cardinal of Lorraine in the Court of Parliament, he was advertised, and thereupon

retired quickly from Court and went to Geneva. There he became acquainted with Mr Randolph, an Englishman, (who was afterwards employed in many honourable legations to Scotland) and came with him into England, where he was much graced by Queen Elizabeth, and by her persuasions induced to promise, that at his return he should join himself with those that sought to expel the French forth of Scotland, and move his father, so far as in him lay, to take part in that cause. Both which he truly performed; for immediately upon his return he came to the noblemen at Stirling, and made offer of his assistance in the common quarrel both of religion and the liberty of the country. Then going to visit his father at Hamilton, he won him to their side, and reconciling some old grudges betwixt his father and certain noblemen, brought them all to meet together at Hamilton, and to write a common letter to the queen-regent, which was to this effect—"That it was to them a marvel how she, not provoked by any injury, could go so soon from the late appointment as to expulse the ancient inhabitants of the town of Leith, and place therein a colony of strangers, as minding to keep the country under a tyrannical subjection. This they said was against her promise, against the public weal, and against the laws and liberties of the kingdom. Wherefore they intreated her to desist from that course, and not to drive them into a necessity of seeking the concurrence of the subjects for resisting the mischief intended against the whole." This letter, dated at Hamilton the twenty-ninth of September, was subscribed by the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glenearne, and Menteith, the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltrie, and divers other barons and gentlemen.

They wrote also to the Lord Erskine, keeper of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, "Desiring him as a nobleman, and a member with them of the same commonwealth, to look circumspectly to his own person and to the strengths committed to his trust, and not to suffer himself to be abused with the promises and policies which they knew would be used. Hereof they did think it needful, as they said, to give him warning, not that they stood in doubt of his fidelity, but that they esteemed it their duty to advertise him of the common danger, and to assure him, if by

violence any should go about to bereave him of those forts, their assistance should not be lacking.

The queen-regent not liking to make answer to the lords by writing, sent Sir Robert Carnegie and Mr David Borthwick with a letter of credit to the duke. That which they had in credit to say was, "That she wondered much at his joining with the lords, or that he should have permitted the earl of Arran, his son, to take that course; and to advise him to come and stay with her at Court; or if they could not obtain that point, that they should dissuade him from taking part with them." The duke asking what the queen meant to do concerning the fortification at Leith, and dispatch of the Frenchmen, they said, "If all things were put into the queen's will, she would be gracious enough." Whereupon he replied, "That both he and the rest of the lords would most willingly serve her, so as she would be ruled by the council of natural Scottishmen; but so long as she kept about her strangers, who were a trouble and great burthen to the country, he believed no wise man would give either him or them advice to put themselves in her hands."

This answer reported to the queen, because she perceived the arriving of the French soldiers to be generally ill taken, she gave forth a proclamation;—"Wherein, complaining of the calumnies dispersed against her by wicked people, especially that she had broken the appointment made with the Congregation at Leith, (which she said was done only to entertain division in the realm) by receiving of French forces, which they aggredged so far against all reason, it not being an article of the appointment; that albeit for every Frenchman that was in Scotland there were a hundred at her command, there should not an iota that was promised be broken, nor the least alteration be made in anything, if the Congregation did in like manner faithfully keep their part. Therefore she willed all good subjects not to give ear to such informations, nor suffer themselves to be led thereby from their due obedience, assuring them that they should ever find with her truth in promise, and a motherly love towards all loyal subjects."

Besides the proclamation, whereof this was the substance, she employed in the country some whom she specially trusted, to inform the subjects of her good meaning. The

principals were, Mr James Balfour, official of Lothian, Mr Thomas and Mr William Scot, sons to the laird of Balfewry, Sir Robert Carnegie, and some others. Neither did she omit to deal with the specials of the Congregation, sending Sir John Bannatyne, justice-clerk, to the Lord Ruthven, with many liberal promises if he would leave the faction, and Mr John Spence of Condy to Lord James, with a letter bearing this in effect :—“ That having understood the cause of his departing from her to be the love he bare to religion, albeit she did mislike the same, yet knowing his mind, and the minds of other noblemen to be so far bent that way as there was no possibility to reclaim them, she had now resolved to tolerate their profession, and at their own sights to grant such liberty as might stand with the common policy of the realm, and their sovereign’s honour. As for the men of war and fortification at Leith, so much-complained of, she said, that some had given her to understand that it was not the advancement of religion which was sought, but that the same was made a pretext to overthrow the authority of his sister, (whereof she believed he would never be participant,) and this was the true cause of inbringing the said forces ; whereas, if suspicions and jealousies could be removed, she would be well pleased to dimit them ; for it grieved her much to see the troubles that were in the country, neither desired she anything more than a perfect peace and reconciliation, wherein she requested his assistance ; praying him to keep faith and kindness to his sister, (who trusted more in him than any man living,) and to shew her what he desired for his own particular, and she would faithfully promise the same should be performed to his contentment.”

By such policies as these she laboured to disunite the lords ; but the love of the cause, and their own safeties, which they apprehended to consist in their fastness and fidelity to each other, kept them together. The many breaches they had also found, begat in them such a distrust, as nothing, though never so truly meant, could be believed. His answer therefore was—“ That in the matter proponed to him he could say nothing by himself, for they had all taken oath to have no private dealing with her, or to make any several address for themselves, which for his own part he

would keep inviolate; and how soon the noblemen were convened, he would shew what was written unto him, and leave nothing undone that served to establish peace in the realm, provided the glory of God was not thereby interested; neither doubted he, if she were found as tractable as by her letter she professed, but she would obtain of the rest that which might in reason content her. Farther," he said, "that he had communicated to her servant some things that misliked him in her proceedings, with a true heart, which he wished of God she and all men knew."

When as the queen-regent perceived these means could not divide them, she gave forth a new proclamation of this tenor—"That whereas the duke of Chatelherault had directed his missives unto all the parts of the realm, informing that the Frenchmen lately arrived were begun to plant in Leith for the ruin of the commonwealth, and that the fortification made there was a purpose devised in France to bring the subjects under servitude, which he and his partakers could not patiently endure, she esteems it needful for the manifestation of her proceeding since the last appointment, to make the declaration following: First, that divers of the Congregation, and those not of the meanest sort, had violated the said appointment in sundry heads; yet she, in hope that they would have returned to their duties, did connive at many things, and took no notice of their doings, till of late (having perceived by their frequent messages to and from England, and by the defection of many great personages from her obedience, that there was some other purpose in hand than the establishing of religion,) she was forced to have her recourse to the law of nature, and as a bird that is pursued will provide a nest to itself, so could she do no less than prepare a place of retreat for herself and for her followers; for which cause she had made choice of the town of Leith as a place most convenient, being her daughter's property, whereunto no person could lay claim, a place fortified of old, and such as made best for her safety. Farther," she said, "that it was not religion that they sought, but a mere rebellion they were entered into against their sovereigns, as appeared by many evidences. First, by the taking of Broughtie Castle, and expulsiug the keepers thereof, by some of the Congregation. Next, by the contempt of the

offer made by herself unto the lord duke, when he complained of the fortification of Leith, that if they would cause amend the wrongs committed against the laws of the realm, she would do what in reason they could require. Thirdly, by the charges he had sent to the free burghs, to chuse such magistrates as they thought would assist them in their purpose. And fourthly, by the withholding of provision, against all humanity, from her and from her family. All which things, to those that had any eyes, made more than manifest that it was no other but a plain usurpation of authority they went about; the particulars whereof she had certainly understood, it being detected unto her that the earl of Arran had joined with the Congregation for no other end, and that the crown was promised by them unto him. Yet she, no way doubting of the subjects' good affection, and that they would, when need should be, stand in defence of their sovereign's right against all pretenders, thought meet to give them warning of these practices, and prohibit the lieges to put themselves in arms, or take part with the duke and his assisters," &c.

Monsieur Pelleuce, bishop of Amiens (he was afterwards archbishop of Sens, and created cardinal), arrived about this time at Leith, accompanied with three doctors of the Sorbonne, Doctor Furnier, Doctor Brochet, and Doctor Ferretier. Monsieur le Broche, a French knight, gave them the convoy with two thousand foot. The doctors gave out that they were come to dispute with the preachers of the Congregation. The other two pretended a legation, and sent to some of the nobility resident at the time in Edinburgh, to desire a hearing. It was answered—"That they came not as ambassadors, but as enemies, to brag and threaten them with arms, otherwise they needed not have brought so many armed soldiers in their company. If they meant to treat with weapons in their hands, they would likewise fortify themselves, and make it seen that they were not moved to any thing by compulsion, but guided by reason; nor would they have them think they were so rude and ignorant as to fall in reasoning with adversaries that might force them to conditions at their pleasure. Wherefore, if they desired peace and quietness, as was pretended, it should be fittest to dimit these foreign soldiers, and seek to have

matters composed according to reason and justice." This answer given, there was no more heard of their legation, nor of the doctors' disputes.

The lords in the mean time published a declaration, answering the other lately made by the queen-regent, wherein, first, they declared—"That as they had often complained of the inbringing of French soldiers, and the manifold oppressions done by them, so they could not but seek redress thereof by all means, in regard the same tended to an open conquest of the country, and the laying upon their necks an intolerable servitude; for whereas the queen did pretend the defection of divers great personages from her obedience, and the frequent messages to and from England, to be the cause of their inbringing, it is well known that, before the arrival of these strangers, there was no such defection, but all lived peaceable and obedient, according to the appointment made by herself. And for the messages to England, time would make manifest that the support craved was to no other end but to maintain religion and suppress idolatry; wherein they think they have done nothing against their duties, it being lawful for them, where their own power faileth, to seek help and assistance wheresoever they may have it. Next, touching the convenience of Leith for a place of fortification, they grant it is a port very fit to receive strangers; but had the queen intended no more than her own security, Dunbar, Blackness, and other forts already built, would have better served to that use. And where she called Leith her daughter's property, they answered that it was notour the sums paid to the laird of Restalrig, superior of Leith, were disbursed by the inhabitants, and a large taxation given to herself, upon promise that their town should be erected into a burgh-royal; in place of which, some of the indwellers were expelled from their own houses, others robbed of their substance, and all that chused to remain there kept in such fear and terror as, in effect, they esteemed nothing their own. Neither was this only done to those that professed themselves reformed, but to all the inhabitants indifferently; which shews clearly, that the French did mind nothing less than to subdue the whole nation, if it lay in their power. And where it was said that the town of Leith was fortified of old, the same was never done without the consent of the nobility and

Estates of the realm, whereas the present fortification was made expressly against their wills, signified to her in writing. Concerning the earl of Arran, and their purpose to place him in authority, they took God to record that the same never entered into their hearts; and that neither the said earl, nor any pertaining unto him, did ever move them in such a matter, which if they had done, they were not so foolish as to promise that which afterwards they must needs have repented. Then for the particulars adduced to qualify their intended rebellion, they answered, that the taking of Broughtie was to prevent the danger that might have ensued, if the French should have planted in that place as they had done at Leith, whereof the conjectures were not obscure. As to the duke's misregard of her offer, they did remit the truth of that to the report of the persons employed by herself. Farther, where it was said that they had directed charges to the free burghs to elect magistrates at their appetites, the truth was, that some towns asked their advice in those businesses, and that the answer given them was, that if they elected such as feared God and loved equity and justice, they could not err in their choice. But, that she should object to this, seemed strange, seeing it was known that she herself did force the town of Edinburgh to take magistrates of her appointment, and against their own liking. Lastly, for the impeding of necessary provision to her and her family, they utterly denied the same; only they had taken order to stay the furnishing of strangers (that oppressed the country) with victuals, and did forthink the same was not sooner and more strictly done; concluding, that seeing nature did oblige them to love their country, and the oath they had given to be true to the commonwealth forced them to hazard whatsoever God had given them in defence thereof; they being councillors of the realm by birth, could not forbear to seek that by force of arms which hitherto had been denied them. Therefore required all natural Scottishmen to judge betwixt the queen and them, and not to abstract their just and dutiful support from their native country in so needful a time; assuring them who did otherwise, that they should be esteemed betrayers of the kingdom into the hands of strangers."

This declaration made, the lords assembling their forces,

came to Edinburgh the 18th of October, and on the same day the queen-regent, by the counsel of the Frenchmen, entered into Leith, with the bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, the Lord Seaton, and some others. The day following they sent a letter to the queen, declaring how they were convened to see a redress made of the great disorders that were in the realm, especially to have the town of Leith made patent for the free traffic of the subjects ; and desiring her to command all the strangers and mercenary soldiers to depart forth of the same, and to cause the forts to be demolished which were newly erected, otherwise, they would take it for an argument that her meaning was to bring the kingdom into servitude, against which mischief they would provide by the best means they could. The messenger who carried this letter, after he had been detained a whole day, was dismissed without an answer.

Meanwhile the rumour increasing of the duke his usurpation of the authority, he thought it necessary to make a public purgation, as he did at the market cross of Edinburgh, by sound of trumpet; protesting both for himself, and for his son, the earl of Arran, that none of them did seek any pre-eminence, nor meant to usurp the authority royal, but that they were convened, with the rest of the nobility, to maintain the cause of religion and liberty of their native country invaded by strangers ; which he desired all men to believe, and not to be carried with the false and malicious reports of enemies, devised only to withdraw the hearts of natural Scottishmen from the succour they owed to their oppressed country.

Two days after, Robert Forman, lion herald, was directed by the queen-regent to the lords with this writing :—"After commendations, we received your letter of the date at Edinburgh the 19th of this instant, which to us appeareth rather to have come from a prince to his subjects, than from subjects to those that bear the authority. For answer whereof we have sent unto you this bearer, the Lion Herald King of Arms, sufficiently instructed with our mind, to whom you shall give credit. At Leith the 21st October 1559."

The credit, as the herald related the same, was this :—First, he shewed the queen did "think it strange there should be any other to command within the realm besides her

daughter and her husband, of whom all the authority she had depended ; but as their behaviour in former times had given just causes of suspicion, so now she perceived clearly by the contents of the last letters, that they did not acknowledge any authority superior to themselves in the kingdom." Next, he was desired to ask the duke of " Chatelherault how his doings did agree with his words and writing, whereby he promised not only to obey the king himself, but also to keep his son, the earl of Arran, from meddling with the present broils and tumults of the country." Thirdly, in answer to their letters, he was willed to say, " that it never came in her mind to overthrow the liberty and laws of the realm, much less to make a conquest of it ; for to whom should she seek the same, it being her daughter's by right and she already possessed thereof? Nor could they think her so unnatural as to bereave her own child of the crown, and acquire it to another." As to the fortification of Leith and entertaining of strangers, he was bidden ask " if any thing in that kind was by her attempted before they did shew themselves manifest contemners of the authority, by surprising towns, and making bonds both amongst themselves and with the ancient enemies of the kingdom;" and to omit other things, " could they think it lawful to them to keep an army at Edinburgh, for pursuing her who was their regent, and her council, and that it should not be lawful to her to entertain a few companies at Leith for her own safety? Belike they would have her to flee from place to place, as hitherto she hath done, declining their fury? In their whole letters was there a word sounding to obedience, any overture of peace, or so much as an intimation of willingness in them to have debates composed, and all things reduced to their former state? They might cover it as they pleased with the pretexts of the commonwealth, and their care of the good and quiet thereof ; but nothing was less meant by them ; for if they desired peace, she hath often shewed the way unto it. Neither could they be ignorant that the French soldiers would long before that time have been recalled by the command of their king, if they themselves had not been a lett and hinderance thereto." Farther he was required to say, " that if, even yet, they would live obedient to their sovereigns, she, for her own part, would refuse no

means of concord, nor should she omit any thing that made for the good of the commonwealth. Neither was this her mind alone, but the mind likewise of their sovereigns, who had sent two chief men, one of the Church estate, and the other an honourable knight, to signify so much unto them, whom they so far despised, as they would not vouchsafe them either answer or audience." Lastly, the said herald, as he was enjoined, did charge the duke, the noblemen and others, their assisters and partakers, to depart forth of the town of Edinburgh and dissolve their forces, under the pain of lese-majesty.

The herald having in this sort delivered his credit, the lords convened in council, with a number of barons and burgesses, whom they called to assist. In this meeting the Lord Ruthven presiding, declared how the queen had refused their petitions, and that there was no expectation of the yielding up the town of Leith, or dimitting the French companies by a peaceable treaty, so as now they were to think of the next course. The reverence of authority (which as yet was in the person of the queen-regent) deterred many at first from uttering their minds; yet after some short silence, they began to speak of discharging the queen of her regency. The motion seemed dangerous to some, as wanting example, at least for a long time. "The like," they said, "had been sometimes done, but it was always carried under the shew of authority; they in whose hands the king was at that time taking upon them in his name to suspend the present government; but that the nobility and Estates, without and against the prince's consent, should assume that power to themselves, was never heard and would be thought strange." Others held, that "she being a regent only, might very well be prohibited to use the name of the king and queen for authorising her proceedings, especially when they were known to be hurtful and pernicious to the whole kingdom." In this variation of judgments it was thought meet to take the opinion of the preachers; and to that effect Mr John Willock and John Knox being called, they delivered their minds one after another in this sort. Mr John Willock first speaking, said,—

"That albeit magistracy be God's ordinance, and that they who bear rule have their authority from him, yet their

power is not so largely extended, but that the same is bounded and limited by God in his Word. And albeit God hath appointed magistrates his lieutenants on earth, honouring them with his own title, and calling them gods ; yet did he never so establish any, but for just causes they might be deprived. For even as subjects," said he, " are commanded to obey their magistrates, so magistrates have direction given them for their behaviour towards those they rule, and God in his Word hath defined the duties, both of the one and the other. In deposing princes and those that have borne authority, God did not always use his immediate power, but sometimes he used other means, such as in his wisdom he thought good. As by Asa he removed Maacha his own mother from the honour and authority which before she did exerce ; by Jehu he destroyed Joram and the whole posterity of Achab ; and by divers others he deposed from the government those whom he had established before by his own Word." From these ensamples he inferred, " that since the queen-regent had denied her chief duty to the subjects of the realm, which was to minister justice indifferently, to preserve them from the invasion of strangers, and to suffer the Word of God to be freely preached ; seeing also she was a maintainer of superstition, and despised the counsel of the nobility, he did think they might justly deprive her from all regiment and authority over them."

John Knox being next desired to speak, after he had approved all which his brother had said, did add this more— " That the iniquity of the queen-regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their sovereign ; nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but that when she should change her course, and submit herself to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regress to the same honours from which, for just causes, she ought now to be deprived."

It had been a better and wiser part in these preachers to have excused themselves from giving any opinion in those matters, for they might be sure to have it cast in their teeth, to the scandal of their profession. Neither was the opinion they gave sound in itself, nor had it any warrant in the Word of God. For howbeit the

power of the magistrates be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is nowhere permitted to subjects to call their princes in question, or to make insurrections against them, God having reserved the punishment of princes to himself.

And for the ensamples alleged, they are nothing to the purpose. For Asa was king of Judah, and in possession of the crown, and Maacha, though in nature his mother, was by condition his subject, and might lawfully be discharged from the authority (which by his favour she enjoyed) after she fell to the erecting and worshipping of idols. As to the ensample of Jehu, it is nothing better, seeing what he did was by God's express commandment, who giveth and taketh away kingdoms as he pleaseth; but no man hath this power, and they that presume otherwise go expressly against the commandment of God, and the duty of Christian profession.

Always the lords and others then assembled, as having now their determination sufficiently warranted, fell to gather the voices of such as were present, who all uniformly consented to her deprivation. So by an Act and Decree of Council (wherein were reckoned out all the enormities alleged to have been committed by the queen-regent; namely, the pursuing of the barons and burgesses of the realm with open hostility, no process nor order of law being first used, nor they called and convict of any crime in lawful judgment; the thrusting in of magistrates upon people within the burghs against their liking, and without any order of election; the inbringing of foreigners into the realm, without the advice and counsel of the nobility; the laying of garrisons in some towns, to the oppression of peaceable subjects; the coining of base money, to the impoverishing of the country; the placing of a stranger in one of the greatest offices within the realm, as the office of chancellor, which she had conferred on Monsieur Rubie, a Frenchman; the sending of the great seal forth of the realm, against the advice of the Council; the altering of the laws and customs of the realm, especially in graces and pardons granted to the lieges, and the obstinate refusing of the nobility and barons their requests, when they sought redress of these evils,) they, in name and by authority of their sovereign, did suspend the

commission granted to the queen-regent, discharging her of all authority until the next Parliament that should be called by their advice and consent ; prohibiting likewise the officers and others serving under her, under colour of the said authority, to exerce their offices from henceforth, and to coin either gold or silver, without express consent of the council and nobility, conform to the laws of the realm. This Act, ordained to be published in all the head burghs of the kingdom, was subscribed in this manner, “ By us, the nobility and commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland.”

As soon as this Act was by sound of trumpet proclaimed, the herald, whom they had detained two days, was dismissed with an answer conceived in this form :—“ By the letters and instructions you have sent by the herald unto us, we take up how ill you are set against God’s truth, the liberty of this our native country, and the common good of all. To defend these, as in duty we are bound, we in the name of our sovereign lord and lady suspend your commission, and all administration public which you thereby may pretend, as being assured that your proceedings are direct contrary to their minds, which we know are inclined to the weal and common good of the country. And seeing you refuse us who are natural born subjects of the realm to be your counsellors, we will no longer acknowledge you for our regent and lawful magistrate, considering the authority (if any you have committed unto you by our sovereigns) is formost just and weighty reasons suspended by us in their name, whose counsellors we are by birth, in those matters chiefly that concern the safety of the commonwealth.

“ And howbeit we have determined with the hazard of our lives to set that town at liberty wherein you have most unjustly planted your mercenary soldiers and strangers, yet for the reverence we bear unto you, as being the mother of our queen, we earnestly beseech you to depart thence at this time, when we, constrained by public necessity, are by force of arms to recover it. We farther request you to bring forth of the town, with yourself, all that carry themselves as ambassadors, and are come unto the country either for taking up of controversies, or assisting the government of public affairs, within the space of twenty-four hours ; and to cause

the captains, lieutenants, and soldiers (whose blood we would gladly spare, because of the old amity and friendship betwixt us and the realm of France, which the marriage of our sovereign lady to that king ought rather to increase than diminish) to remove themselves within the same space." This letter was subscribed "By all the nobility and barons present, the twenty-third of October, 1559."

The 25th day of the same month was the town summoned, and all the Scots and Frenchmen, of whatsoever state and degree, commanded to leave the same within the space of twelve hours. This denied, and defiance given on both sides, there followed some light skirmishing, without any great slaughter. The lords had resolved to enter the town by sealade, and were preparing ladders for that use, which being dressed in St Giles church, did impede the ordinary meetings to sermon and prayer, to the great offence of the preachers, who in their sermons did sharply reprove that intermission of religious exercises, foretelling that "the enterprise could have no good success, which brought with it in the beginning such a neglect of God his service." And so indeed it proved, for upon the sudden they became so terrified, as not only was that purpose of the sealade broken, but very nigh they were to have utterly forsaken the cause. The duke grew fearful by the falling away of some to the queen; the soldiers mutinied in default of their pay; they found their most secret counsels also disclosed; and had lately intercepted letters with a servant of James Balfour, as he was going to Leith, giving intelligence of all their purposes. These things, with some others more, did cast them in a great diffidence one of another.

But such as were of better courage, taking counsel how to remedy those evils, made it their first care to content the soldiers. And because there was no way to do this but by present money, it was devised that a collection should be made amongst the lords and barons; by whom, some being unprovided, others niggardly disposed, the sum could not be made up which was required. Thereupon it was agreed that every nobleman should give his silver plate to be coined for supply of the present necessity. But when that came to be done, the irons and instruments of the mint-house could not be found. This failing, their only hope of

relief was from England, and that, they considered, could not come in due time; whereupon they resolved to use their private credit with Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, (who had the charge of the town of Berwick) and borrow of them some moneys.

In this business Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston was employed, whose journey was not so closely carried but the queen had notice both of it and his errand. Thereupon she dealeth with the earl of Bothwell to lie in Ormiston his way, and surprize him with the money at his return. The earl had but a few days before sworn solemnly to be no enemy unto the lords, and had given hopes to join with them, so as no danger was suspected from him; yet, not regarding his oath, he came upon the gentleman at unawares, and, after some wounds given him, took him prisoner and robbed him of four thousand crowns, which he had received in loan. The rumour hereof coming to the lords, the earl of Arran and Lord James taking some companies of horse with them, made towards Creichton, whither Bothwell (as they were advertised) was gone. But finding that he was escaped, they seized upon the house, and gave it in keeping to Captain Forbes.

The same day that this happened, the provost of Dundee, with his townsmen and a few mercenary soldiers, went down towards Leith, carrying with them some pieces of artillery which he planted on a little hill near unto the town. The French had warning that most of the horsemen were gone about other business, and knowing the footmen to be few, made a sally upon them with some companies. The townsmen of Dundee sustained the fight for a while, trusting to be seconded by the soldiers; but they turning backs in the very beginning of the conflict, the townsmen were forced to retire, keeping still their ranks, till a cry was raised that the French were entering by Leith Wynd to cut them off from the town. This caused such a perturbation, as every man took the way he held best for his safety; and in the flight (as commonly it falleth) one hindering another, many were overthrown, some ten soldiers were killed, Captain Mowat taken prisoner, and Mr Charles Geddes servant to the Master of Maxwell. The flight held to the midst of the Canongate, where the earl of Argyle and Lord Robert,

abbot of Halyrudhouse, turned the chase, and pursuing the French made them fly as fast as they had followed. This little advantage of the French made Bothwell so insolent, as he simply refused to restore the moneys he had taken. And thus all hopes of money failing, and the soldiers refusing to serve, some, not of the meanest sort, stole away secretly; the few that remained were distracted in opinions among themselves and grew doubtful what to do.

The fifth of November, upon advertisement that the French were issued forth of Leith to intercept the provision that was carrying to Edinburgh, the earl of Arran and Lord James, with their domestics, went out to defend the carriers, and were followed by divers of the citizens: these giving the onset upon the French with more courage than foresight, advanced so far as they were almost encompassed by the enemy, and cut off from the town; for the French had divided their companies in two: one part took the way directly from Leith to Halyrudhouse, the other marched somewhat more eastward, and nearer the sea. The lords, who were gone as far as Restalrig, beholding the French to march towards Edinburgh, returned with expedition, fearing the case of the citizens, and that they themselves should be cut off; which in all appearance had been done, if the laird of Grange and Alexander Whitlaw, with a few horsemen, had not kept them in skirmish for a little time. The other French companies that came by Restalrig beholding the lords retire, made after them, and pursued so hotly as the earl of Arran and Lord James were forced to quit their horses for safety of the foot, who were in great disorder. Captain Alexander Halliburton, a man of good spirit and forward in the cause of religion, staying behind to hold off the French, received divers wounds whereof the same night he died. In this conflict there fell some twenty-five or thirty men. The Master of Buchan, with the lairds of Pitmilley, Fairny, and some others of smaller note, were taken prisoners.

A little before this time, William Maitland of Lethington, secretary to the queen, perceiving that he was hated of the French for the freedom he used in his counsel, did secretly withdraw himself and joined with the lords. He was earnest to have them abide together, laying before

them the dangers that might ensue upon their dissolving. But few or none consenting, conclusion was taken to leave the town, and after midnight to depart towards Stirling.

The day after the lords' departing, the French went up to Edinburgh, and took possession of the town. All that professed the religion were compelled to flee, and seek their refuge in other places. Mr Willock the minister went into England, and immediately was the Roman service restored. The church of St Giles (as if infected with some contagion by the sermons preached therein) was of new hallowed by the bishop of Amiens, with a number of ceremonies; and such triumphing was amongst the popish sort as they thought the game to be theirs. The queen sent advertisement to France, requiring new forces with expedition, to make the victory absolute. Whereupon the marquis d'Elbeuf and Count Martigues, a young nobleman, were directed with some companies, both of foot and horse; but they embarking at Dieppe were dispersed by tempest, eighteen ensigns cast away upon the coast of Holland, and the rest driven back into France. A while after, the marquis putting to sea, arrived at Leith about the beginning of the spring, with a thousand foot and some few horsemen.

The lords, at their coming to Stirling, were in great heaviness, and doubtful what course to take; till, encouraged by a sermon that John Knox made unto them, they gathered new spirits, resolving to send unto England for supply, and, till answer should come, to divide their companies. The duke and earl of Glencarne, with the Lords Boyd, Ochilttrie, and their friends, were appointed to remain at Glasgow; the earls of Arran and Rothes, Lord James, the Master of Lindesay and their friendship, to stay together in Fife: and for making intelligence one to the other, Mr Henry Balnaves was ordained to attend the noblemen at Glasgow, and John Knox those of Fife.

The duke, at his coming to Glasgow, caused all the images and altars to be pulled down, and took the castle pertaining to the bishop. Upon the report of this, the bishop taking with him a number of Frenchmen, and assisted by the Lords Semple, Seaton, and Rosse, marched hastily thither, recovered the castle, (for the lords, advertised of their coming, had left the town) and staying there only one night,

returned to Edinburgh. In Fife there was more quietness, all things continuing peaceable till a little before Christmas, at which time answer was returned from England, and hopes given of support from thence.

William Maitland, younger of Lethington, and Robert Melvill, brother to the laird of Raith, had been intrusted with that business. They, at their coming to the Court of England, did inform the queen of the troubles of the country, the difficulties whereunto it was reduced, and the danger that England should fall into if Scotland were once subdued by the French, intreating her aid and assistance for their expulsion. She remitting the matter to the council, it was long debated whether or not any supply should be granted: some maintaining that it was a thing of ill example to assist the subjects of another prince in their rebellion, and that the same might draw upon themselves a dangerous war; others holding that they were obliged in conscience to defend their neighbours from the oppression of strangers, and that to suffer the French, who were naturally enemies to the English, to fortify themselves in Scotland, would prove a hurtful and preposterous course. In end, the queen inclining that way, it was concluded that a supply should be granted, and the duke of Norfolk sent to Berwick to treat of the conditions with the commissioners of the Scottish nobility.

The French, advertised of this conclusion taken, resolved to make an end of the war before the English support could be in readiness, and to begin with the lords that were residing in Fife. Thereupon, taking their journey to Stirling, they spoiled Linlithgow in the way, with the lands of Kinneil, and all that they understood belonged to the duke in those parts. The like pillage they made in Stirling, and passing the bridge, they kept the side of the river, robbing all the villages and coast-towns which were in their way. It was their purpose to have kept the coast still till they came to St Andrews, and then to have fortified the castle and city: but the earl of Arran and Lord James hearing that they were past Stirling, sent some forces under the charge of the Lord Ruthven, a nobleman of good experience and courage, to withstand their attempts. In his company was the earl of Sutherland, who was come to the lords some days before,

directed, as he gave out by the earl of Huntley, to make offer of his assistance ; howbeit, his principal commission was unto the queen-regent, as afterwards was known.

The first encounter with the French was at Pettycur, (so they called the haven on the west of Kinghorn) by occasion of some small vessels that were espied to come from Leith, which as the Lord Ruthven did stop from landing, the French that were farther advanced than he supposed, did charge him on the back, and forced him to flee. Six or seven soldiers were killed in this conflict, and a Dutchman, called Paul Lambird, with a French boy, taken and hanged upon the steeple of Kinghorn. The earl of Sutherland, wounded a little in the arm with the shot of an harquebuss, returned the same day to Couper.

The lords, to stay the further progress of the French, drew all the forces they could make in these parts to the town of Dysart, where they remained twenty days together, keeping the French soldiers (that were numbered to be four thousand) in such work that the country was generally saved from spoil, and the hurt and damage that was done falling, for the greatest part, upon their friends and confederates. For of all that were professed enemies to the French, the laird of Grange only had his house blown up with gunpowder ; whereas the lairds of Wemyss, Seafield, Balmuto, Balwery, Balgony, Dury, and others of the French faction, were forced to furnish them with corns, cattle, and what else they stood in need of ; or if the soldiers lacked any thing, the readiest goods upon their ground were taken to provide them. Hereof divers complaints being made to the French captains, the poor owners were scornfully answered, that their goods were of the Congregation ; and if they made faith that the same were their own proper goods, they were railed upon, and called cowards and unworthy niggards, that made more accompt of their goods than of their friends. Such as professed religion and expected the worst, putting their goods out of the way or standing to their defence, were in a much better condition ; and Grange, who had his house cast down as I have said, avenged himself sufficiently a few days after.

For, knowing that the French used to send forth some soldiers into the country every day to bring in provision, he

laid an ambush near to Kinghorn, and as Captain Le Batu with an hundred soldiers came forth, after they were passed a mile from the town, he brake upon them with a number that he had selected to that purpose ; the captain with his soldiers retiring to a little country-house, defended themselves a while with their shot, and dangerously wounded David Kircaldy, brother to the laird of Grange, and a gentleman called Robert Hamilton, who were both at first supposed to be slain. The French had the advantage, for they were within ditches, and Le Batu having taken a little house, kept the gate with some harquebusses. Grange and his company carried spears only, yet in that heat of valour, which ordinarily at such occasions he shewed, he rushed in upon the French, and was followed by the Master of Lindsay and others, whom his example did animate. The captain refusing to render himself, was, with fifty of his company, slain ; the rest were all taken and sent prisoners to Dundee.

By this time the lords that remained in the west parts being advertised of the answer returned from England, and how the duke of Norfolk was coming to Berwick to attend the Scottish Commissioners that should be chosen to treat of the conditions of the supply, they sent of their number some to assist the noblemen of Fife in making that choice. The meeting was at Couper, where by common consent choice was made of Lord James, the Lord Ruthven, the Masters of Maxwell and Lindesay, the laird of Lethington, younger, and laird of Pittarrow, and Mr Henry Balnaves ; and power given them by the duke and remanent lords to contract and agree with the queen of England and her lieutenant upon all such things as might serve for the good and conjunction of the two kingdoms, and particularly for expelling the French soldiers forth of the realm of Scotland. These taking journey by sea, came about the midst of February to Berwick, and after some short treaty a contract was formed betwixt Thomas, duke of Norfolk, earl marshall of England, and lieutenant to the queen's majesty in the North, in name and behalf of her Highness on the one part, and Lord James Stewart, Patrick, Lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Terreglise, knight, William Maitland of Lethington, younger, John Wishart of Pittarrow, and Mr Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in name and behalf of the

noble and mighty prince, James duke of Chatelherault, second person of the realm of Scotland, and the remanent lords joined with him for maintenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of the country, on the other part, to the effect following—

“ 1. That the queen’s majesty having sufficiently understood, as well by information from the nobility of Scotland, as by the proceedings of the French, that they did intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the nobility thereof, and unite the same to the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the same realm, and the pactions, oaths, and promises of France; and being most humbly and earnestly requested by the said nobility, for and in the name of the whole realm, to receive the kingdom of Scotland, the duke of Chatelherault, declared heir-apparent to the crown thereof, with the nobility and other subjects, into her protection and maintenance, only for preservation of the Scots in their own freedoms and liberties, during the time that the marriage did continue betwixt the queen of Scots and the French king, and a year after, should employ her best means for and in their defence.

“ 2. That her majesty should send with all convenient diligence into Scotland a sufficient aid of men of war, horse and foot, with artillery, munition, and other instruments of war, as well by sea as by land, to join with the forces of Scotland, for the expelling the French forces presently within that realm, and stopping, so far as may be, all others to enter therein in time coming.

“ 3. That her majesty should continue her aid to the nobility and subjects of Scotland until such time as the French (enemies to the said realm) should be utterly expelled thence, and should not transact, agree, or conclude any league with the French, except the Scots and French should be also agreed, and the realm of Scotland left in freedom; neither should she leave the maintenance of the said nobility and other subjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies’ hands, so long as they did acknowledge their sovereign lady and queen, and should endeavour themselves to maintain their own liberty, and the estate of the crown of Scotland.

“ 4. If in case any forts or strengths within the realm shall be recovered out of the hands of the French by her

majesty's aid, the same should be immediately demolished, or delivered to the duke of Chatelherault and his partakers at their election; neither should the power of England fortify within the ground of Scotland, but by the advice of the said duke, nobility, and Estates of Scotland.

“ 5. That the said duke and nobility, as well such as be already joined, as such as hereafter shall join with him for defence of the liberty of the realm, should to the uttermost of their power aid and support her majesty's army against the French and their assisters, with horse and foot, and all manner of other aid they possibly can make, and shall provide victuals to the army by land and sea, and continue so doing during the time her majesty's army shall remain in Scotland.

“ 6. That they should be enemies to all such Scottish men and French as shall in any ways shew themselves enemies to the realm of England, for the aiding and supporting of the said duke and nobility, and should never assent nor permit the realm of Scotland to be conquered or otherwise united to the crown of France than it is at the present, only by the marriage of the queen their sovereign to the French king, and as the laws and liberties of the realm do allow.

“ 7. That if it should happen the Frenchmen at any time thereafter to invade, or cause the realm of England to be invaded, they should furnish the number of a thousand horsemen and two thousand footmen at the least, or such part of either of them as should be required, at the charge of the queen of England, and should conduct the same to any part of the realm of England that should be appointed, upon the charges always of the queen of England. And in case the invasion should be made on the north part of England, either upon the north of the water of Tyne towards Scotland, or against Berwick on the north side of the water of Tweed, they should convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and should join with the English power, and continue in an earnest pursuit of the quarrel of England during the space of thirty days, or so much longer, as they are accustomed to abide in the fields for defence of Scotland.

“ 8. That the earl of Argyle, lord-justice of Scotland, being

presently joined with the said duke, should employ his force and good will, when he should be required by the queen of England, for reducing the north parts of Ireland to her obedience, conform to a mutual contract which should be made betwixt her majesty's deputy of Ireland for the time and the said earl, wherein should be expressed what each of them should do for support of the other, in case either of them had business with MacOneill, or any other of the isles of Scotland, or realm of Ireland.

“ 9. That the Scots, for performance and sure keeping of their part of this contract, should deliver such pledges to the duke of Norfolk, before the entry of her majesty's army in Scottish ground, as the said duke did presently name, who should remain in England for the space of six months, and be exchanged by deliverance of new hostages, from six months to six months, or four months to four months, at the pleasure of Scotland ; the pledges always being of the like or as good condition as the former, and the lawful sons, brethren, or heirs of some of the earls or barons of the parliament ; and the time of the continuance of the said hostages should be during the marriage of the queen of Scots to the French king, and a year after the dissolution of the same, till farther order may be had betwixt both the realms for peace and concord.

“ 10. That the duke and nobility joined with him, being earls and barons of the parliament, should subscribe and seal these articles within the space of twenty or thirty days at the farthest, after the delivering of the said hostages ; and should procure and persuade all others of the nobility that should join themselves thereafter with the said duke for the cause above specified, to subscribe and seal the same articles within the space of twenty days after their conjunction, upon requisition made by them of England.

“ 11. That the said duke and nobility joined with him, certainly understanding that the queen's majesty of England was moved to grant the present support only upon respect of princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of Scotland from conquest, and not of any sinister intent, did by these presents testify and declare, that neither they nor any of them do mean by this contract to withdraw their due obedience from their sovereign lady

the queen, or yet to withstand the French king, her husband, in any lawful thing which tendeth not to the subversion of the just and ancient liberties of Scotland, for the preservation whereof they acknowledge themselves bound to spend their goods, lands, and lives."

This contract, of the date at Berwick the twenty-seventh of February 1559, was confirmed by the queen of England, and a patent thereof delivered under the great seal of England to the duke and nobility; the lords of Scotland did in like manner ratify the same by their subscriptions at the camp before Leith, the tenth of May following.

How soon the French heard that the lords were removed from Dysart, they marched forward according to their first purpose towards St Andrews, and kept the coast, partly because of the ships which carried their victuals, partly by reason of a great snow which then was fallen, and made the nearest ways unpassable. After that they had crossed the water of Leven, and were come unto Kineraig, they espied a fleet of ships bearing up the Firth, which they did apprehend to be a supply sent unto them; but when they saw them fall upon the ships that carried their victuals, they became doubtful, and shortly after were assured by a boat which had spoken them, that it was an English navy sent to the support of the Congregation, and that a land army was also prepared to come into Scotland. These news troubled them not a little, and made them doubtful what course to take; for to return by Stirling was a long way, and to transport the soldiers to the other coast there were no vessels, so as they feared to be kept from joining with their fellows at Leith. Their resolution, therefore, was to make the longer journeys, as they did; and setting to the way the same night, they came on the third day to Leith, having lost divers of their company by the way.

Fife thus delivered from their oppressions, public thanks were given to God in the church of St Andrews. This done, the lords took purpose to besiege the houses of Wemyss, Seafield, Balgony, and Dury, which were taken without resistance, and the lords thereof made prisoners: but shortly after, they were dimitted and the houses restored, upon condition not to assist the French any more. The earl of Huntley at the sametime being advertised that

the barons of Mearns were come to Aberdeen to make a reformation in that city, hastened thither to withstand their proceedings, and by his coming saved the cathedral church ; the houses of the Dominicans, Carmelites, and of other religious being already demolished and cast down. Yet, when he heard that the English forces were advancing, he sent to the lords and made offer to join with them. A meeting to this effect was appointed at Perth, whither he came, and staying some three days, departed homewards, upon promise to return unto the army in the beginning of April ; for proclamations were gone through the country, charging all the subjects to meet in arms at Linlithgow the last of March, and from thence to pass forwards in pursuit of the French that had fortified at Leith.

For fulfilling the article whereby the lords were tied to send pledges unto England, Colin Campbell, cousin to the earl of Argyle, Robert Dowglas, brother to the laird of Lochleven, and ——— Ruthven, son to the Lord Ruthven, were delivered to the English admiral, and by sea conveyed to the town of Newcastle.

After which the English forces, consisting of two thousand horse, and six thousand foot, entered into Scotland, conducted by the Lord Gray, under whom commanded the Lord Scroop, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Percie, and Sir Francis Lake. The Scottish army joined with them at Preston the fourth of April, whereof the principal leaders were the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencarne, and Menteith, Lord James, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltrie, who were assisted by all the barons and gentlemen professing religion in Lothian, Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the west countries. The same day the queen-regent removed her family to the castle of Edinburgh, and was received by the Lord Erskine, a nobleman of approved honesty and wisdom. He was not ignorant of the queen's intentions, and the desire she had to have the French masters of that strength ; yet he would not at that time deny her entry, but used such circumspection as she and the house both were still in his power.

The noblemen resolving to fall presently to work, did yet think to move the queen of new for dismissing the French companies, and to that effect they directed a letter of this

tenor.—“ Madam, we have often before this time by letters and messages, been instant with you to remove the French soldiers forth of the realm, who now, the space of a year and more, have oppressed the poor people with evils intolerable, and threaten to bring this kingdom under a miserable servitude. But seeing we could not prevail by our lawful requests, we were forced to mean our estate to the queen of England, our nearest neighbour, and intreat her support for expulsing these strangers by arms, if otherwise we cannot obtain it. And now albeit she pitying our distresses, hath taken us and our cause in her protection, yet for the duty we owe unto you as the mother of our queen, and the desire we have to eschew the shedding of Christian blood, we have advised once again to intreat the dismissal of these Frenchmen with their captains and commanders, for whose commodious transport the queen of England will be pleased to lend her navy, and give to others of them a safe passage by land. If this condition shall be rejected, we take God and men to record, that it is not malice nor hatred which moveth us to take arms, but that we are driven by necessity to use extreme remedies for preserving the commonwealth, and saving ourselves, our estates and posterities from utter ruin; neither shall we for any peril that can happen, (howsoever we suffer many wrongs and indignities, and are daily in expectation of worse,) forsake that dutiful obedience which we owe to our queen, or yet resist the king, her husband, in any thing that shall not tend to the subversion of the ancient liberties of this kingdom. Therefore, most gracious queen, we beseech you again and again to weigh the equity of our petition, the inconveniences of war, and to consider how needful it is that this your daughter's afflicted kingdom should be put to some rest and quietness. If so you do, you shall give to all nations a testimony of your moderation, and procure the peace of the greatest part of Christendom.”

This letter, dated at Dalkeith the fifth of April, was subscribed by all the noblemen that were present. The English general did in like manner direct Sir George Howard and Sir James Crofts to make offer, that if the French would peaceably depart forth of Scotland, they likewise should return into their country without molesting any person. Her

answer was, that she would think of what was proponed, and give answer the next day. But the army not liking to admit these delays, advanced the next day, which was Saturday, towards Leith, keeping along the sea-coast, till they came to Restalrig. The French issuing forth of Leith to the number of thirteen hundred or thereby, and planting themselves upon a little hill called the Hawkhill, (where they knew the English army would encamp,) for the space of five hours continued in fight, the one striving to make good the place, the other to carry it. At last the Scottish horsemen did charge the French with such a fury, that they, not able to maintain it any longer, took the flight, and retired to the town, from which they had been quite cut off, if the English horse had seconded the Scots, as was appointed. In this conflict three hundred of the French were killed, and some few of the English.

Then begun the army of England to place their pavilions betwixt the town of Leith and Restalrig. The Lord Gray lodging in the dean's house in Restalrig, and the most part of his horsemen in the same village; the foot lay all in the tents, upon the south and south-east side of Leith; and near unto them were the Scots noblemen encamped, trenches east, and a little mount erected, which was called Mount Pellaine, from the name of the captain, whereupon eight cannons were placed, to play upon St Antonie's steeple, on which the French had planted some ordnance. These thundering night and day, battered the steeple, and forced the French to dismount their artillery. The English, after this, growing negligent, and supposing the French would make no more sallies, followed their sports, some of the captains going to Edinburgh, and the soldiers falling to play at dice and cards, as though there had been no enemy to fear: whereof the French getting intelligence, they issued forth, and entering the English trenches before they were perceived, put many to the sword. The slaughter was great, and esteemed to exceed the loss of the French in the first encounter.

This accident taught them to be more watchful all the time that the siege continued; and because their numbers were so few for besieging the town in all parts, they devised to raise certain mounts in every quarter, and to remove the

cannon to the west side of the water of Leith, more near the walls than before. The last of April, a sudden fire kindling within the town, burned all that night, which destroyed many houses, and consumed a great part of the soldiers' provision. During this burning, the English, playing continually with the cannon upon the places where they saw the flames rising, to stop the quenching of the fire ; and entering the ditches, did in the meantime measure the height of the walls, to provide ladders for the scaling, which they intended.

The seventh of May, having resolved to give an assault, they brought the ladders a little before day towards the walls ; but they proved too short, and so that purpose failed. The English lost a hundred and sixty at this enterprise. Such as were affected to the French did hereupon take courage, trusting the siege would rise, and the English army depart : but the accident did no way dismay either the English or Scots, every man animating another to constancy and continuance ; and about this time came letters from the duke of Norfolk, which greatly confirmed their minds. Thereby he charged them not to break up the siege by any means, assuring they should not lack men, so long as any could be had between Tweed and Trent, (for in those bounds he commanded as lieutenant,) and giving hopes to come in person to the camp, he caused his pavilion to be set up, and sent thither his officers and provision. Shortly after, a fresh supply came from England of two thousand men, which made all former losses to be forgotten. The French for some days made divers sallies, but were ever put to the worst ; for all the hurt which fell either to Scottish or English, from that time until the rendering of the town, was only the loss of two men, Robert Colvil of Cleish, master of the household to Lord James, a gentleman much commended both for wisdom and valour, (he was wounded in the thigh by the shot of a great piece from the town, and died of it within two hours,) and Alexander Lockhart, brother to the laird of Barre, who, lying too open in the trenches, was discovered by the enemy and shot in the head.

The French king hearing in what distress the companies at Leith were, and by reason of other affairs not able to

supply them in time, sent Count Randon and Monsieur Monluc, bishop of Valence, ambassadors to the queen of England, desiring her to retire her army out of Scotland, with offers to restore the town of Calais if she would call them back. Her answer was—"that she did not value that fisher-town so much as to hazard for it the state of Britain." The French perceiving that peace could not otherwise be made but by calling back the French soldiers, and thinking it dishonourable for the king and queen of France to treat with their own subjects, they intreated the queen of England to send her ambassadors to mediate an agreement. This was easily assented unto, and Mr William Cecil, principal secretary of England, with Dr Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, were appointed to go with the French ambassadors into Scotland, and use their best means for pacifying the present troubles.

Whilst they were in their journey, the queen-regent, partly out of sickness, and partly of displeasure, died in the castle of Edinburgh, the tenth of June, 1560. Before her death, she desired to speak with the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyle, Glencarne, Marshall, and Lord James, to whom she expressed her grief for the troubles of the realm, commending earnestly the study of peace unto them, advising them to send both French and English forth of the country, and beseeching them to continue in the obedience of the queen their sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the king and realm of France. After some speeches to this purpose, bursting forth in tears, she asked pardon of them all whom any way she had offended, professing that she did freely forgive those who had injured her in any sort, and embracing all the nobles one by one, and kissing them, she took farewell. To others of meaner sort that stood by she gave her hand, and so they departed. Afterwards, disposing herself for another world, she sent for John Willock the preacher, who was then returned from England, and conferring with him a reasonable space, openly professed that "she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ:" and thus ended her life most christianly.

She was a lady of honest and honourable conditions—of singular judgment, and full of humanity—a great lover of

justice—helpful to the poor, especially to those that she knew to be indigent but for shame could not beg; compassionate of women in travel, whom she did often visit in her own person, and help both with her skill and counsel. In her court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness; her maids were always busied in some virtuous exercise, and to them she was an ensample every way of modesty, chastity, and the best virtues. A great dexterity she had in government, which appeared in the composing the tumults in the North, and in pacifying the Isles which by her wisdom were reduced to perfect obedience. As to those wars which afflicted the kingdom in her last days, it is not to be doubted but the same happened much against her will; neither had they fallen out at all if affairs had been carried according to her mind. But she was to govern by direction, and in all matters of weight must needs attend responses from the French Court, which were the oracles whereby all affairs at those times were framed. This made her in matters of religion more severe than of her own nature she was, and led her into many errors of state, neglecting the natives and born noblemen of the country, and following the counsels of the French that attended her, who, making no conscience of their promises, and minding nothing but the bringing of Scotland in subjection to France, as they conceived things to serve unto their ends, moved her to follow courses unsure and dishonourable. Otherwise she was of a most mild disposition, and was heard often to say—“That if her own counsel might take place, she doubted nothing to compose all the dissensions within the realm, and settle the same upon good conditions, in a perfect tranquillity.” The author of the story ascribed to John Knox in his whole discourse sheweth a bitter and hateful spite against her, forging dishonest things, which were never so much as suspected by any, setting down his own conjectures as certain truths, and misrepresenting all her words and actions; yea, the least syllable that did escape her in passion, he maketh it an argument of her cruel and inhumane disposition; but when he cometh to speak of her end, he will have her sickness and death (though in none of the two there was any thing extraordinary) to be the judgment of God inflicted upon her, as if death, and the ordinary visita-

tions which bring death, were not common to princes as well as others. Then for her burial, because by direction of her friends, and (as some say) at her own desire, order was taken to carry her corpse to the abbey of Rheims, in Champaigne, where her sister was abbess, which of all necessity required a protraction of time, he construed the delay to be the punishment of her inhumanity, and the want of sepulture in this kingdom, a prognostic of the short continuance of her race and the Guisian blood (as he speaks) in this realm. Pardon me, good reader, for this digression. To detract from the fame of princes, and miscensure their words and actions, savoureth of malice, and no way becometh a Christian, much less a minister of Christ.¹

Shortly after the death of the queen-regent, truce was taken for hearing the ambassadors sent from France and England, who coming to Edinburgh, entered into consultation first among themselves upon the best and easiest means to compose the present quarrels. Then calling to them certain of the Scottish nobility, began to treat of the sending of the French soldiers forth of the realm. Wherein two difficulties occurred. One was, that the commissioners of France did urge the retaining of a number of men of war in some forts of the country for the king and queen, after peace was concluded. The other, that the companies that should be broken might depart unchallenged with all their baggage. The Scottish noblemen did oppose both these desires, esteeming it unreasonable that they should be suffered to depart before they gave satisfaction to those they had wronged; and to place strangers in forts, they thought it could not but breed trouble, and occasion a new war more dangerous than the present. This contention held some days; at last both parties wearying, they were brought to agree upon the conditions following—

1. That the French men of war in the town of Leith should be sent home within the space of twenty days with bag and baggage; and, for their better transport, should be furnished with ships of England, they giving pledges for the safe return of the same.

2. That Leith being rendered to the Lords of Scotland,

¹ [See Note at end of Volume.—E.]

the walls thereof should be demolished, as likewise the fortifications of Dunbar, if so it should seem good to the lords, after they had viewed the same; and that the king and queen should make no new forts within the realm, nor augment those that were already made, nor yet repair those that were demolished, without counsel and consent of the Estates.

3. That a garrison of threescore Frenchmen should be permitted to remain in the castle of Dunbar, and as many in the isle of Inchkeith, until the Estates should find means to maintain the said forts, upon their own charges, from all peril of foreign invasion; the said soldiers in the mean time living obedient to the laws of the realm, and taking nothing from the subjects without payment of ready money.

4. That an act of oblivion should be made for abolishing the memory of all injuries and wrongs attempted or committed against the laws of the realm, since the sixth day of March 1558, until the first of August 1560, which act should be ratified in the next Parliament, and confirmed by the queen, with consent of her husband.

5. That a general peace and reconciliation should be made amongst the lords and subjects of the realm, so that they who were called of the Congregation, and they who were not of the same, should bear no quarrel to each other for any thing done since the sixth of March 1558.

6. That the king and queen should not pursue, revenge, or suffer to be revenged, any violence or injury that had been done since the said time, nor should deprive or seek any colour to dispossess the subjects, or any of them, of the benefices, houses, and estates which they have enjoyed before, they always continuing in the due obedience of their sovereigns. And that it might be known that the king and queen were not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles past, it was accorded that the duke of Chatelherault and all other noblemen of Scotland should be repossessed in their livings and benefices within France, after the manner that they did enjoy the same before the said sixth day of March; and that all capitulations agreed upon in time past should be observed as well for the part of their majesties, as for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland.

7. That where any bishops, abbots, or other churchmen,

should allege themselves to have received any injuries either in their persons or goods, the same should be considered by the Estates of Parliament, and redress made according to reason; and in the mean time, that no man should stop them to enjoy their rents, nor do any hurt or violence to their persons; and if any should do contrary to this article, he should be pursued by the lords as a perturber of the commonwealth.

8. That in time coming the king and queen should depute no strangers in the administration of civil and common justice, nor bestow the offices of chancery, thesaurary, comptrollary, and the like, upon others than born subjects of the realm; as likewise that it should not be lawful to give the office of thesaurary or comptrollary to any churchman or other person that is not able to administrate the same. Farther, that the thesaurer or comptroller appointed by them, and instructed with sufficient commission, should do nothing in disposing of casualties without the consent of the Council, to the effect all things may be done for the profit of the king and queen. Yet should it not be thought that this article did either bind the king or queen, but that they may give where and when they should think expedient.

9. That the Estates of the realm should convene and hold a Parliament in the month of August next, for which a commission should be sent from the French king and the queen of Scotland, and that the said Convention should be as lawful in all respects, as if the same had been ordained by the express commandment of their majesties; providing all tumult of war to be discharged, and that they who ought by their places to be present may come without fear.

10. That for the better government of this realm, choice should be made of a Council which should consist of twelve worthy men of the kingdom, of which number the queen should chuse seven and the Estates five; which twelve, in their majesties' absence, should take order with the affairs of government, and without their authority and consent nothing should be done in the administration of public business. And that the said Council should convene as oft as they might conveniently, but no fewer than six together; or if any matter of importance occurred, they should all be called, or the most part of them; providing it should not

be prejudicial to the king and queen, and to the rights of the Crown.

11. That the king and queen should neither make peace nor war in these parts but by the Council and advice of the Estates, according to the custom of the country, and as it was observed by their predecessors.

12. That none of the lords of the nobility of Scotland should make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary cases approved by the laws and custom of the realm, nor should any of them cause men of war strangers to come into these parts, much less attempt to do any thing against the king and queen, or against the authority of the Council, and other magistrates of the realm; and in case any of them had occasion to take arms, the same being first communicated to the Council, their majesties likewise should be made acquainted therewith, and nothing be done by them that ought not to be done by good and faithful subjects that love the quietness of the realm, and will abide in the obedience of their sovereigns.

13. That Lord David, son to the duke of Chatelherault, detained prisoner at Bois de Vincennes, should be put to liberty, and suffered to return into Scotland at his pleasure.

14. That with the Frenchmen no artillery should be transported forth of the realm, but those which were sent and brought in since the decease of Francis the First; and that all other artillery and munition, especially that which hath the arms of Scotland, should be put into the places out of which they were taken.

15. That the army of England should return home immediately after the embarking of the French, and that all the Scottish men of war should be broken, and licenced to depart.

16. That for the articles concerning religion presented for the part of the nobility and people of Scotland, (which the commissioners would not touch, but referred to their majesties,) it was promised that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next Convention and Parliament, to be sent to their majesties to expone unto them the things that should be thought needful for the estate thereof; and for the articles presently decided, they should carry

with them the ratification of the same by the Estates, and return a confirmation thereof from their majesties.

Lastly, that the queen of Scotland and king of France should not hereafter usurp the titles of England and Ireland, and should delete the arms of England and Ireland out of their scutcheons and whole household stuff.

This accord made, the French prepared to depart; and for returning the ships of England that were lent to transport them, the bishop of Amiens and Monsieur le Broche remained hostages. On the sixteenth day of July the French embarked, and the same day did the English army depart towards Berwick. The third day after their parting, a solemn thanksgiving was kept in the church of St Giles by the lords and others professing true religion, and then were the ministers, by common advice, distributed among the burghs. John Knox was appointed to serve at Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman at St Andrews, Adam Heriot at Aberdeen, John Row at Perth, William Christeson at Dundee, David Ferguson at Dunfermline, Paul Methven at Jedburgh, and Mr David Lindesay at Leith. Besides these they did nominate for the direction of Church affairs, some to be superintendants, as Mr John Spottiswoode for Lothian and Merse, Mr John Winram for Fife, and John Erskine of Dun for Angus and Mearns, Mr John Willock for Glasgow, and Mr John Kerswel for Argyle and Isles. With this small number was the plantation of the Church at first undertaken.

The time appointed for the Parliament approaching, warning was made to all such as by law or ancient custom had any voice therein to be present, and at the day the meeting was frequent. In the beginning there was great altercation—divers holding that “no Parliament could be kept, seeing their sovereigns had sent no commission, nor authorised any to represent their persons.” Others (alleging that article of the peace whereby it was agreed, “that a Parliament should be kept in the month of August, and that the same should be as lawful in all respects, as if it were ordained by the express commandments of their majesties,”) maintained that “the said article was a warrant sufficient for their present meeting;” and this opinion by voices prevailed. So, after some eight days spent in these contentions, they began to treat of affairs; but as they had

no commission, so the solemnities accustomed of crown, sceptre, and sword, which are in use to be carried at these times, were neglected. There were present of the Spiritual Estate, the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, Argyle and Isles, the prior of St Andrews, the abbots of Couper, Lindores, Culross, St Colme's Inch, Newbottle, Halyrudhouse, Kinlosse, Deir, and New-Abbey, with the priors of Coldingham and St Mary's Isle; of the nobility, the lord duke, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Marshal, Cassils, Caithness, Athole, Glencarne, Morton, and Rothes, the Lords Ruthven, Glamis, Erskine, Boyd, Ochiltree, Carlisle, Levingston, Ogilvy, and Sommervill, with many of the inferior barons; and of the commissioners of burghs, none were absent. In electing the lords of articles, the noblemen that had the nomination of the clergy, passing by such amongst them as they knew to be popishly affected, made choice of the bishops of Galloway and Argyle, the prior of St Andrews, the abbots of Aberbrothock, Kilwinning, Lindores, Newbottle, and Culross; at which the prelates stormed mightily, alleging that some of them were mere laics, and all of them apostates, (for they had openly renounced popery, and joined themselves with the professors of the truth;) but there was no remedy, the course was changed; and now it behoved them to take law who formerly had given it to others.¹

The first thing they moved in the articles was a supplication of the barons, gentlemen, and burgesses, and other subjects, concerning religion; wherein three things were petitioned. First, "that the doctrine of the Roman Church, professed and tyrannously maintained by the clergy, should be condemned, and by Act of Parliament abolished." Some particulars they named, such as "the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of Christ's body under the form of bread, the merit of works, papistical indulgencies, purgatory, pilgrimage, and praying to saints departed." These they reckoned to be pestilent errors, such as could not but bring damnation to the souls of those who were therewith infected; therefore desired a punishment to be appointed for the teachers and maintainers of such doctrines. Next, "that a remedy should be found against the profaning of

¹ [Note II. at end of Volume.—E.]

the holy sacraments by men of that profession, and the true discipline of the ancient Church revived and restored." Thirdly, "that the pope of Rome his usurped authority should be discharged, and the patrimony of the Church employed to the sustentation of the ministry, the provision of schools, and entertainment of the poor, of a long time neglected."

This last clause was not very pleasing to divers of the nobility, who, though they liked well to have the pope his authority and doctrine condemned, had no will to quit the Church patrimony, wherewith in that stirring time they had possessed themselves. So making no answer to the last point, the ministers were desired to draw into several heads the sum of the doctrine they craved to be established, that the same might be seen and considered by the Parliament. This accordingly was done, and the fourth day after (which was the seventeenth of August) exhibited to the Estates under this title,—“The Confession of the faith and doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland.” It is the same confession, word by word, that you have registered in the first Parliament of King James the Sixth, which (that the story may go on with an uninterrupted delivery) I think not needful here to insert.

The confession read in open Parliament and put to voices, the earl of Athole, the Lords Sommervill and Borthwick only of all the temporal estate disassented, saying, “they would believe as their fathers before them had believed.” The popish prelates were silent, and answered nothing; whereupon the Earl Marshal brake forth into these speeches —“It is long since I carried some favour unto the truth, and was somewhat jealous of the Roman religion; but this day hath fully resolved me of the truth of the one, and falsehood of the other; for seeing my lords the bishops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they should have to the truth, would, as I suppose, gainsay any thing repugning unto it) say nothing against the Confession we have heard, I cannot but think it is the very truth of God, and the contrary of it false and deceivable doctrine.” Thus was the confession of faith approved, and by public voices of the Estates authorized. At the same time there passed three other Acts in favour of the professors; one for abolishing

the pope's jurisdiction and authority within the realm ; a second annulling all statutes made in preceeding times for maintenance of idolatry ; and a third for punishment of the sayers and hearers of Mass.

With these Acts, Sir James Sandilands, knight of Rhodes, a gentleman of good account, (who had carried himself as a neuter in all these broils,) was directed to France, for obtaining a ratification of the same from the queen and the king, her husband ; and therewith was desired to clear the noblemen and other subjects from imputations of disloyalty cast upon them, and to pacify the minds of their sovereigns (whom they understood to be much exasperated) by all the good ways he could use. But he found his embassy and himself both contemned ; the Guisians (who were the only men then in account with the king) checking him bitterly at his first audience, for that he, being a knight of the holy order, should have taken a commission from rebels to solicit a ratification of execrable heresies. The gentleman did what he could to mitigate their wrath, but nothing could avail. So was he dismissed without answer ; whereof the archbishop of Glasgow, the abbot of Dunfermline, and the Lord Seaton, who went from Leith with the company of French were generally blamed.

The cold entertainment he found in that Court was soon advertised, which troubled greatly the minds of the professors, for they were sensible of their own weakness, and doubtful of support from England if France should again invade, because of the loss the English had received in the late expedition. Neither had the earls of Morton or Glen-carne (who upon the breaking up of the Parliament were sent into England to render thanks to the queen, and to intreat the continuance of her favour), given any advertisement of their acceptance. But whilst they stood thus fearful, news was brought of the French king's death, which raised their hearts not a little, neither were they more glad than the French faction were sorrowful.

These meeting in the most secret manner they could, took counsel to send Mr John Lesley (afterwards bishop of Ross) with letters to the queen, intreating her to return into Scotland ; withal to shew her that the best course she could take was to land at Aberdeen, where she should be honour-

ably received, and find such assistance of the noblemen in those quarters as at her first coming she might re-establish the Catholic religion. He was also desired to warn the queen not to give ear to the counsels of her brother, who, as they said, was of an aspiring mind, and aimed at no less than the government of the realm; whom she should do wisely to cause be detained in France till matters at home were fully settled. The letter he carried was subscribed by the archbishop of St Andrews, the bishops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Ross, the earls of Huntley, Crawford, Athole, Sutherland, and Caithness.

On the other side, the noblemen that had assisted the expulsion of the French, how soon they heard of the death of King Francis, convened at Edinburgh, and, after counsel taken, directed Lord James to the queen, to persuade her in like manner to return. But Lesley using greater diligence came to her some days before him, and finding her at Vitrie, in Champagne (whither she was gone to seek a secret place for her sorrow), delivered the letters and credit he was trusted with. The queen hearing all, answered, that the prelates and noblemen by whom he was employed should rest assured of her favour, willing him to advertise so much, and to attend till she could resolve upon her return. Incontinent after Lesley's coming the queen's uncles did enter in deliberation what course was best for her to take, and whether or not she should return to Scotland; for they conceived the passage by sea would be dangerous (she not being assured of the queen of England's friendship), and in her own kingdom the late troubles not being fully appeased, they considered her peril would be great, and that she should be cast into many difficulties: yet finding her own mind to incline that way, and hoping to have her more subject to their counsels whilst she lived at home than if she remained in France, they resolved to give way to her return, and to provide a fleet for her safe transport. Lord James at his coming, though he was advertised of the conclusion taken, yet dissembled his knowledge thereof, did signify the great desire that the subjects had to enjoy her presence, and their longing for her return, using the best reasons he could to persuade her unto it. Hereby she was much confirmed in her purpose; and, after a day or two, in-

parting to him her resolution, willed him to return with diligence, and, making advertisement of her journey, take care that nothing should be attempted against the pacification made at Leith before her coming.

In March following there arrived at Leith one Noalius, a senator of Bordeaux, bringing a commission from the king that had now succeeded his brother, whereby three things were craved—"First, That the old league betwixt France and Scotland should be renewed. Secondly, That the late confederacy with England should be dissolved. Thirdly, That the churchmen should be restored to their places from which they had been violently thrust." The Council not willing to meddle with matters of that importance, delayed his answer to the Convention appointed in May, at which time Lord James returned, he had audience, and answer given to this effect—"That the Scots were no way conscious to themselves of any breach of the ancient league, but contrariwise, the French had broken to them, seeking of late to deprive them of their ancient liberties, and under the profession of friendship to bring them into a miserable servitude. That they could not violate the contract made with England, except they would be accounted of all men living the most ingrate; for having received the greatest kindness and benefit at the hands of the English which one neighbour nation could possibly do unto another, if they should requite them with such ingratitude, they would bring upon themselves a perpetual and everlasting shame. And for reponing the churchmen in their places, they said that they did not acknowledge those whom they so styled, to be office-bearers in the Church, and that Scotland, having renounced the pope, would maintain no longer his priests and vassals."

Noalius dismissed with this answer, the earls of Morton and Glencarne, who a little before this time were returned from England, did relate the good acceptance they received from the queen, and the promises she made to assist them in the defence of the liberties of the kingdom, if they should stand in need at any time of her help; which was heard with great content. They had been trusted with a more private business; this was to try if the queen might be pleased to take the earl of Arran to her husband, and that

way to unite the kingdoms in a more firm anity. But to this she did in fair terms answer—"That she was not as yet wearied of the single life, and professing herself adepth (indebted) to the nobleman's good affection, said that if he should try her kindness in any other matter, he should find his love not ill bestowed." The earl took the repulse more patiently because of the French king's death, and trusting he should gain the favour of his own queen, whom he greatly affected; but of this he was likewise disappointed, as we will hear.

IN the Convention kept at Edinburgh in the January preceding, a form of church-policy was presented, and desired to be ratified. Because this will fall to be often mentioned, and serveth to the clearing of many questions which were afterwards agitated in the Church, I have thought meet, word by word, here to insert the same, that the reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the Church, so we shall the better decern of the changes that followed.

THE FIRST HEAD—OF DOCTRINE.

Seeing that Christ Jesus is he whom God the Father hath commended only to be heard and followed of his sheep; we judge it necessary that his Gospel be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of this realm, and that all doctrine repugning to the same be utterly suppressed as damnable to man's salvation.

The Explication of the First Head.

Lest that upon this our generality ungodly men take occasion to cavil, this we add for explication. By preaching of the Gospel we understand not only the Scriptures of the New Testament, but also the Old; to wit, the law, the prophets, and histories, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure than we have him now expressed in virtue; and, therefore, with the apostle, we affirm, that "all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reprove, and to exhort." In which books of Old and New Testaments, we affirm, that all things necessary for the

instruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and sufficiently expressed.

By the contrary doctrine we understand whatsoever men, by laws, councils, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men without the express commandment of God's Word. Such as are the vows of chastity, forswearing of marriage, binding of men and women to a several and disguised apparel, to the superstitious observing of fasting days, difference of meats for conscience sake, prayer for the dead, and keeping of holy-days of certain saints commanded by man; such as be all these the papists have invented, as the feasts (so as they term them) of the apostles, martyrs, virgins; of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other fond feasts of our Lady; which things, because in the Scriptures of God they neither have commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realm. Affirming farther, that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

THE SECOND HEAD—OF SACRAMENTS.

To Christ Jesus his holy Gospel truly preached, of necessity it is that his holy sacraments be annexed and truly ministered, as seals and visible confirmations of the spiritual promises contained in the Word. These sacraments are two, to wit, Baptism, and the holy Supper of the Lord Jesus; which are then rightly ministered, when by a lawful minister, the people before the administration of the same are plainly instructed and put in mind of God's free grace and mercy offered unto the penitent in Christ Jesus, when God's promises are rehearsed, the end and use of the sacraments preached and declared in such a language as the people do understand; when also to them nothing is added, and from them nothing diminished, and in their ministration all things done according to the institution of the Lord Jesus, and practice of his holy apostles. And albeit the order of Geneva, which now is used in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how that both these sacraments may be rightly ministered; yet for an uniformity to be kept, we have thought good to add this as superabundant.

In Baptism we acknowledge nothing to be used except the element of water only, and that the Word and declaration of the promises (as we said before) ought to precede; therefore, whosoever presumeth in Baptism to use oil, salt, wax, spittle, conjuration, and crossing, as they accuse the institution of Christ of imperfection, (for it was void of all these inventions) so, for altering Christ's perfect ordinance they ought to be severely punished.

The Table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered when it approacheth most nigh to Christ's own action. But plain it is that at the Supper Christ Jesus sat with his disciples, and therefore do we judge that sitting at table is most convenient to that holy action; that bread and wine ought to be given, distribution of the same made, that the bread should be taken and eaten, and likewise that all should drink of the cup, with declaration what both the one and the other is. For touching the damnable error of the papists, who defraud the people of the cup of the Lord's blood, their error is so manifest as it needeth no confutation.

That the minister break the bread, and distribute the same to those that be next unto him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, we think it nearest to Christ's action, and to the perfect practice of the apostles, as we read in Saint Paul. During which action we think it necessary that some comfortable places of Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of the Lord Jesus, and the benefit of the same; for seeing in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lord's death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the same most apt to stir up our dull minds then, and at all times. The ministers at their discretion may appoint the places to be read as they think good; but what times we think most convenient for ministration of the one and other sacrament, shall be declared when we come to the policy of the Church.

THE THIRD HEAD—TOUCHING THE ABOLISHING OF IDOLATRY.

As we require Christ Jesus to be truly preached, and his holy sacraments rightly ministered, so can we not cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeyes, chapels, monkeries, friories, nunneries, chantries,

cathedral-churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish-churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling-houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted. As also we desire that no persons, of what estate or condition soever they be, be permitted to use idolatrous service; for that wheresoever idolatry is maintained, if so it may be suppressed, the wrath of God shall reign both upon the blind and obstinate idolaters, and those that negligently suffer the same. By idolatry we understand the Mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and the keeping and retaining of the same; finally, all honouring of God not contained in his Holy Word.

THE FOURTH HEAD—CONCERNING MINISTERS AND THEIR
LAWFUL ELECTION.

In a Church reformed, or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, or yet minister the sacraments, until they be called orderly to the same. Ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination and admission; and because the election of ministers in Papistry hath been altogether abused, we think expedient to intreat of it more largely.

It appertaineth to the people, and to every several congregation, to elect their minister, and in case they be found negligent therein the space of forty days, the best reformed church, to wit, the church of the superintendent, with his council, may present unto them a man that they judge apt to feed the flock of Christ Jesus, who must be examined as well in life and manners, as in doctrine and knowledge.

That this may be done with more exact diligence, the persons who are to be examined must be commanded to appear before men of soundest judgment, remaining in some principal town next adjacent unto them. As they that be in Fife, Angus, Mearns, or Stratherne, to present themselves in St Andrews; those that be in Lothian, Merse, or Teviotdale, in Edinburgh; and likewise those that be in other countries must resort to the best reformed cities and towns, that is, to the town of the superintendent, where first in the schools, or failing thereof in open assembly, and before the congregation, they must give declaration of their gifts,

utterance, and knowledge, by interpreting some place of Scripture to be appointed by the ministry; which being ended, the person that is presented, or that offereth himself to the service of the Church, must be examined by the ministers and elders of the Church, openly before all that list to hear, in all the chief points that be now in controversy betwixt us and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, and other such enemies to the Christian religion; in which if he be found sound and able to persuade by wholesome doctrine, and to convince the gainsayers, then must he be directed to the church and congregation where he should serve; that there, in open audience of the flock, he may preach and deliver his knowledge in the article of justification, the offices of Christ Jesus, the number, effect, and use of the sacraments, and, finally, the whole religion which heretofore hath been corrupted by Papists.

If his doctrine be found wholesome and able to instruct the simple, and if the Church can justly reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, or utterance, then we judge the church, which before was destitute, unreasonable if they refuse him whom the Church doth offer, and that they should be compelled by the censure of the Council and Church to receive the person appointed and approved by the judgment of the godly and learned; unless that the same church hath presented a man better or as well qualified to examination, before that the foresaid trial was taken of the person presented by the Council of the whole Church. As for example, the Council of the Church presents a man unto a church to be their minister, not knowing that they are otherwise provided; in the meantime the church hath another sufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they present to the learned ministers, and next reformed church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people to whom he should be appointed pastor must be preferred to the presentation of the Council or greater Church, unless the person presented by the inferior church be judged unable for the regiment by the learned; for this is always to be avoided, that no man be intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this liberty with all care must be reserved for every several church, to have their voices and suffrages in election of their ministers. Yet we do not call that violent intrusion,

when the Council of the Church in the fear of God, regarding only the salvation of the people, offereth unto them a man sufficient to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit before just examination, as is aforesaid.

What may unable any person that he may not be admitted to the Ministry of the Church.

It is to be observed, that no person noted with public infamy, or being unable to edify the Church by wholesome doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the regiment of the Church, or yet retained in ecclesiastical administration.

Explication.

By public infamy we understand not common sins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindness by fragility, if he have declared himself truly penitent thereof by a more sober and better conversation; but such capital crimes as the civil sword ought and may punish with death by the word of God: for besides that the Apostle requireth the life of ministers to be irreprehensible, that they may have “a good testimony from those who be without,” we esteem it a thing unseemly and dangerous that he shall have public authority to preach to others everlasting life, from whom the civil magistrate may take the life temporal for a crime publicly committed. And if any will object that the prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publicly repented the same, we say, that neither doth repentance take away the temporal punishment of the law, nor the pardon of the prince remove the infamy before man.

That the life and conversation of the person presented, or to be elected, may be more clearly known, public edicts may be directed to all parts, at least to those parts where he hath been most conversant, as where he was educated in letters, or continued since the years of his infancy and childhood were passed. Strict commandment should also be given, that if any capital crime hath been committed by him, the same should be notified, and if he hath committed wilful murder and adultery, if he hath been a common fornicator, thief, drunkard, fighter, a brawler or contentious person. These edicts ought to be published in the chief cities, with

declaration, that such as conceal his known sins, do so far as in them lieth deceive and betray the Church of God, and communicate with the sins of that wicked person.

Admission.

The admission of ministers to their offices must consist in the consent of the people and church wherunto they shall be appointed, and in the approbation of the learned ministers appointed for their examination.

We judge it expedient that the admission of ministers be in open audience, where some special minister shall make a sermon touching the duty and office of ministers, their manners, conversation and life, as also touching the obedience which the Church oweth unto their ministers; and warning made to the minister that he attend carefully upon the flock over which he is placed, and walk in the presence of God so sincerely, as the graces of the Holy Spirit may be multiplied upon him, and in the presence of men so soberly and uprightly, that by his exemplary life the Word which he teacheth may be confirmed. The people likewise are to be exhorted to reverence and honour the minister as the servant and ambassador of the Lord Jesus, obeying the doctrine delivered by him out of the Word, even as they would obey God himself. For whosoever heareth the minister of Christ heareth himself; and whosoever rejecteth him and despiseth his ministry, rejecteth and despiseth Christ Jesus.

Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve that church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary.

The minister once publicly admitted may not leave the flock at his pleasure, to which he hath promised his fidelity and labours; nor yet may the flock reject and change him at their appetite, unless they be able to convict him of such crimes as deserve deposition. We mean not but that the whole Church, or most part thereof, for just considerations, may translate a minister from one church to another; neither yet mean we that men who serve now as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed to other places; but

they being once solemnly admitted, we think they should not change at their own pleasure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of learned and godly men will seem a just reason to some why that so strict and sharp examination should not be taken universally ; for so it would appear that the most part of churches shall have no minister at all. But let these men understand that the lack of able men will not excuse us before God, if by our consent unable men be placed over the flock of Christ. As also that amongst the Gentiles godly and learned men were as rare as they be now amongst us, when the apostles gave the same rule of examining ministers which we now follow.

Lastly, let them understand that it is alike to have no minister at all, and to have an idol in the place of a true minister ; yea, in some sort it is worse, for they that be utterly destitute of ministers will make diligent search for them, but such as have a vain shadow content themselves commonly with the same without any farther care, and so they remain deceived, thinking that they have a minister, when in very deed they have none ; for he is not to be thought a minister that cannot break the bread of life to fainting and hungry souls ; neither can the sacraments be rightly ministered by him in whose mouth God hath not put the word of exhortation.

The chiefest remedy in this rarity of true ministers is fervent prayer unto God, that it may please him to send forth faithful labourers into this his harvest. Next, that the Council, of their authority, compel such men as have gifts and graces able to edify the Church of God, to bestow them where greatest necessity is known. For no man may be permitted to live idle, or as themselves list, but must be appointed to travel where the Church and Council shall think it most expedient. We cannot prescribe certain rules how the ministers should be distributed, and such learned men as God hath already sent unto us : but of this we are assured, that it greatly hindereth the progress of Christ's Gospel within this poor realm, that some altogether abstract their labours from the Church, and others remain altogether in one place, the most part of them being idle ; and therefore think that the Council should compel all men to whom God hath given any talent to persuade by wholesome doctrine,

to bestow the same, if they be called by the Church, to the advancement of Christ's glory, and to the comfort of his troubled flock; and that with consent of the Church not only towns may be assigned for the chiefest workmen to remain in, but also provinces, that by their faithful labours churches may be erected, and order established, where none is at the present.

For Readers.

To the church that cannot presently be furnished with ministers men must be appointed that can distinctly read the Common Prayers and Scripture, for the exercise both of themselves and of the church, until they grow to a greater perfection; because he who is now a reader may in process of time attain to a farther degree, and be admitted to the holy ministry. Some we know that of long time have professed Christ Jesus, whose honest conversation deserveth praise of all good men, and whose knowledge might greatly help the simple and ignorant people; notwithstanding the same persons content themselves with reading. These must be animated and encouraged to take upon them the function of the ministry. But if in no measure they be qualified for preaching, they must abstain from administration of the sacraments till they attain unto farther knowledge; and such as take upon them the office of preachers, who shall not be found qualified therefore by the superintendent, are by him to be placed readers.

THE FIFTH HEAD—CONCERNING THE PROVISION OF MINISTERS,
AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE RENTS AND POSSESSIONS JUSTLY
PERTAINING TO THE CHURCH.

Scripture and reason do both teach, that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," and that "the mouth of the ox that treadeth forth the corn ought not to be muzzled." Therefore, of necessity it is that honest provision be made for ministers; which we require to be such that they neither have occasion of solicitude nor yet of insolency and wantonness. And this provision must be made not only for their own sustentation during their lives, but also for their wives and children after them; for it is against godliness, reason, and equity, that the widow and children of him who did

faithfully serve the Church of God in his life, and for that cause was not careful in providing for his family, should after his death be left comfortless.

It is difficult to appoint the several stipends of every minister, because the charges of necessity of all will not be alike; for some will be resident in one place, some will be compelled to travel and change their dwelling, especially if they have charge of divers churches; some will be burthened with wife and children, and one with more than another; some perchance will live a single life, and if equal stipends should be appointed to all these who are in charge so unequal, one would suffer penury, and another have superfluity. Therefore we judge that every minister should have sufficient wherewith to keep an house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessary, forth of the rents of the church which he serveth, conform to his quality and the necessity of the time; wherein it is thought that every minister shall have forty bolls meal, and twenty bolls malt, with money to buy other provision to his house and serve his other necessities; the modification whereof is to be referred to the judgment of the church, which shall be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons; providing always, that there be advanced to every minister provision for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things.

To the superintendents, who travel from place to place for establishing of the Church, a farther consideration must be given; therefore we think that to each of them should be appointed six chalders beer, nine chalders meal, and three chalders oats for provand to his horse, with five hundred marks money, which may be augmented and diminished at the discretion of the Prince and Council of the realm.

The children of the ministers must be freemen of the cities next adjacent where their fathers laboured faithfully; they must also have the privileges of schools and bursaries in colleges freely granted unto them, if they be found apt for learning; or failing thereof, they must be put to some handicraft and virtuous industry, whereby they may be profitable instruments in the commonwealth. Their daughters likewise should be virtuously brought up, and honestly dotated when they come to maturity of years, at the discretion of the Church. And this we require not so much

for ourselves or any that pertaineth to us, as for the increase of virtue and learning, and for the profit of the posterity to come. For it is not to be supposed that a man will dedicate his children to serve in a calling where no worldly commodity is expected; and naturally men are provoked to follow virtue where they see honour and profit attending the same; as by the contrary, many despise virtue when they see virtuous and godly men live unrespected; and we should be sorry to know any to be discouraged from following the studies of learning, whereby they might be made able to profit the Church of Christ.

Of the stipend of the Readers we have spoken nothing, because if they can do nothing but read, they cannot be esteemed true ministers, and regard must be had of their labours, but so as they may be spurred forward to virtue; therefore to a reader that is lately entered, we think forty marks, more or less, as the parishioners can agree, sufficient; providing that he teach the children of the parish, which he must do besides the reading of the Common Prayer and the books of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he proceed to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented till he come to the degree of a minister. But if after two years service he be found unable to edify the Church by preaching, he must be removed from that office, and discharged of all stipend, that another may be put in place, who to the Church may be more profitable.

No child nor person within the age of twenty-one years may be admitted to the office of a reader, but such must be chosen and admitted by the superintendent as for their gravity and discretion may grace the function that they are called unto. These readers who have some gift of exhortation, and have long continued in the course of godliness, we think may have one hundred marks or more, at the discretion of the Church, appointed for them; yet a difference must always be kept betwixt them and the ministers that labour in word and ministration of the holy sacraments.

Rests two sorts of people who must be provided off that which is called the patrimony of the Church; to wit, the poor, and the teachers of the youth. The poor must be provided for in every parish, for it is a shameful thing that they should be so universally contemned and despised. Not

that we are patrons to stubborn and idle beggars, who, running from place to place, make a craft of begging; for those we think must be compelled to work, or then punished by the civil magistrate. But the poor widows, the fatherless, the impotent maimed persons, the aged, and every one that may not work, with such persons as are fallen by occasion into decay, ought to be provided, and have their necessities supplied by the parish where they were born, or have remained for any long space.

Of Superintendents.

Because it is found expedient for the erecting and planting of churches and appointing of ministers, that at this time there be selected ten or twelve superintendents, we have thought good to design their bounds, set down their office, the manner of their election, and causes which may deserve deposition from their charge.

The Diocese of the Superintendents, and places of their residence.

The country of Orkney shall have a superintendent, and for his diocese the isles of Orkney, with the countries of Caithness and Strathnaver; his residence to be in the town of Kirkwall.

The superintendent of Ross his diocese shall comprehend Ross, Sutherland, Murray, with the north isles of Skye and Looyes (Lewis), and their adjacents; his residence should be in the canonry of Ross.

The superintendent of Argyle shall have for his diocese Argyle, Cantire, Lorne, the south isles of Arran and Bute, with the isles adjacent, and the country of Lochaber; his residence to be in Argyle.

The superintendent of Aberdeen, his diocese shall comprehend all betwixt Dey and Spey, that is, the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff; his residence to be in Old Aberdeen.

The superintendent of Brechin shall have for his diocese the sheriffdoms of Mearns, Angus, and the Brae of Mar unto Dey, and keep his residence at Brechin.

The superintendent of Fife shall have for his diocese the sheriffdoms of Fife, Fotheringham, and Perth unto Stirling; his residence shall be in St Andrews.

The superintendent of Lothian his diocese shall comprehend the sherifffdoms of Lothian, Stirling, Merse, Lauderdale, and Stow of Tweeddale ; his residence to be in Edinburgh.

The superintendent of Jedburgh shall have for his diocese Teviotdale, Tweeddale, and the Forest of Ettrick ; his residence to be in Jedburgh.

The superintendent of Glasgow his diocese shall comprehend Clydesdale, Renfrew, Monteith, Lennox, Kyle, and Cunningham ; his residence to be at Glasgow.

The superintendent of Dumfries shall have for his diocese Galloway, Carrick, Nithsdale, and Annandale, with the rest of the dales in the West ; his residence to be at Dumfries.

These men must not be suffered to live idle, as the bishops have done heretofore, neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be preachers themselves, and not remain in one place above three or four months ; after which they must enter in visitation of their whole bounds, preaching thrice a-week at least, and not to rest till the churches be wholly planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers.

In their visitation they must try the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, the order of their churches, and the manners of their people, how the poor are provided, and how the youth is instructed ; they must admonish where admonition needeth, and dress all things that by good counsel they are able to compose ; finally, they must take note of all heinous crimes, that the same may be corrected by the censures of the Church.

Of the Election of Superintendents.

Such is the present necessity, that the examination and admission of the superintendents cannot be so strict as afterwards it must ; for the present, therefore, we think it sufficient that the Council nominate so many as may serve the provinces above written, or then give commission to men of best knowledge, who have the fear of God, to do the same. The gentlemen and burgesses of towns within the diocese being always made privy at this time to the election ; as well to bring the Church in practice of her liberty, as to

make the pastor better favoured of the flock whom themselves have chosen.

If so many able men cannot be found at the present as necessity requireth, it is better that those provinces wait till God provide, than that men unable to edify and govern the Church be suddenly placed in the charge; experience having taught what ills have been engendered in the Church by men unable to discharge their offices.

If any superintendent shall depart this life, or happen to be deposed, the minister of the chief town within that province, with the magistrate and council, the elders and deacons of the same town, shall nominate to the superintendents of two or three provinces next adjacent, within the space of twenty days, two or three of the most godly and learned ministers within the realm, that from amongst them, with public consent, one may be elected to the office then vacant. The twenty days expired, and no man presented, three of the next adjacent provinces, with consent of their superintendents, ministers, and elders, shall enter into the right and privilege of the chief town, and shall present one or two, if they list, to be examined according to the order; and it shall be lawful for all the churches within the diocese, within the same time, to nominate such persons as they esteem worthy to stand in election.

After the nomination made, public edicts must be sent forth, warning all men that have any objections against the persons nominated, or against any one of them, to appear in the chief town at the day affixed, which we think should be thirty days after the nomination, and declare what they have to say against the election of any one of them.

The day appointed for the election being come, the ministers of the province, with the superintendents next adjacent, shall examine the learning, manners, prudence, and ability to govern the Church, of the whole persons nominated, and cause them publicly to preach, to the end he that is most worthy may be burthened with the charge; and then they shall give their voices according to conscience, and not out of affection. But if any thing be objected against any person standing in election, it must be considered whether the objection be made of malice, or out of a zeal to God's glory and the weal of the Church. Other ceremonies than this

examination, the approbation of ministers and superintendents, with the public consent of elders and people, we do not admit.

The superintendent so elected must be subject to the censure and correction of the ministers and elders of his chief town and whole province over which he is appointed; and if he be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, especially if he be found negligent in preaching the Word, or in visitation of his churches, and if he be convict of any of those crimes which in a common minister are condemned, he must be deposed without any respect to his person or office.

If his offence be public, and the ministers and elders of the province negligent in correcting him, then the next one or two superintendents, with their ministers and elders, may convene him, providing the same be within his own province or chief town, and inflict the censure that his offence deserveth.

No superintendent may be translated at the pleasure or request of any one province, without the Council of the whole Church, and that for grave causes and considerations.

After the Church shall be established, and three years are past, no man shall be called to the office of a superintendent who hath not two years at least given a proof of his faithful labours in the ministry of some church.

Of Schools, and the necessity of them.

Seeing men now-a-days are not miraculously gifted, as in the time of the Apostles, for the continuance of knowledge and erudition to the generations following, especially for the profit and comfort of Christ's Church, it is necessary that care be had of the virtuous and godly education of the youth; wherefore we judge that in every parish there should be a schoolmaster, such a one as is able at least to teach the grammar and Latin tongue, where the town is of any reputation. But in landwart, where people convene to doctrine only once in the week, then must either the reader or the minister take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in their rudiments, especially in the catechism of Geneva.

In every notable town, chiefly in the towns of the superintendents, we think that a college should be erected, where-

in, at least, the arts of logic and rhetoric, with the tongues, should be taught by sufficient masters, for whom honest stipends must be appointed. And that provision should be made for such youths as are poor and cannot be brought up in letters by their friends, the commodity whereof will be great, when the children are brought up in the presence of their friends, by whose good attendance their necessities may be supplied, and many inconveniences avoided that youth commonly runneth into when they are sent to strange and unknown places. The exercise likewise of children in the church cannot but serve greatly to the instruction of the aged and unlearned.

The great schools called universities should be replenished with those that be apt for learning; for no father, of what condition or estate soever he be, ought to use his children after his own fantasie, especially in their youth, but all must be compelled to bring them up in knowledge and virtue. The rich must be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their sons to the profit of the Church and Commonwealth, training them up in godly exercises upon their own expenses; and the children of the poor must be sustained upon the charge of the Church, till it be tried whether they be apt for letters and learning or not.

If they be found to be docile, and have good ingenies, they may not be permitted to reject learning, but charged to follow their studies, that the commonwealth may reap some comfort by them; and for this purpose the minister and elders, with the best learned in every town, must be appointed to examine, at the end of every quarter, the youths, and see how they do profit.

A certain time must be appointed to reading and learning of the catechism, a certain time to the grammar and Latin tongue, a certain time to arts and philosophy, and a certain time to the other tongues and studies which they intend to learn. That time expired, if they be not found to profit in knowledge, they must be set to learn some craft and profitable exercise; providing always they have learned first the Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the right form to pray unto God, the number, use, and effect of the Sacraments; and that they may be instructed touching the natures and offices of Jesus Christ, and other such points as without

the knowledge of them they neither deserve to be called christians, nor ought to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table.

The time appointed to every course.

Two years we hold more than sufficient for learning to read perfectly, to answer to the catechism, and get some entrance in the rudiments of grammar. Three or four years more we allow for attaining to the perfection of grammar. To the arts—that is logic, rhetoric, and the Greek tongue, we allow other four years; and the rest of twenty-four years to be spent in that study wherein they intend to serve the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the laws, physick, or divinity. After which time of twenty-four years being spent in the schools, they must be removed to serve the Church or Commonwealth, unless they be found necessary professors for the college or university.

The Erection of Universities.

We think it necessary that there be three universities in the realm; one in St Andrews, another in Glasgow, and the third at Aberdeen. In the first and principal university, which is St Andrews, that there be three colleges; and in the first college there be four classes: the first for new supposts, to whom dialectic only shall be taught; the next class shall have the mathematics only read; the third physics; and the fourth medicine. In the second college shall be two classes, whereof the first shall be moral philosophy, and the second for the laws. In the third college likewise two classes, the first for Greek and Hebrew tongues, and the second for divinity.

Of Professors, and of the Degrees of Time and Studies.

In the first college, and first class, there shall be a reader of dialectic, who shall complete his course thereof in one year. In the second class a professor of mathematics, who shall read to the students arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and astrology, the space of another year. In the third class a professor of natural philosophy, who shall accomplish his course likewise in one year. After which three years, those that shall be found by trial sufficiently

grounded in the foresaid sciences shall be laureated and graduated in philosophy. In the fourth class there shall be a reader of medicine, who shall complete his course in five years ; after the study whereof, such as are found sufficient upon examination, shall be graduated in medicine.

In the second college, and first class thereof, a reader of ethics, æconomies and politics, whose course shall end in one year. In the second class shall be two readers of the municipal and Roman laws, who shall finish their course in four years ; after which time those that are found sufficient shall be graduated in the laws.

In the third college, and first class, a reader of the Hebrew, and another of the Greek tongue, who shall complete the grammars thereof in half a year. The rest of the year the reader of the Hebrew shall interpret some book of Moses, of the Prophets, or Psalms, so that his course shall continue one year. The reader of the Greek shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some book of the New Testament, and shall finish his course the same year. In the second class there shall be two readers of divinity, one of the New Testament, and another of the Old, who shall finish their course in five years. After which time, those that are found sufficient shall be graduated in divinity.

None shall be admitted into the first college, and be made suppost of the university, unless he have from the master of the school and minister of the town where he was instructed in the Latin tongue, a testimony of his learning, docility, age, and parentage.

Those that have been taught in the dialectic shall be examined by the rector and principals ; and being found to have profited therein, shall be promoted to the class of the mathematics.

None shall be admitted to the class of medicine but he that shall be known to have spent his time well in dialectic, mathematic, and physic, and shall have a testimonial of his docility in the last.

None admitted to the class of laws but he that shall have a testimonial of his time well spent in dialectic, mathematic, ethic, æconomies, politics, and of his docility in the last.

And to the class of divines they only shall be admitted that bring a sufficient testimonial of their time well spent in

dialectic, mathematic, physie, ethic, œconomic, and politic philosophy, the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and his docility in divinity.

Such as will apply themselves to hear the laws shall not be compelled to hear medicine ; neither shall such as apply themselves to hear divinity be compelled to hear either medicine or the laws.

The second university at Glasgow shall have two colleges. In the first whereof shall be three classes ; one for dialectic, another for mathematic, and a third for physie. And in the second college shall be four classes ; one for moral philosophy, ethics, œconomics, and politics ; another for the municipal and Roman laws ; the third for the Hebrew tongue ; and the last for divinity, to be ordered conform to the university of St Andrews.

The third university at Aberdeen shall be conform to the university of Glasgow in all points.

Unto every college there must be elected forth of the body of the university a principal, who must be a man of learning, discretion, and diligence. He shall receive the whole rents of the college, and distribute the same according to the erection of the college, adjoining to himself weekly one of the professors. He shall hearken daily the diet-compts, and oversee the policy and building of the house, attend that the professors be diligent in their several readings to the youth, and shall weekly keep a meeting with the whole members of the college, for punishment of faults that shall happen to be committed, and shall yearly be countable to the superintendent, rector, and rest of the principals, who shall convene to that effect the first of November.

The election of the principal shall be in this sort ;—within eight days after the place falleth void, the members of the college being sworn to follow their conscience, shall nominate three of the most sufficient men of the university, not being principals already, who shall be publicly proponed through the whole university : This done, the superintendent by himself, or his special procurators, with the rector and the rest of the principals, shall convene within eight days after, and chuse one of the three whom they think most sufficient, being sworn before to do the same without favour or partial affection.

There shall be in every college a steward, cook, gardener, and porter, who shall be subject to the principal, as are the rest.

Every university shall have a beadle, who shall be subject to serve at all times the university, at the direction of the rector and principal.

There shall likewise a rector be chosen in every university from year to year on this manner;—the principals of the colleges, with the whole regents, chapterly convened, shall be sworn to nominate, every man speaking in his own room, such a one as in his conscience he thinketh to be most sufficient for that charge and dignity; and of those who shall be most often nominated, three shall be put in lect fifteen days before Michaelmas; and upon the eve of Michaelmas the whole principals, regents, and supposts graduated, or who have studied the ethics, æconomics, and politics, and no others, every nation having protested to follow the dictate of their own conscience, shall nominate one of the said three; and he unto whom most voices are given shall be confirmed by the superintendent and principals, who shall take his oath for lawful administration, and the oath of the rest of the university for their submission and obedience; after which he shall put on a new garment, and be presented to the university, *Insignia Magistratus* being borne before him. Monthly he shall visit every college, and try how their exercises of reading be kept: his assessors shall be a lawyer and theologue, by whose advice he shall decide all civil questions betwixt the members of the university. If any without the university pursue a member thereof, or be pursued by any member of the same, he shall assist the provost and bailies and other judges competent to see justice ministered, and that as well in civil as criminal causes.

We think it expedient that in every college of the whole universities there be twenty-four bursars divided equally in the classes above specified; that is, in St Andrews seventy-two bursars, in Glasgow forty-eight, in Aberdeen, as many. These shall be sustained only in meat upon the charges of the college, and not be admitted but upon trial taken by the ministry of the town and principals of the university, as well touching their own docility, as if their parents be able to entertain them or not.

Of Stipends, and the Expenses necessary.

The sums needful for the ordinary charges, we judge may be as followeth :—

Imprimis, for the stipend of the professors of dialectic, mathematic, physic, and moral philosophy, for each of those one hundred pounds; *item*, for the professor of medicine and laws, two hundred marks; *item*, to the reader of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and divinity, two hundred pounds; *item*, to every principal, two hundred pounds; *item*, to every steward for his fee, sixteen pounds; *item*, to every gardener, cook, and porter, ten marks; *item*, to the sustentation of every bursar that is not in the class of theology or medicine, each of them twenty pounds; *item*, to the bursars in those classes, twenty-four pounds; *summa* of the yearly and ordinary expenses in the university of St Andrews, extendeth to three thousand seven hundred and ninety-six pounds; *summa* of the yearly and ordinary expenses of Glasgow, extends to two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two pounds; *summa* of Aberdeen, two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two pounds; *summa* of the whole ordinary charges is nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

For the payment of these sums, we think the temporalities of bishoprics and churches collegiate ought to be destinated, so far at least as the same charges do require.

The beadle shall have for his stipend two shillings, of every intrant and suppost of the university, of every graduate in philosophy, three shillings, of the graduate in medicine, four shillings, and five shillings of the graduate in theology, bursars in these studies only excepted.

For upholding the fabric, this order should be taken; that every earl's son at his entry shall give forty shillings, with so much at his graduation; every lord's son, thirty shillings; the son of a baron, twenty shillings, the son of a burgess or substantial gentleman, ten shillings; and the sons of all others, bursars excepted, five shillings. These moneys being collected shall be put in a common box, and committed to the keeping of the principal of the theologues; yet shall every one of the principals have a key to the box, and upon the fifteenth day of November yearly, in the presence of the superintendent, rector, and whole principals, the same

shall be opened, the moneys counted, and by their consents reserved, or employed upon building or repairing, as the necessity of the fabric shall require.

Of the Privilege of the University.

Seeing innocency should rather defend us than privilege, we think that every person should answer before the provost and bailies of the town where the university is, upon all actions they are called for, so as the rector be assessor to the magistrates therein. If the question be betwixt members of the university, the party called is not held to answer but before the rector and his assessors; in all other causes of civil pursuit the general rule of law is to be observed, *actor sequatur forum rei*.

The rector and all inferior members of the university must be exempted from all taxes, imposts, charges of war, or any other burthens that may abstract them from attending the youth, such as tutory, curatory, executory, and the like.

As for other things that may concern the students and masters, such as the choice of books to be read in every class, and such other particulars, they are to be left to the discretion of the principal and regents, and their council.

THE SIXTH HEAD—OF THE RENTS AND PATRIMONY OF
THE CHURCH.

Two sorts of men, that is, the preachers of the Word and the poor, besides the schools, must be sustained upon the rents of the Church, wherefore it should be considered how, and of whom, the same is to be raised; for to our grief we hear that some gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the tithes and other duties paid before to the Church, than ever the papists were, and so the tyranny of priests is turned into the tyranny of lord or laird. For this we require that the gentlemen, barons, lords, earls, and others, be content to live upon their own rents, and suffer the Church to be restored to her right and liberty, that by her restitution, the poor who have heretofore been oppressed may now receive some comfort and relaxation.

It is a thing most reasonable that every man have the use of his own tithes, providing that he answer the deacons

and thesaurer of the Church of that which shall be reasonably appointed unto him, and that the uppermost cloth, the corpse-present, the clerk-mail, the pasche-offerings, tithe-ale, and other the like exactions be discharged for ever. And because not only the ministers but also the poor and schools must be sustained upon the tithes, we think it more expedient that deacons and common thesaurers of the church be appointed to receive the whole rents appertaining thereto than the ministers themselves; and that commandment be given that no man either receive or intromit with any thing belonging to the sustentation of the foresaid persons, but such as shall be appointed thereto by the Church.

If any shall think this prejudicial to those that possess the tithes by virtue of leases, we would have them know that unjust possession is no possession before God; and that those of whom they acquired their right were thieves and murtherers, and had no power to alienate the patrimony and common good of the Church; yet do we wish recompence to be made to such as have disbursed sums of money to these unjust possessors, so that the same has not been given of late in prejudice of the Church, nor any collusion used; for which purpose we think it expedient that whosoever have the tithes of any church, in part or whole, be warned to produce his right, that cognition being taken thereof, a reasonable recompence may be given them for the years that are to run, the profits of years past being deduced and considered, so that the Church in end may receive her liberty and freedom.

The tithes that we think must be lifted for the use of the Church, are the tithes of hay, hemp, lint, cheese, fish, calf, foal, lamb, wool, and all sorts of corn; but because these will not suffice to discharge the necessities of the Church, we think that all things dotated to hospitality in times past, with all annual rents both to burgh and land, pertaining to priests, chanteries, colleges, chaplanries, and friars of all orders, to the sisters of the Seynes (Sienna), and all other of that sort, be retained to the use of the church or churches within the towns or parishes where they were founded; likewise the whole revenues of the temporalities of bishops, deans, and archdeans, with all rents of lands pertaining to cathedral churches which must be applied to the entertain-

ment of superintendents and universities. And farther, we think that merchants and craftsmen in free burghs who have nothing to do with manuring the ground, ought to make some provision in their cities, and towns, and dwelling-places for the support of the Church and necessities thereof.

The ministers, and failing of them, the readers, must be restored to their manses and glebes, without which they cannot serve nor attend their flocks; and where any glebe exceedeth six acres of land, that which is more shall remain with the possessor till farther order be taken.

The deacons or thesaurers appointed to collect these rents must be chosen yearly in every parish by the common consent of the church: they may not distribute any part of that which is collected but by the command of the ministers and elders, who must not command any thing to be delivered but as the Church hath before determined. That is, the ministers to be first paid, either quarterly or from half-year to half-year, of the sums allowed to them; then the schoolmasters, readers, and hospitals, if any be.

If any extraordinary sums must be disbursed, then the ministers, elders and deacons, are to consult whether the same stands with the profit of the Church or not; and if they do agree, they may do as best seemeth unto them; but if there be controversy amongst themselves, the whole Church must be made privy, and the reasons heard; their judgment, with the ministers' consent, shall prevail.

The deacons shall make their accounts to the minister and elders of that which they have received, and the elders, when they are changed, (which must be every year) shall clear their accounts before such auditors as the Church shall appoint. And both the deacons and elders being changed, shall deliver to them that are newly elected all sums of money, corns, or other profits resting in their hands; the tickets whereof must be delivered to the superintendents in their visitations, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that as well the indigence as abundance of every church may be known, and so a reasonable equality may be kept through the whole realm.

THE SEVENTH HEAD—CONCERNING THE CENSURING OF
OFFENDERS.

As no commonwealth can flourish or long endure without good laws and sharp execution of the same, so cannot the Church of God be purged, or yet retained in purity, without the order of ecclesiastical discipline. This standeth in reprovng and correcting those faults which the civil sword doth either neglect or may not punish.

Blasphemy, adultery, murther, perjury, and such capital crimes fall not properly under the censure of the Church, because such open transgressors of God's law should be taken away by the civil sword. But drunkenness, excess, whether in apparel or in meat and drink, fornication, oppression of the poor by exactions, deceit in buying and selling by wrong mete and measure, wanton words and licentious living tending to slander, do properly appertain to the censure of the Church; which in the order and cases following we judge shall be observed.

If the offence be secret and known to few, and be rather surmised than that it be manifestly proved, the offender ought to be privately admonished, and if he promise to amend, the censure shall not proceed any further.

If he contemn the admonition that is given him, or after promise walk as uncircumspectly as before, then the minister ought to call and rebuke him, and if he be disobedient, proceed according to the rule of Christ.

In faults public and heinous, such as fornication, drunkenness, fighting, common swearing and execration, the offender must be called before the minister, elders and deacons, and have his sin laid out before him; whereof if he do shew himself penitent and require to be admitted to public satisfaction, a day should be appointed for his appearance before the whole church, to testify the repentance which before he professed; which if he accept, and with reverence perform, he ought to be received again into the society of the church; for the Church of God must not be more rigorous than God declareth himself to be, who witnesseth, that "whensoever a sinner doth unfeignedly repent and turn from his wickedness, that he will not remember his iniquity any more."

If the offender be obstinate and shew no signs of repentance, he must be dismissed with an exhortation to consider his dangerous state, and assured that, if he do not shew tokens of amendment, a more severe course will be taken. If within a certain space he manifest his repentance to the minister, he may be presented before the congregation and received in manner aforesaid ; but if he shall continue in his impiety, then it must be signified to the congregation that such offences are fallen out amongst them, the committer thereof rebuked and desired to repent, whereof as yet no tokens are given, and they requested to call unto God for touching the heart of the offender (whose fault ought to be expressed but not his name,) with remorse, that he may truly and earnestly be converted.

If he notwithstanding continue in his contempt, his name must the next day of the public meeting be notified to the congregation, and the most discreet and nearest of his friends or acquaintance entreated to deal with him earnestly, that he may be brought to the knowledge of the fault, and solemn prayers made for his conversion to God.

The third Sunday the minister shall inquire if the impenitent hath declared any signs of his repentance ; and it being found that he hath done the same, a day shall be affixed to him for appearing before the consistory, where, if he shew himself penitent, as well of the crime as of his long contempt, he shall be received upon public satisfaction in manner before prescribed.

But if no man signify his repentance, then the minister, by consent of the elders and deacons, and at commandment of the church, shall pronounce the offender excommunicated from God, and from the society of his church. After which sentence no person may have any kind of conversation with him, (his wife and family only excepted,) in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting, or conferring with him, unless the same be licensed by the ministry ; that he, finding himself abhorred of the faithful and godly, may take occasion to repent and so be saved.

This sentence, as being the most heavy censure which can be inflicted by the Church, ought not to be rashly used, but for grave causes, and due process of time kept, but being pronounced, ought with all severity to be maintained,

and intimation thereof made through the whole realm, lest any should pretend ignorance of the same.

His children begotten or born after the sentence, and before his repentance, may not be admitted to baptism till either they be of age to require it, or else the mother or some of his special friends, members of the Church, present and offer the child, abhorring and damning the iniquity of his parent. If any do think it rigorous thus to punish the child for the father's offence, let them understand that the sacraments appertain only to the faithful and their seed; and that such as contemn the admonitions of the church, and obstinately continue in their iniquity, cannot be reckoned amongst the faithful.

Murderers, man-slayers, adulterers, and committers of the like horrible crimes, whom the civil sword ought to punish with death, if they shall be permitted to live, shall be holden excommunicate and accursed in their fact; the offenders being first called, and the order of the Church used against them in the same manner as the persons who for their obstinacy are publicly excommunicated: so that the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of excommunication, and the murderer or adulterer shall stand in one case as concerning the judgment of the Church, and neither of them admitted to prayers or sacraments (howbeit they may be present at the preaching of the Word,) till first they offer themselves to the minister and elders, requesting humbly their prayers, and desiring them to intercede with the church for their admission to public repentance.

Upon this humble request, signification shall be given to the church of the same the first day of public preaching, and the congregation exhorted to pray unto God that he will perform the work which he appeareth to have begun in the heart of the offender, by granting him unfeigned repentance of his sin, with a sense and feeling of his mercy. Thereafter a day shall be publicly assigned unto him to make open confession of his crime and contempt. At which time he must appear in presence of all the congregation, and confessing the same, desire mercy of God, and intreat them to accept him in their society.

The minister shall try diligently if he find in him an hatred and displeasure of his impiety committed, and as he

findeth, so to comfort him in the hope of God's mercies ; but especially he is to see that he be instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, in the article of justification and offices of Christ : for it were a mocking of God to receive him to repentance who knoweth not wherein his remedy standeth when he is grieved for sin.

If he shall perceive him to be reasonably instructed and humbly disposed, then shall he demand of the congregation if they be willing to receive that creature of God (whom Satan had before drawn in his snare) into their society ; which they yielding unto, as justly they may not deny the same, then ought the minister to crave the assistance of the church's prayers in behalf of the penitent, and prayer ended, exhort them to receive him again into their favours ; in token whereof the elders and one or two of the congregation shall take him by the hand, and embrace him in the name of the whole church.

This done, the minister shall exhort him who is received to walk circumspectly in time coming, lest Satan catch him again in his snares, advertising him how that enemy will not cease to try all means possible for bringing him from the obedience that he hath given to God in his ordinance ; and after the exhortation, shall give again public thanks to God for the conversion of that their brother, and pray for increase and continuance of his grace to him and the whole congregation.

Unto this discipline the whole estates of the realm, as well the rulers as they that are ruled, and the preachers themselves, as well as the poorest within the Church, must be subject ; the ministers especially, because they, as the eye and mouth of the Church, should be most irreprehensible.

THE EIGHTH HEAD—CONCERNING ELDERS AND DEACONS.

Men of best knowledge, of purest life, and most honest in conversation, that can be found in every church, must be nominated for these offices, and their names publicly read unto the congregation, that from amongst those, some may be chosen to serve as elders and deacons. If any be nominated who is noted with public infamy, he must be repelled ;

for it is not seemly that the servant of corruption should have authority to judge in the Church of God. Or if any man know others that are of better qualities within the church than those who are nominated, the same shall be joined to the others, that the church may have the choice. If the churches be few in number, so as elders and deacons cannot conveniently be had, the same church may be joined to the next adjacent ; for the plurality of churches, without ministers and order, doth rather hurt than edify.

The election of elders and deacons ought to be made every year once, which we judge most convenient to be done the first of August yearly, lest men by long continuance in those offices presume upon the liberty of the church. And yet it hurteth not if a man be retained in office more years than one, so as he be appointed yearly thereto by common and free election. Providing always that the deacons and thesaurers of the church be not compelled to receive again the same office for the space of three years. How the suffrages shall be given and received, every several church may take the order that seemeth best to them.

The elders being elected, must be admonished of their office, which is to assist the minister in all public affairs of the church ; to wit, in judging and discerning of causes, in giving admonition to licentious livers, and having an eye upon the manners and conversation of all men within their charge ; for by the gravity of the elders the loose and dissolute manners of other men ought to be restrained and corrected. The elders ought also to take heed to the life, manners, diligence, and study of their ministers, and if he be worthy of admonition, they must admonish him—if of correction, they must correct him—and if he be worthy of deposition, they, with the consent of the church and superintendent, may depose him.

The office of deacons is to receive the rents and gather the alms of the church, to keep and distribute the same as they shall be appointed by the ministry and the church ; yet they may also assist in judgment the minister and elders, and be admitted to read in public assemblies, if they be called, required, and found able thereto.

The elders and deacons, with their wives and families, must be subject to the same censure that ministers are

subject unto ; for they are judges of the manners of others, and therefore they must be sober, humble, entertainers of concord and peace amongst neighbours, and, finally, an ensample of godliness to the rest of the flock : whereof if the contrary appear, they must be admonished by the minister or some of their brethren, if the fault be secret ; but if it be open and known, they must be openly rebuked, and the same order kept with them that is prescribed against ministers offending. We think it not necessary that any public stipend be appointed either to the elders or deacons, because their travel continueth but for a year ; as also because they are not so occupied with the affairs of the church, but that they may have leisure to attend their private business.

Of the Censure and Deposition of Ministers.

If a minister be of a loose conversation, negligent in his study, and one that waiteth not upon his charge or flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful doctrine to his people, he ought to be admonished by the elders ; and if he amend not, the elders may complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent churches, to whose admonition, if he shall be disobedient, he ought to be discharged of his ministry till his repentance appear. But if any minister be deprehended in any notable crime—as whoredom, adultery, murther, manslaughter, perjury, heresy, or any such as deserveth death, or may infer the note of infamy, he ought to be deposed for ever. By heresy we understand pernicious doctrine plainly taught and obstinately defended against the foundation and principal grounds of Christian faith. Such a crime we judge to deserve perpetual deposition from the ministry, knowing it to be a thing most dangerous to commit a flock unto a man infected with heresy.

Some faults deserve deposition for a time ; as if a minister be deprehended drunken, if he be a brawler or fighter, an open slanderer, a defamer of his neighbours, factious and a sower of discord, till he declare himself penitent, and give some assurance of better conversation, upon which the congregation shall attend the space of twenty days or longer, as they shall think expedient, before they proceed to a new election.

Every inferior church should notify by one of their elders and one of their deacons to the Superintendent, the life, manners, study, and diligence of their ministers, that the discretion of some may correct the levity of others. Neither must the life and manners only of their ministers come under censure, but also of their wives, children, and family.

It must likewise be adverted that the minister neither live riotously nor avariciously, and a respect had how he spendeth his stipend ; for if a reasonable stipend be appointed him, he must live accordingly, because avariciousness and solicitude of money is no less to be damned in Christ's servants, especially those who are fed at the charge of the Church, than is excess and superfluity.

We judge it unseemly for ministers to live in common ale-houses or taverns ; neither must a minister be permitted to frequent the Court, unless it be for a time when he is either employed by the Church, or called by the authority to give his counsel and judgment in any matter ; neither yet must he be one of the Council in civil affairs, be he judged ever so apt for the purpose ; but either must he cease from the ministry, (which at his own pleasure he may not do,) or else in bearing charge in civil affairs, except it be to assist the Parliament when the same is called.

THE NINTH HEAD—CONCERNING THE POLICY OF THE CHURCH.

We call the policy of the Church the exercise of religion in such things as may help to bring the ignorant to knowledge, or else promove in them that are more learned a farther growth of grace, or otherwise such things as are appointed for keeping things in good order within the Church ; whereof there be two sorts, the one utterly necessary, as that the Word be truly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, common prayers publicly made, children and simple persons instructed in the chief points of religion, and offences corrected and punished. These things, we say, are so necessary, that without the same there cannot be any face of a visible Church.

The other sort is profitable, but not strictly necessary ; as that Psalms be sung, and certain places of Scripture read when there is no sermon ; or that the church should con-

vene this or that day in the week to hear sermons. Of these and the like we see not how a certain order can be established ; for in some churches the Psalms may be conveniently sung, in other perhaps they cannot ; some churches may convene every day, some twice or thrice in the week, and some it may be but once. In these and the like, every particular church may appoint their own policy themselves. Yet in great towns we think expedient that every day there be either sermon or common prayer, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. The day of public sermon we do not think the common prayers needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers as they come to the Mass, or give them occasion to think that those are no prayers which are conceived before and after sermon.

In every famous town we require that one day besides the Sunday be appointed for sermon, during the time whereof men must abstain from all exercise of trade and labour, the servant as well as the master. In smaller towns such order must be kept as the churches within the same shall appoint ; but the Sunday in all towns must precisely be observed, before and after noon. Before noon the Word must be preached, sacraments administered, and marriage solemnized when occasion doth offer. After noon the Catechism must be taught, and the young children examined thereupon, in audience of all the people. In doing whereof the minister must have care to cause the people understand the questions proponed, with the answers and doctrine that may be collected thereof.

What order shall be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much thereof every Sunday shall be handled, the distinctions of the Catechism itself, which is the most perfect that ever was yet used in any church, do shew. Where there is neither preaching nor Catechism upon Sundays at afternoon, the common prayers ought to be used.

It appertaineth to every church to appoint the times when the sacraments should be ministered. Baptism may be ministered whensoever the Word is preached, but we think it more expedient that the same be ministered upon Sunday ; and when occasion is offered of great travel before noon, the same may be ministered in the afternoon, upon

the week days only after the sermon, partly to remove that gross error which many hold that children dying without baptism are damned, partly that the people may assist the ministration of the sacrament with greater reverence than commonly they do.

Four times in the year we think sufficient for administration of the Lord's Table, which we desire to be so distinguished that the superstitious observation of times may be avoided so far as may be ; for it is known how superstitiously people run unto that action upon Easter, as if the time gave virtue to the sacraments, when as the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as though it belonged not unto them but at that time only. Therefore we think it expedient that the first Sunday of March yearly be kept for one day to that service, the first Sunday of June for another, the first Sunday of September for the third, and the first Sunday of December for the fourth.

Albeit we deny not but every church for reasonable causes may change the time, and minister the same oftener ; yet we think the sacrament of the Supper ought never to be ministered without examination preceding, chiefly of those who are known or suspected to be ignorant ; and that none ought to be admitted to that holy mystery who cannot formally say the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, declare the sum of the law, and understandeth the use and virtue of that holy sacrament.

We also think necessary that every church have a Bible in English, and that the people convene to hear the Scriptures read and interpreted, that by frequent reading and hearing, the gross ignorance of the people may be removed. And we judge it most expedient that the Scriptures be read in order ; that is, that some one book of the New and Old Testament be begun and followed forth to the end. The like we esteem of preaching, if the minister remain for the most part at one place. For the divagation from one place of Scripture to another, whether it be in reading or preaching, we account not so profitable for the Church, as the continual following of one text.

The masters of families must be commanded to instruct, or cause to be instructed, their children and servants in the principles of the Christian religion, without the knowledge

whereof they may not be admitted to the Table of the Lord. Wherefore we think it needful that every year at least the ministers take trial, by public examination, of the knowledge of every person within the Church; and that every master and mistress present themselves, and so many of their family as are come to mature age, before the minister and elders, to give confession of their faith, rehearse the Commandments of the Law, with the Lord's Prayer, and declare what is their understanding in those things. If any shall suffer their children or servants to remain in wilful ignorance, the censures of the Church must be used against them unto excommunication, and then the person referred to the civil magistrate. For, seeing the just man liveth by his own faith, and that Christ Jesus justifieth by knowledge of himself, it is intolerable that any should be permitted to live as members of the Church of God, and yet to continue in ignorance.

Moreover all persons should be exhorted to exercise themselves in the Psalms, that when the church conveneth, and the Psalms be sung, they may be the more able with common heart and voice to praise God. In private houses it were expedient that the most grave and discreet person of the family should use common prayers at morning and night.

Of the Exercise of Prophesying or Interpretation of the Scriptures.

It was a custom in the church of Corinth at some times, when they did assemble and meet together, to read a place of Scripture, whereupon one first gave his judgment for the instruction and consolation of the auditors; after whom another did either confirm what the former had said, or add that which he had omitted, or correct and explain more properly the place or text. Liberty was also given to a third man to speak, if the whole truth had not been revealed by the former; and above the number of three, it seemeth, none were allowed to speak, as we read in the 1 Cor. xiv. 29, where we have these words—"Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. And if any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all may have comfort. And the spirits of the prophets are subject

to the prophets." This exercise we think to be most necessary for the Church this day in Scotland, because thereby the Church may have trial of the knowledge, gifts, and utterance of every man within their own body. The simple and those who have somewhat profited shall be encouraged to proceed in their studies, and the whole Church shall be edified, every man that list to hear and learn being permitted to declare his mind and knowledge for the comfort of the rest.

But lest this exercise that is so profitable might turn into debate or strife, these rules must be observed.

1. All curious and unprofitable questions must be avoided.

2. All interpretations that are against the analogy of faith and against charity, or that seem to contain an open contradiction to other manifest places of Scripture, are to be rejected.

3. The interpreter may not take to himself the liberty of a preacher, (although he be appointed and received a minister) but he must keep him to his text, and not break out by digression into commonplaces.

4. He may use no invectives in the exercise, unless it be in the confuting of heresies.

5. He must be short in his admonitions and exhortations, and spend the time allowed to him in opening the mind of the Holy Ghost in that place, shewing the dependence of the text, and observing such notes as may edify the auditor.

6. Neither he that interpreteth nor any of the assembly ought to move any question in open audience which he doth not presently resolve without disputing with another; but every man must shew his own judgment, and utter it to the edification of the church.

7. If any be noted of curiosity, or bringing in of strange doctrines, he must be admonished by the ministers and elders, after the interpretation is ended.

8. The whole ministers, with those that are of the assembly, ought to convene and judge how the persons have interpreted the text, and how they have handled and intreated the matter; during which time the persons should be removed, till every man hath given his censure. After which the persons being called in, they should be gently admonished of their escapes, if any they have made; and

then should all questions and doubts be resolved amongst them, without any contention.

The exercise should be kept in every town where schools and repair of learned men are, upon a certain day of the week ; which, together with the books of Scripture that they shall think most profitable to be intreated, we refer to the judgment of the ministers and elders of the particular church where they convene. The ministers to landwart and readers, so as they have the gift of interpretation, lying within six miles of the town, must assist and be present at the exercise, that either they may learn themselves, or others may learn by them.

Moreover, whosoever are esteemed to have any gifts that may edify the Church, must be charged by the ministers and elders to join themselves with that company of interpreters, to the end the Church may know whether they be able to serve in the vocation of the ministry or not. And if any be found disobedient, and unwilling to communicate their gifts with their brethren, the censures of the Church should be used against such, providing that the consent and authority of the civil magistrate be interponed thereto ; for no man should be permitted to live as it pleaseth him within the Church, but constrained to bestow his labours where it is thought they may serve to the edification of others.

Of Marriage.

Marriage ought not to be contracted amongst persons that lack judgment to chuse. Therefore we think that children and infants cannot be lawfully married in their less age, that is, if the man be within thirteen years of age, and the woman within twelve at least.

If any have been married within those years, and kept their bodies pure and unconjoined with each other, we think not that such can be compelled to adhere as man and wife by reason of any former promise ; but if after the years of judgment they have embraced one another by virtue of the last consent, having ratified the promise made by others for them in their youth, the same should be held as married persons.

Public inhibitions should be made, that no persons under

the power and obedience of fathers, tutors, and curators, either men or women, contract marriage privately, and without the knowledge of those to whom they live subject, under the power of the Church censure ; for if any son or daughter be moved towards a match, they are obliged to ask the counsel and assistance of their parents for performing the same. And though the father, notwithstanding their desires, have no other cause than the common sort of men have, to wit, lack of money, or because they are not perhaps of a lineage and birth as they require ; yet must not the parties make any covenant till the ministry or civil magistrate be acquainted therewith, and interpone their request for the parent's consent ; which if they cannot obtain, finding no just cause why their marriage ought not to proceed, in that case they, sustaining the place of the parent, may consent to the parties, and admit them to marry, for the work of God ought not to be hindered by the corrupt affections of worldly men. We call that the work of God, when two hearts (without filthiness before committed,) are so joined, that they are content to live together in the holy band of matrimony. If any commit fornication with the woman whom he requireth in marriage, then both of them do lose the fore-said benefit, as well of the Church as of the magistrate, for neither of them ought to be intercessors for filthy fornicators.

The father or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgin, is deflowered, may by the law of God compel the man who hath done the injury to marry his daughter ; yet if the father, by reason of the offence, will not consent unto the marriage, he may in that case require the dowry of his daughter, which if the offender be not able to pay, he ought to be punished in his body by the magistrate, with some other punishment.

In a reformed church marriage ought not to be privately used, but in open face and presence of the church ; also for avoiding dangers, we think it expedient that the banns be proclaimed three Sundays, unless the persons be well known, and that no suspicion of peril can arise, and then may the proclamation be shortened at the discretion of the minister. But in no ways can we admit marriage to be secretly used, how honourable soever the persons be ; and therefore esteem Sunday before sermon the most convenient time for celebra-

tion of marriage, and that it ought not to be used upon any day else without the consent of the ministry.

Marriage once lawfully contracted may not be dissolved at man's pleasure, (as our Saviour doth witness) unless adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved in the presence of the civil magistrate, the innocent party (if they require it) ought to be declared free, and the offender put to death, as God hath commanded. But if the life of the offender be spared, yet may not the Church be negligent in their duty, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and pronounce the innocent party free. And notwithstanding, if the offender shew any fruits of peniteney, and earnestly desire to be reconciled to the Church, he may be received to the participation of the sacraments, and other benefits of the same.

If any shall demand whether the offender after reconciliation may again marry or not; we answer, that if they cannot live continent, and if the necessity be such as that they fear to fall of new into the offence of God, we cannot deny them the remedy appointed. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then in no case we judge it lawful to the offender to marry another, and the solemnization of their marriage must be of new in the face of the church, but without the proclamation of the banns. This we offer as the best counsel that God giveth us in so doubtful a case; howbeit we judge the best reformation were to prefer God's commandment, and punish those crimes, as he requireth, with death.

Of Burial.

Burial hath been had in estimation in all ages, to signify that the body which is committed to the earth shall not utterly perish, but rise again in the last day. But this we would have done without vain and superstitious rites, devised for making gain and advantage; such as singing of masses, dirges, and all other prayers for the dead; which custom is plainly repugnant to the Scriptures of God, for it is manifest that they who depart in the faith of Christ Jesus rest from their labours, and so go from death to life; as on the other side, they who depart in unbelief shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon them. For avoid-

ing all inconvenients, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at the burial; for albeit these things may admonish the living to prepare themselves for death, yet superstitious and ignorant persons may think that some profit thereby cometh to the dead. Herefore we think it most expedient that the dead be accompanied to the place of burial with some honest neighbours, without either singing or reading, and without all kind of ceremonies formerly used, so that the bodies be committed to the grave in such decent and seemly manner, as they who are present may be warned to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin which is the cause of death; yet we are not so precise in this, but that we are content that particular churches, with consent of the minister, do that which they shall find most fitting as they will answer to God and the Assembly of the Universal Church within the realm.

We are not ignorant that some require a sermon at the burial, or else some places of Scripture to be read for putting the living in mind that they are mortal, and that they likewise must die; but let these men understand that the sermons which are daily made serve for that use, which, if men despise, funeral sermons shall rather nourish superstition, than bring such persons to a right consideration of their own estate. Farther, the ministers shall this way be for the most part occupied in preaching funeral sermons; or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the burial of the rich and honourable, and keeping silence when the poor and despised die; which the minister, with a good conscience, cannot do, seeing there is no respect of persons with God. And whatsoever they do to the rich, in respect of their ministry, the same they are bound to do to the poorest under their charge.

Churches appointed for preaching and ministration of the sacraments ought not be made places of burial; but for that use some other convenient ground is to be appointed, lying in the most free air, and kept to that use only; which we think should be well walled and fenced about.

For Reparation of Churches.

Lest the Word of God and ministration of the sacraments should come in contempt through the unseemliness of the

place where these exercises are used ; we think it needful that the churches where the people publicly convene be repaired with expedition, and prepared in such fashion as may agree with the majesty of the Word of God, and serve to the ease and commodity of the people. The reparation should be according to the possibility and number of churches; every church having close doors, windows of glass, thatch or slate to defend the people from rain, a bell to convocate them, a pulpit, a bason for baptizing, and a table for ministration of the Lord's Supper. Where the congregation is great, reparation must be made within the church for the commodious receiving of the people ; and the expenses raised partly of the people, and partly of the tithes, at the consideration of the ministry. But because we know the sloth of men in these businesses, and in all other affairs which redound not to their private commodity, strict charge should be given for the reparation aforesaid within a certain day, and penalties inflicted upon the contemners.

For punishment of those that profane the Sacraments.

It hath been the policy of Satan to draw mankind into one of two extremities ; either to hold men gazing upon the visible elements, so as forgetting the end for which they were appointed, they do ascribe unto them a saving virtue and power which they have not ; or then to cause them despise the ordinance of God, as though there were no profit in the right use thereof, nor any danger in the profanation. In time of blindness the holy sacrament was gazed upon, kneeled unto, carried in procession, and worshipped as Christ himself ; and then men stood in such admiration of the idol in the Mass, that none durst have presumed to have said Mass, nor have ministered the sacrament, but priests and those of the shaven sort. Now men are so bold as without all vocation to minister the sacraments in open assemblies ; and some presume to do it in houses without all reverence, where there is neither minister nor Word preached. Our desire is that some strict punishment be inflicted upon such abusers ; which albeit we will not take upon us to prescribe, yet we fear not to say that both of them deserve death ; for if he who falsifieth the seal and subscription of a king be adjudged worthy of death, much

more he that falsifieth the seal of Christ Jesus, who is the Prince of all the Kings of the earth. King Darius gave out an edict that he who did let the re-edifying of the material temple in Jerusalem, should have some wood taken out of his house, and be himself hanged thereupon ; and what shall we think those do merit who manifestly do hinder the building of the spiritual temple, and the edifying of the souls of God's people by the true preaching of the Word, and right administration of the sacraments.

The papistical priests have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ, because in their mouths God hath not put the word of exhortation ; and it is not the shaving of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the bishops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true ministers ; but the Spirit of God first moving the heart to enter into the holy calling, then the nomination of the people, the examination taken by the learned, and public admission in manner aforesaid, are the things that make men lawful ministers of the Word and sacraments. We speak of the ordinary vocation in churches reformed, and not of the extraordinary, whereby God is pleased sometimes to raise up men by himself for doing his work. Therefore, notwithstanding the usurpation they have made in time of ignorance, inhibition should be given them in the strictest manner not to presume upon the like hereafter ; as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy ministry.

This was the policy desired to be ratified. It had been framed by John Knox, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of Germany, partly of that which he had seen in Geneva. Whence he took that device of annual deacons for collecting and dispensing the church-rents, whereof in the sixth head he speaketh, I cannot say. A nobleman being asked his judgment thereof, answered, that it was a devout imagination, wherewith John Knox did greatly offend ; yet was it no better than a dream, for it could never have taken effect. The churchmen that went before had been provident enough in these matters, and good it had been for those that succeeded to have kept fast that which they found established to their hand, as the archbishop of

St Andrews did at the same time advise them. For he employing John Brand, a monk of Halyrudhouse, (who served many years after, minister at the Canongate,) to go unto John Knox, willed him to say from him, "That albeit he had innovated many things, and made a reformation of the doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was some reason ; yet he should do wisely to retain the old policy, which had been the work of many ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did shake off the other. Our Highlandmen," he said " have a custom when they will break young colts, to fasten them by the head with two strong tethers, one of which they keep ever fast till the beast be thoroughly made. The multitude, that beast with many heads, should just be so dealt with. Master Knox, I know, esteemeth me an enemy ; but tell him from me he shall find it true that I speak."

The Estates always, not thinking it meet to enter at that time in examination of the policy, deferred the same to a more convenient season ; only an Act was passed for demolishing cloisters and abbey-churches, such as were not as yet pulled down ; the execution whereof was, for the west parts, committed to the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glenearne ; for the north to Lord James ; and for the in-countries to some barons that were held most zealous.

Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church-buildings throughout all the parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches were either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The Registers of the church and bibliotheques were cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult, did now undergo the common calamity ; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate the people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out, " That the places where idols had been worshipped ought by the law of God to

be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable ;” as if the commandment given to Israel for destroying the places where the Canaanites did worship their false gods had been a warrant for them to do the like. The report also went that John Knox (whose sayings were by many esteemed as oracles) should in one of his sermons say “ that the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests :” which words (if any such did escape him) were to be understood of the cloisters of monks and friars only, according to the Act passed in the Council. But popular fury once armed can keep no measure, nor do anything with advice and judgment.

After the Convention was dissolved, notwithstanding the answer given concerning the Book of Policy, divers noblemen and barons, moved by John Knox, did convene and set their hands to the same. The subscribers were, the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencarne, Marshall, Menteith, Morton, and Rothes, Lord James, the Lords Yester, Boyd, Ochiltrie, Sanquhar, and Lindsay ; the bishop of Galloway, the dean of Murray ; the lairds of Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlees, Bargueney, and divers burgesses ; with this provision adjected, “ That the bishops, abbots, priors, and other beneficed men, who had joined themselves to the religion, should enjoy the rents of their benefices during their lives ; they sustaining the ministers for their parts, as was prescribed in the said book.” But all this turned to no effect, for the churchmen that were popish took presently a course to make away all the manses, glebes, tithes, and all other rents possessed by them, to their friends and kinsmen ; and most of these that subscribed getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of church patrimony than were the papists, or any other whatsoever.

NOTES TO BOOK III.

NOTE I.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF KNOX'S HISTORY.

[Archbishop Spottiswoode, after describing, in very suitable terms, the manner of Knox's death, remarks—"As to the *History of the Church*, ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his work, but his name supposed (feigned) to gain it credit ; for, besides the several discourses we find in it—more fitting a comedian on the stage than a divine or minister, such as Mr Knox was, and the spiteful malice that author expresses against the queen-regent—speaking of one of our martyrs, he remitteth the reader to a farther declaration of his sufferings to the 'Acts and Monuments of Martyrs,' set forth by Mr Fox, an Englishman, which came not to light (till) some ten or twelve years after Mr Knox his death. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man than to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that book. But this shall serve for his clearance in that particular." Book V., p. 267, Edition 1655.

Nicolson, archdeacon of Carlisle, and afterwards bishop of Derry, replies to the foregoing observations in these terms :—

"Whether the History be agreeable to the spirit of Mr Knox or no, it is certain that its referring us to the Book of Martyrs is no such argument against its being written by him, as the good archbishop here represents it : for there was an edition of that work in Latin at Strasburg in 1554, and another at Basil in 1559, both which were (published) long before Knox's death ; though the first English edition, in 1583, was indeed about a dozen of years after it. However, it must be confessed that though this argument will not hold good, yet there are some other passages which undeniably prove that some later person than Knox has made several interpolations, which are now printed as parts of the original history. So much is unanswerably remarked by a late ingenious writer, who justly observes, that "he has been a thorough-paced presbyterian who framed the History as we now have it ; and that, by consequence, its authority is stark naught for any thing in it that favours Presbytery or bespatters Prelacy."

The author to whom Nicolson here refers is the celebrated Bishop Sage, who, in the Preface to his "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery," maintains that Knox was not the author of the history attributed to him. After alluding to the argument used by Spottiswoode, he calls the attention of his reader to the fact, that the compiler of the narrative which bears the name of the great Reformer, having set down a copy of the letter sent by the Church of Scotland to the Church of England, tells how

the English Non-conformists wrote to Beza, and Beza to Grindal, bishop of London, which letter of Beza to Grindal, he says, is the eighth in order among Beza's Epistles; and in the same page he mentions another of Beza's letters to Grindal, calling it the twelfth in number. Now, it is certain that Beza's Epistles were not published till the year 1573, some time after Knox's death.

Sage endeavours to establish a similar conclusion from the fact that Knox is made to refer to Buchanan's History, which was not published till 1582, at least ten years after the Reformer's death. Farther, the author of what is called Knox's History adduces the authority of Buchanan for exposing the inaccuracy and diminishing the credit of the late History of Queen Mary, a work which was not published till a long time after both Buchanan and Knox were dead. Again, the Reformer is made to say, that "the Books of Discipline have been of late so often published, that we shall forbear to print them at this time." Now it is well known that there never were more than two Books of Discipline; and the second was never so much as projected till the year 1576, that is, four years after Knox had departed this life.

Once more, we read in Knox's volume as follows:—"Some in France, after the sudden death of Francis the Second, and calling to mind the death of Charles the Ninth in blood, and the slaughter of Henry the Second, did remark the tragical end of these three princes who had persecuted God's servants so cruelly. And indeed the following kings of France, unto this day, have found this true by their unfortunate and unexpected ends." Now, be it remarked, Charles the Ninth died not till the 30th May 1574, eighteen months after Knox expired. The following kings of France, who made the "unfortunate and unexpected ends," were Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth. Henry the Third was not murdered till the year 1589; Henry the Fourth not till May 1610. The former seventeen, the latter thirty-eight years after the death of Knox.

"From this it is clear," concludes Bishop Sage, "that the History, at least as we now have it, was not written by Knox. All that can be said, with any shadow of probability, is, that Knox provided some materials for it. But granting this, how shall we be able to separate what is spurious in it from what is genuine?"

These facts and reasonings cannot fail to throw some doubt on the authenticity of Knox's History, as we now have it, though it is certain that a large portion of the volume proceeded from his hand. It is well known, says the archdeacon of Carlisle, that at the meeting of the General Assembly in November 1572, soon after the death of the author, Richard Bannatyne, his servant or amanuensis, presented the following petition—"I, your servitor, R. Bannatyne, servant to your umquhile most devout brother, Mr Knox, of worthy memory, That whereas it is not unknown to your wisdoms that he left to the town and kirk of Edinburgh his History, conteaining in effect the beginning and progress of Christ's trew religion, now of God's great mercy established in this realme, quhairin he leth continued and perfectly ended at the year of God 1564. So that of things done be him sensyne nothing be him is put in that form and order as he has done the former; yet not the less there are certain scrolls, papers, and minutes of things, left to me be him to use at my pleasure, quhair of one part are written be his own hand and subscribed, and another be me at his command," &c.

He solicited the Assembly's aid to enable him to put these papers into a proper condition to be offered to the public, and they accordingly "ordered to the said Richard the sum of L.40, for the assisting such learned men as the kirk of Edinburgh should appoint for that purpose, in putting the said papers and scrolls into good form as aforesaid." What steps were taken to realize this object have not been clearly revealed to the historical reader. The Editor of Bannatyne's Journal satisfies himself with the observation that the General Assembly approved of the measure, and allowed a sum of money to carry it into execution. It is not known, he adds, whether any steps were adopted to promote this undertaking; nor can it be ascertained whether this Journal (Bannatyne's) formed any part of those materials.¹

On the authority of Nicolson, it may be remarked that "there is a manuscript copy of Knox's History in the library at Glasgow, which bears the following title:—The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realme of Scotland, containing the manner and by what persons the Light of Christ's Evangel has bein manifested unto this Realme, after that horrible and universal defection from the Treuth whiche hes cum by the meines of that Roman Antichrist.—This was lately presented to the college by Mr Robert Fleming, a late preacher at Rotterdam, now at London, Mr Knox's grandchild; who having several of his said ancestor's papers in his hand, pretends to assure them that this very book is penned by the person whose name it commonly bears. For the better proof of this matter, he sends them the preface of another book, written in the same hand, wherein are these words:—In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, &c. September 4^o. M. Jo. Knox, August 18, A.^o. 1581. There might indeed have been some strength in this evidence, were we not assured that the famed Knox died in 1572, so that nothing could be written by him in 1581. There was one Mr John Knox who was moderator of the Synod of Merse in 1586, who perhaps is Mr Fleming's true ancestor as well as the transcriber of this book, and might be one of the assistants in the revising of it."²

The archdeacon, in the Appendix to his Scottish Historical Library, No. VI., quotes "part of a letter from his worthy friend, Mr Robert Wodrow, Library Keeper at Glasgow, giving some account of the interpolations and omissions in Knox's Church History, as published by D. Buchanan." Wodrow refers to the folio edition printed at London in 1641, "which," says he, "I have not found to differ from that in quarto, published at Edinburgh the same year. The omissions, it is manifest, are not less numerous than the interpolations; a circumstance which weakens the confidence of the reader in the accuracy of every edition subsequent to the old octavo, which manifests greater purity both of text and intention." The MS., writes Wodrow to the archdeacon, has not "the prediction of Mr Wishart concerning the cardinal's death." But he adds, that at page 252, stands this passionate reflection in the Manuscript—"God, for his great mercie's sake, rid us of the rest of the Guisian blood. Amen, Amen. For of the tyranny of the Guisian blood in her that, for our unthankfulness, now reigneth above us, we have had sufficient experience. But of any virtue that ever was espied in King James the Fifth (whose daughter she is called), we never have a spectacle to appear."

¹ Edinburgh Edition, 1866, by John Graham Dalyell, Esq.

² Scottish Historical Library, p. 192. MS. Calderwood ad annum 1556.

From the facts now stated, which shew that even the octavo edition has been tampered with, considerable doubt has been thrown on the purity of the text now in the hands of the public. There can be no question as to the fact that the famous Reformer wrote the greater portion of the work which bears his name ; but as the original manuscript no longer exists, it is impossible to determine how much has been added, and how much has been suppressed.

NOTE II.

ON THE VALIDITY OF THE PARLIAMENT HELD AT EDINBURGH IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1560.

The subject is thus introduced by our author, who merely relates what was done or said, without taking any part in the question of its lawfulness, which has been very ardently discussed by later writers. "The time appointed for the Parliament approaching, warning was made to all such as by law or ancient custom had any voice therein, to be present ; and, at the day, the meeting was frequent. In the beginning there was great altercation, divers holding ' that no Parliament should be kept, seeing their sovereigns had sent no commission, nor authorized any to represent their persons.' Others (alleging that article of the Peace, whereby it was agreed that a Parliament should be kept in the month of August, and that the same should be as lawful in all respects as if it were ordained by the express command of their Majesties,) maintained that the said article was a warrant sufficient for this present meeting ; and this opinion by voices (votes) prevailed." On this decision the archbishop remarks, with more than his wonted coolness, that "it behoved them to take law who had formerly given it to others ;" admitting that it was a simple act of reprisal, without any regard to constitutional rule or practice.

Bishop Keith, who was animated with a larger portion of the controversial spirit, incident to the days in which he lived, maintains that the treaty of Accord, signed at Edinburgh by the Commissioners of France and England, could afford no legal ground for continuing the Parliament, because the plenipotentiaries for their Majesties, Francis and Mary, had carefully stipulated that the Parliament should be prorogued immediately after its down-sitting, for the space of three weeks, from the 10th July till the 1st August, on purpose that, in the meantime, the king and queen might be advertised of the Pacification, and might confirm and ratify the same (that part especially which concerned the holding of a Parliament), if the stipulations therein contained were found agreeable to their Majesties. But so it is, their Majesties never did ratify the Pacification in form ; and therefore the Parliament, upon the bare foundation of the Pacification, could not be kept. However, as it always falls out in things of this nature, a vote was demanded ; and by a majority of voices the meeting was concluded to be lawful.¹

Principal Robertson also adverts to the question of validity, as applied to the same Parliament of 1560. "A difficulty," says he, "hath been

¹ History of the Affairs of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 148.

started with regard to the Acts of this Parliament concerning religion. This difficulty, frivolous in itself, and at this distance of time of no importance, is founded on the words of the treaty of Edinburgh. By that, the Parliament was permitted to take into consideration the state of religion, and to signify their sentiments of it to the king and queen. But instead of presenting their desires to their Sovereigns, in the humble form of a supplication or address, the Parliament converted them into so many Acts; which, although they never received the royal assent, obtained, all over the kingdom, the weight and authority of laws. In compliance with their injunction, the established system of religion was everywhere overthrown, and that recommended by the Reformers introduced in its place. The partiality and zeal of the people overlooked or supplied any defect in the form of these Acts of Parliament, and rendered the observance of them more universal than had ever been yielded to the statutes of the most regular or constitutional Assembly. By those proceedings, it must, however, be confessed, that the Parliament, or rather the nation, violated the last article in the treaty of Edinburgh, and even exceeded the powers which belong to subjects. But when once men have been accustomed to break through the common boundaries of subjection, and their minds are inflamed with the passions which civil war inspires, it is mere pedantry or ignorance to measure their conduct by those rules which can be applied only where government is in a state of order or tranquillity. A nation, when obliged to employ such extraordinary efforts in defence of its liberties, avails itself of every thing which can promote this great end; and the necessity of the case, and the importance of the object, justify any departure from the common and established forms of the Constitution.”¹

This author does not maintain the lawfulness of the Parliament; he merely apologizes for its defects in form, and its want of validity. He acknowledges that the members, or rather the nation violated an article in the treaty of Edinburgh, and even exceeded the powers which belong to subjects. But in such a case the passions which civil war inspires, though they account for rebellious proceedings, do not afford any apology for them. Nor does the Principal vindicate the conduct of the Reformers; he merely explains it: knowing that the church in which he held a conspicuous place, rests on a much surer foundation than the resolutions passed in 1560, by a Convention which set the Sovereign at defiance.

It is not denied by any one who has studied this question with attention, that the French Commissioners who represented the king and queen of Scotland, exceeded their powers. They were instructed by the cabinet of Paris to refrain from alluding to the treaty of Berwick, by which Elizabeth of England and the Scottish Reformers bound themselves mutually to defend their countries against any descent of French troops under whatever pretext. By this step the Lords of the Congregation placed themselves in a state of constructive rebellion against their own Sovereign. The commissioners were therefore desired, if they could not procure the consent of the English queen to the dissolution of this league, to be on their guard that no clause should be introduced into the treaty they were about to negotiate, which should have the effect of including within its provisions the leaders of the protestants. But Randan, and Monluc, the bishop of Valence, baffled in their diplomacy by the superior

¹ History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 235. Edition 1802.

tactics of Cecil, agreed, contrary to their instructions, to the introduction of a sentence which virtually protected the Reformers, and preserved their treaty with Elizabeth. "One only objection," says Mr Tytler, "existed to this part of the treaty; but it was a fatal one. The commissioners of Mary and Francis had no authority from their Sovereign to enter into any negociation with the Congregation, and the queen of Scotland refused to be bound by an agreement to which she was no party."¹

When business was concluded in Parliament, and the treaty of Berwick confirmed, in defiance of a special prohibition on the part of Mary and her husband, Sir James Sandilands of Calder went to France to inform their Majesties how entirely they had been disobeyed. "He brought intelligence to the queen of Scotland, that without waiting for the ratification of the treaty concluded by her commissioners, or giving her time to send her commission for calling of a Parliament, the three Estates had assembled of their own authority, and by a series of Acts more sweeping than any ever passed in the preceding history of the country, had introduced innovations which it was impossible could be regarded without alarm. They had overturned the established religion, and let loose against all who ventured to adhere to the belief of their fathers, the fury of a religious persecution; they had entered into a league with another kingdom, and, as if conscious of the illegal nature of their proceedings, had attempted to protect themselves against the punishment of the laws, by giving a pretended Parliamentary sanction to the most violent of their measures."²

Throckmorton, the English ambassador, when admitted to an audience at the French Court, entreated Queen Mary to ratify the treaty, and even complained that this had been so long deferred. "Such answer, she replied, as the king, my lord and husband, and his Council hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because ye shall know that I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty—my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing; nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me; but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and, though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this Assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them."

"When it is recollected," says the author whose sentiments I am now transcribing, "that the young queen was now only sixteen years of age, it must be admitted that in this conversation with one of the ablest ministers of Elizabeth, she acquitted herself with uncommon spirit and good sense; nor can we blame either her or the Guises for their steady refusal to ratify the treaty. Her commissioners, Mouluc and Randan, had received positive instructions from Mary to treat with England, but not to include her Scottish subjects, or recognise their league with Elizabeth; yet they suffered themselves to be overreached by the crafty diplomacy of Cecil, and not only included them, but virtually recognised their whole proceedings. Encouraged by this, the protestants had assembled

¹ History of Scotland, by Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq. F.A.S., vol. vi. p. 201.

² Tytler, vol. vi. p. 223.

a Parliament ; had adjourned for so short a period that it was impossible for the ratification and commission of their Sovereign to arrive ; had hurried forward its proceedings ; formed a council of regency composed chiefly of those who were most opposed to France ; entered anew into the league with England ; and lastly, had directed to that country an embassy, the object of which was to place themselves under the guidance and protection of Elizabeth."¹

If the maxim holds good which is maintained by Doctor Robertson, that when liberty is at stake, the necessity of the case, and the importance of the object, justify any departure from the common and established forms of the Constitution, it were mere waste of time to inquire farther into the validity of that meeting of Lords and Commons which crowned the efforts of the early Reformers in 1560.

It is every where admitted that, in the Article of the Edinburgh Accord or Treaty, there are ambiguous expressions which have not a little darkened the narrative of Scottish historians. This much, however, admits not of any doubt, that the commissioners from Mary and her husband Francis, because they considered the Lords of the Congregation as rebels, refused at first to treat. Indeed, they were expressly forbidden to recognize them as persons bearing any political character in Scotland. It is nevertheless clear that they afterwards consented to listen to certain petitions from them in regard to the maintenance of the laws, liberties, customs, and privileges of the kingdom. The warrant on which they acted does not justify their conduct in this respect. The part of their commission which relates to the adjustment of differences with the Scottish insurgents is expressed in these terms—" And in like manner to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland that, notwithstanding they have of late committed so greivous a crime as to forget their duty, if nevertheless they shall repent, and return to that obedience which they owe to us, we are willing to receive them into favour, and to forget all that is past, and not afterwards to make any inquiry into their former behaviour ; because we are desirous of nothing more than to see them living under obedience to us, and in peace, unity, and tranquillity together."²

From the tenor of this document it is manifest that the concessions meant to be granted to the heads of the Congregation and their followers, had a reference to their condition as rebels lately in arms against their lawful government, and must, of course, have been chiefly confined to pardon, oblivion of offences, and restoration to favour on condition of repentance and renewed allegiance. It may be presumed, therefore, that the proposal to permit the assembly of the States in Parliament had not been expected by Mouluc and Randan ; and it is manifest that they exceeded their powers when they consented to yield the privilege which was thereby conceded. That the bishop of Valence and his colleague were conscious that they had transgressed the limits of the authority with which they were invested, may be reasonably inferred from the restriction or stipulation annexed to the privilege now under consideration. They gave their consent that the Estates of the kingdom might assemble, in order to hold a Parliament " on the tenth day of July now running, provided that, on the same day, the Parliament shall be adjourned till the first day of

¹ Tytler, vol. vi. p. 227, 228.

² Keith, p. 131.

August following," at which time it was understood they were to commence business, if hostilities should have entirely ceased.

But they add that, "during the interval of adjournment, the Lord Deputies (Monluc and Randan themselves) shall order a despatch to the king and queen, to advertise them of this concession, and supplicate them most humbly that they would be pleased to agree to that which they have herein accorded." The commissioners indeed immediately subjoin, "and this Assembly shall be as valid in all respects as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of the king and queen; provided always that no matter shall be treated of before the foresaid first of August." But in this case there was manifestly implied the condition stated in the preceding sentence, that is, the concurrence and consent of the king and queen, which the deputies themselves were to supplicate most humbly in the despatch they had resolved to send to their Majesties. The long adjournment, from the tenth of July to the first of August, had, it is probable, some reference to the attainment of the royal sanction in favour of the individuals already convened in order to hold a Parliament, and which, if conceded, would indeed have rendered it as valid in all respects as if it had been called and appointed by the express commandment of Francis and Mary.

As the acquiescence of the queen and her consort was not bestowed, it cannot be surprising that a question should immediately have arisen as to the authority of this Convention. In truth, it is not easy to imagine such ignorance or facility of temper as could have induced their Majesties to put into the hands of subjects, whom they had just denounced as rebels, and whose pardon they were pleased to describe as an act of grace, not only the entire administration of affairs, but the power of completely remodelling the constitution of Church and State. It is admitted on all hands, that the privilege of holding a Parliament, unrestrained either by the presence of the Sovereign, or by the authority of a commissioner acting in her name, must necessarily have rendered the popular leaders supreme and uncontrollable. Those writers, therefore, who allow themselves to suppose that the counsellors of the royal couple were either blind, or indifferent to the effects likely to result from such an Assembly legislating in circumstances so peculiar, confer little honour either on their discernment or patriotism.

An objection of a different kind is raised by Mr Chalmers in the second volume of his elaborate work entitled "*Caledonia*." He has questioned the authenticity of the deed or commission, on the credit of which the French envoys, Monluc and Randan, are understood to have negotiated with the English ministers, Wotton and Cecil. The original of the commission is nowhere to be found; the copy preserved in the Cotton Library being only a transcript furnished to Cecil through the rather suspicious channel of Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and the Secretary Maitland.

The commission or power given by Francis and Mary to their deputies, the two ambassadors, was dated at Chenoneeau, the 2d May 1560; and that of Elizabeth, directed to Cecil and Wotton, was executed on the 25th of the same year and month. In the former, the Sovereigns merely take notice of the rebellion of their subjects in Scotland, which had brought together troops "on the frontiers." And it goes on to empower the two envoys to treat with Elizabeth's representatives for the re-establishment of peace; but, in this deed, there is conveyed no power to grant so much as a pardon to any of the said rebels, nor to notice, in any way, the Scottish

insurgents, more than is implied in the recital of their rebellion, as above stated. On the other hand, Elizabeth's full "power" to her envoys is printed in Rymer, vol. xv. p. 596, and there is not in it a single word touching the rebels of Scotland or their interests. The article which respects them, it is manifest, must have been suggested during the negotiation, at the request, probably, of the Lords of the Congregation.

Chalmers observes, that "Secretary Cecil afterwards obtained a detail of those concessions, with the power under which they are said to have been made. We have just seen that neither this power nor those concessions, which ought to have formed a separate article of the treaty of Edinburgh, were deposited with it in the public archives. They were placed, by whatever hands, in the Cotton Library, and they have been thence copied, translated, and published by Keith and other writers, without any suspicion of spuriousness, as Criticism and History are seldom allied. Cecil seems not to have brought a copy of those concessions and that power, from Scotland with him. A copy appears to have been afterwards sent to him by the northern chiefs; and this copy still remains in the Cotton Library marked by Cecil's hand, certified to be a copy from the *Original* by James Stewart, the Prior of St Andrews, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland (of Lethington), the late Secretary of the queen-regent. But the original itself, thus referred to, has never been seen by the most curious eyes. The supposed original appears to have been signed only by the French ambassadors. But to have made a complete original, it ought to have been countersigned by the English envoys; and such an original ought to have been annexed to the treaty of Edinburgh, as a separate article of that important pacification. And, forming thus an essential part of the treaty of Edinburgh, the supposed original belonged more to England than to Scotland; and, of course, Cecil ought to have granted a certified copy to the Scottish chiefs, rather than the Scottish chiefs transmit a copy to Cecil. The whole transaction, then, if it were real, was quite informal. And, again, to save the celebrated secretary of Elizabeth from the imputation of unskilfulness, he must be supposed to have acted knavishly."

The copy of the Scottish concessions, which remains in the Cotton Library, is entitled by the hand of Cecil, "The Acord betwixt the French King and Queen of Scots, and the nobility of Scotland, 3d July 1560;" and consists of the *power of the Sovereigns of Scotland*, with the concessions, supposed to be founded thereon, as made by their envoys. This copy was probably written by Lethington, the indorsements are in the hand of Cecil; and the signatures of James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland, are genuine.

Whitaker, the author of the "Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots," is said to be the first author who questioned the genuineness of those concessions, and of that full power. They certainly appear in a very questionable shape, says Chalmers, as we have already seen. The envoys of Francis and Mary would surely carry a copy of their concessions to Paris; and the power under which they acted, must have remained in the Chancery of France; and yet the collectors of French diplomas seem not to have found them where they ought to have been seen.

We now see the imperfection of the treaty of Edinburgh, as it was filed by Cecil in the archives of England. It will be found, perhaps, that "to vindicate this envoy's head, it will be necessary to impeach his

heart." There is a copy of this treaty in Leonard's *Recueil*, 1693, without the full power. But there is, in this collection, no copy of those supposed concessions. In the British Museum, Bibl. Harl., No. 1241, there is a very full, curious, and useful collection of treaties and other instruments between Scotland and France, from early till late times: yet does it not contain those supposed concessions, though it comprehends the treaty of Edinburgh of the sixth July 1560. The silence of this collector, and of Leonard, gives rise to some suspicion.

"When the head and the hand of forgery are busy in any age, it is not easy," continues Chalmers, "to ascertain falsehood from truth. We see in Haynes the successive intimations of Cecil, while his artful mind was busily employed at Edinburgh in carrying on a *double negociation*, with whatever view, of gratifying his passion for intrigue, or benefiting his fastidious mistress, without her knowledge. Owing to the artifices of this able minister, it thus becomes very difficult to distinguish what was the true result of the treaty of Edinburgh with regard to Scotland. From Castelnau we may learn, indeed, *what were given out by agreement* as its stipulations for putting an end to the war of Scotland. The writers of the same age, as they all differ in their notices, are not much more instructive than Castelnau. What was given by the insurgent chiefs to Cecil, and by him or by his direction, after a while was deposited in the Cotton Library, has long been published. And whether what has thus been obtruded on the world as genuine, and has also been reprobated as spurious, needs not be elaborately investigated, as the envoys had no power to negotiate with the insurgents, nor had they any power to make such a treaty by agreeing to such concessions, and as Francis and Mary never ratified the treaty, which subverted the constitution of the State, which transferred their undoubted sovereignty to their insurgent subjects, and which laid the independence of Scotland, which had cost so many struggles, at the feet of Elizabeth."¹

Dr Cook, in his "History of the Reformation in Scotland," vol. iii. Appendix, No. XVIII, reasons with considerable force against the conclusions of Mr Chalmers. He maintains that the commissioners of Francis and Mary had authority to make all the concessions which they yielded to the Lords of the Congregation. He fails, however, to produce any direct proof in support of this statement, and hesitates not to overlook the declarations of Monluc and Randan themselves, who distinctly stated that they were sent to negotiate a treaty with Queen Elizabeth, and not with the Scottish insurgents. To use the words of Bishop Keith, "we have sufficient ground to be assured that certain concessions were granted by the French Commissioners to certain petitions presented to them by the nobility and people of Scotland." But it nowhere appears that they were supplied by their sovereign with authority to make such concessions, while it is perfectly well established that Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, on the very ground that her deputies had exceeded their powers. An amnesty she was willing to grant, on the simple condition of repentance, and a return to their duty; but there is no evidence to justify the conclusion that she meant to sanction the holding of a Parliament in Scotland.—E.]

¹ Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 437.

