

I.

ON A CALENDAR OF THE 16TH CENTURY CONTAINING MS. NOTES ON SCOTTISH HISTORY AND OTHER RECORDS. BY J. BALFOUR PAUL, LYON-KING-OF-ARMS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

The title of this book—the property of Mr Wakefield H. Dixon of Dunowen, Belfast—is *Calendarium Historicum Conscriptum a Paulo Ebero Kitthingensi et recens ante obitum recognitum et denuo plurimarum rerum memorabilium accessione auctum et locupletatum. Wittebergæ. Excudebant Heredes Joannis Cratonis, Anno M.D.LXXIX.*”

The book is a small quarto of 413 pp., measuring  $7\frac{3}{8}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches, with indices, appendices, etc., at the end. It is beautifully bound in wooden boards covered with tooled pigskin, with two curious and elegant twisted brass clasps. It is hardly probable that the binding is the original, as the leaves bear traces of having been subjected to the binder's knife, but it is undoubtedly old, though in perfect preservation. On the top edge of the leaves is written “Pauli Eberi Calendar, Histor”, and on the outside of the cover the name Carolus Dixon appears, in ink, in a 17th century hand. Inside, upon the recto of the third fly-leaf, is

the Dixon pedigree, neatly printed in black letter character as follows:—

“Humphrey de Dixonne, borne anno 1351, in February, promised a barony by King Henry III. for his service in the troublous times in the yeeres 1399 and 1400, which promise was not fulfilled, the said Humphrey dying in the yeere 1401, leaving issue two sonnes, Henry, borne 1387, and William, borne 1389, and one daughter, Maud.

“Henry, died anno 1454, leaving issue one sonne, John, borne 1436, and one daughter.

“Edward, sonne of the above John, was borne 11th April 1463, and had issue one onlie sonne, Robert, borne 1499; John Dixon, sonne of the above Robert, borne 3rd January 1540, married Margaret Ayrton in the yeere 1569, by whom she had issue Henry and Thomas, and foure daughters. Thomas died in the yeere 1647, leaving a son, James, borne 8th April 1612, the said James being grandfather to me, Charles Dixon.

“Henry Dixon, my father, was borne 4th Ap. 1638.”

Then follows a space, and at the bottom of the page is written in ordinary cursive hand, “James Dixon, son of the above Charles Dixon, was borne at Sugdon, the first day of August 1719.”

Each page of the letter-press is devoted to one day, its title or date being set forth at the top in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek,—the notes of occurrences being in short paragraphs, which rarely occupy the whole of the page. The consequence is that there is a large amount of blank space, which has in many cases been used by an owner of the book to make notes on.

The author of the Calendar, Paulus Eberus, was one of the early German Reformers, and was born at Kissingen in 1511. He was educated at the University of Wittenburg, and became secretary to Melancthon, who held him in high esteem and consulted him much. He was Professor of Hebrew in Wittenburg in 1556, and afterwards the minister of one of the churches there. Besides this Calendar, he was the author of a History of the Jews from their return from Babylon to the Fall of Jerusalem, a Commentary on the Gospels, and a book of Church hymns. He died in 1589.

In the copy of the calendar under notice, besides the MS. notes to which reference has been made, there are more extended notices written on the blank leaves at the beginning of the volume. On the verso of the first fly-leaf is a narrative of the vision of Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart,<sup>1</sup> which appeared to James V., and of which an account is given by Knox, Pitscottie, and other writers. The story is written, like all the other notes in the book except the Dixon genealogy, in Latin, and is headed "Georg Buchananus lib. . . . rerum. Scot., paulo ante finem, D." We would naturally conclude that it was an extract from Buchanan's *History*, but this is not the case, the incident there being narrated in a very condensed form. The MS. begins, "in the history of the Scottish Church it is related," etc. ; and on examining the narrative we find that it is practically a translation into Latin from Knox's *History of the Reformation*. I give the story in the vernacular, as taken from Knox (Laing's edition, published by the Bannatyne Club). The MS. occupies two-thirds of a page, and stops abruptly before the end of the corresponding sentence on Knox, as if the writer had been interrupted at his task.

Geor. Buchananus.

lib. . . . rerum Scot.  
paulo ante finem, D.

In the history of the Scottish Church it is related that after the execution of Sir James Hamilton, James V., King of Scotland, told his servants that the said Hamilton had appeared to him in a vision, "having in his handes a drawin sworde, by the which fra the King hie stroke boith the armes, saying to him these wordis: "Tak that, whill thow receive a finall payment for all thy impietie." This visioum with sorowfull contenance hie schew on the morow ; and schortlie thaireftir deid his two sonnes,<sup>2</sup> baith within the space of twenty-four houris, yea, some say within the space of six hours . . . . How terrible a visioum the said Prince saw lying in Lynlythgw that nycht, that Thomas Scott, Justice-Clerk,<sup>3</sup> died in Edinburgh, men of good credite can yitt reporte. For effrayed at mydnycht, or after, hie cryed for torches, and reissed all that lay besyd him in the Palice, and told that Thome Scott was dead: for hie had bene at him with a company of devillis, and had said unto him these wordes: "O wo to the day that ever I know thee or thy service ; for, for serving of thee against God,

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, bastard son of James, 1st Earl of Arran, slew the Earl of Lennox, 4th Sept. 1526, extraordinary Lord of Session, 1533 ; Master of Works to the king, 1538 ; executed for treason, 1540.

<sup>2</sup> Prince James and Prince Arthur died April 1541.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Scott of Pitgorm, second son of Sir William Scott of Balweary, appointed Justice-Clerk 1535 ; died 1539.

against his servandis and against Justice, I am adjudgeid to endless torment." How terrible voices the said Thomas Scott pronounced befor his death, men of all estaitis heard; and some that yitt lyve cane witness; his voce was ever '*Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum*,' that is, I am condemned by Goddis just judgment.' He was most oppressed for the delatioun and fals accusatioun of such as professed Christis Evangell, as Maister Thomas Marjoribankis<sup>1</sup> and Maister Hew Rig,<sup>2</sup> then advocattis, did confesse to Maister Henrie Balnavis, who from the said Thome Scott, cam to him as he and Maister Thomas Ballanden wer sytting in Sanct Geillis Kirk . . . [and asked forgavance in the name of the said Thomas].<sup>3</sup>

On the recto of the next fly-leaf we have an account of the circumstances connected with the trial, imprisonment, and death of Mr John Stratton, the minister of Forres, followed by some remarks made by Robert Bruce, a well-known figure in the ecclesiastical history of the time, in a letter to Mr John Ker, a son of Andrew Ker of Faudonside, whose wife was the widow of John Knox; 'he was minister of Aberlady, a sympathiser with the ministers who were imprisoned at Blackness in 1606, and a man of considerable influence in the Church. Mr Bruce alludes to the deaths of Stratton and John Chalmers, who both became insane. The latter was sub-principal of King's College, Aberdeen, and minister of the second charge of Old Machar, from which he was translated in 1610 to the living of Keith. We are told that after celebrating a marriage, in a fit of melancholy he attempted suicide, but survived a week, and died after full confession and repentance, giving glory to God, 11th June 1611.

Following Mr Bruce's letter, we have an account of the misfortunes which befell Mr William Cooper on his accepting the Bishopric of Galloway, in succession to Gavin Hamilton. "None was more forward in the purer times," Calderwood says, "against the state of Bishops: none now more frank for the corruptions of the time. After he had gotten the Bishopric he maketh not residence in Galloway, but in the foot of the Canongate, that he might be near to the Chapel Royal, where

<sup>1</sup> Mr Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, one of the ten advocates admitted at the Institution of the College of Justice, 7th May 1532; Provost of Edinburgh, 1540; Clerk Register Feb. 1548-9; deprived of office 1554; died before 1560.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Rig of Carberry, admitted advocate 16th Nov. 1537.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Bellenden or Ballantyne of Auchinoul, admitted as ordinary Judge, 22nd June 1535; Director of Chancery, 1538; Justice-Clerk, 1539; died 1546.

he preached as Dean, neglecting his diocese where he ought to have preached as a Bishop, if his office had been lawful."

The following is a translation of the Latin original :—

"Mr John Stratton, preacher of the gospel in Morayshire in Scotland, made an eloquent oration in that province against the corruption of the Bishops and the newly erected hierarchy in the year [1611] day . . . the Bishop himself being present and listening : after the end of the sermon, the opinion being taken, those who had stood fast in the Truth gave thanks to God that it had been asserted with so much liberty and evidence of the spirit, inasmuch that the Prelate himself, who had fallen away from the Truth, pricked in conscience, could say nothing more of that matter when giving his vote : "Brother, I would advise you to abstain from that style, for so much liberty will bring you into trouble, for it will not be borne." There was no more said about that matter at that time : afterwards the Archbishop of St Andrews having been informed of this sermon, ordered him to appear before the form of Court lately erected in Scotland in favour of the hierarchy which is called the High Commission. Stratton there appeared, pleads his cause, and renders reason ; the principal argument which the Archbishop used to confute him was that he seemed like to that man who burned the temple of Ephesus, that he might get himself a name thereby. Stratton answers, "Not I, but thou rather who hast set on fire, and art pulling to pieces a far more famous and more glorious church." At length he was committed to Inverness Castle, there to be detained as a captive in close custody ; where, when after two years or more he had remained, constantly adhering to the sermon which he had made and affirming it, Lord Grant, a noble of that region, interceded between the Bishop and Stratton, that the differences between them might be compounded and arranged ; that Stratton, by in some measure departing from that truth which he was before asserting, should come to an agreement with the Bishop, and in sign of concord they ate and drank together. But immediately after, Stratton fell into madness and frenzy, and after lying confined to his bed for six days without relief or one word or sign of consolation breathed his last and died.

"Robert Bruce, a famous servant of God, and preacher of the word, on account of his singular piety, power to move, and his sacred doctrine and erudition, who also by the contrivance of the Prelate had been sent to Inverness from his house and flock like an exile or captive, and compelled to remain there, writes to a faithful pastor, a familiar friend of his, living in Lothian, six or seven miles from Edinburgh, by name John Ker, in this manner about this matter. After informing him of the miserable end of Stratton, the words of Bruce are :—'All here [ascribe] this heavy ending to this compromise with the Prelate, made against his mind and conscience ; and certainly,' says Bruce, 'the memory of this thing appals me ; to have seen one so abandoned of God and empty of grace, who before always seemed so pious. Surely,' said he, speaking of the Prelates, 'their way is not good, and we,' says he, 'have need to search and examine our hearts, that we may adhere more steadily to the sure foundations ; for God makes us preachers gazing-stocks to men ; for there are two in this province of Moray, Mr John Chalmers and Mr John Stratton, both endowed with excellent gifts, who strangely and miserably ended their lives.

It is not carelessly to be passed over, but worthy to be remembered what was told of Cooper, who was very lately made Bishop of Galloway in 1612. For he, while he persevered in the truth, wrote to Nicolson after he had accepted the Bishopric of Dunkeld, praying earnestly that Nicolson would consider with himself whether it were the walls of Jerusalem or Jericho that he was repairing. This letter of Cooper was seen and heard by many it is said. Now so it is, that some years afterwards this same Cooper accepts the Bishopric of Galloway (but after being much and earnestly requested and attracted by no small promises), and at the same time one of his sons died; secondly, when he receives that superstitious consecration the second son dies; thirdly, when he not long ago returned from the Court, where, as it is said, the king thanked him for changing his mind, not without promises of more ample rewards, his third son deceased, and he himself was visited with an ague; which strongly suggests that this judgment was inflicted on him on account of his repairing the walls of Jericho, 1613.

We now come to the notes which are interspersed throughout the volume at the end of the printed notices for each day in the calendar. There are in all sixty-four entries under sixty days: of these, nine relate to matters which had recently occurred on the Continent of Europe, but have no connection with Scottish History, such as the appearance of comets, the marriage of the Princess Margaret with Henry of Bearn, which preceded the massacre of S. Bartholomew, a shower of wheat in Austria in 1570, and other matters. Eight entries deal with classical incidents, such as the fall of Troy, the founding of Rome, the birth of Pompey, etc.; two deal with mediæval subjects, viz., the death of Hieronymus or St Jerome, which is entered under 30th March, though the commonly received date is 30th September, 420, and the death of Thomas Aquinas in 1274. Four relate to events in England, viz., the deaths of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, of Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1612, the coronation of King James, and the Gunpowder Plot. All the rest—if we except an obit of a Carolus Ayrton in 1550, which is written in a different hand from any of the other entries, and was probably made by one of the Dixon family whose genealogy appears at the beginning of the volume, as one of them married a Margaret Ayrton—relate to Scottish affairs mainly in connection with ecclesiastical matters. The earliest in point of date is given under 7th December, and chronicles the birth of Queen Mary on that day in 1542, and mentions that five days after, on the 13th of that month, James V. died at Falkland, and was buried at Holyrood, near the remains of his first wife, Magdalene.

This, with a note of the birth of James VI. at Edinburgh on 20th June 1566, and five other entries which do not relate to Scottish affairs, must, along with those dealing with classical and mediæval incidents, have been written long after the occurrence of the events chronicled, as the calendar itself was not printed at the date when they happened. The first incident recorded after 1579, the date of the publication of the volume, is an eclipse of the sun, which took place on the 15th of February 1597. "On this day," the writer says, "a little after the ninth hour, and the seventh day of the week, or Sabbath, was seen an eclipse of the sun in Scotland. In it the moon so obscured the face of the sun for six minutes that hardly could any one who tried discern writing; the eclipse lasted, during the approach and receding of the moon, for about the space of two hours or an hour and a half."

"And what it portends to the earth the God of gods knows, and the fates will show in their own time."

"Concerning this eclipse, Mr James Melvin, a faithful pastor of the church of Kilrenny, a most learned and just man and of excellent prudence, wrote the following verses in the Scots language to preserve the memory of the fact:—

In Februar the fyftein day exact  
 We sawe the soone, the tent hour of the day,  
 Beginne to lose his light, and turne to blak;  
 Quhilk peece and pece, his whyt did wear awaye.

The cause is this, as learned men do saye,  
 The darksome bodie of the changine moone  
 Cam in betwixe our sight and Phœbus geay,  
 And hid from us his holsom light so soone.

Amide the meetinges of our kerk this done,  
 Portendes the dark and variable warld  
 Shal com betwix the Kirk and Christ alone,  
 And make her pastor crooked, blind, and thrald.

Then statelie stares stik fast and tak gud tent,  
 The dragones taill will raing the firmament.

"The event proved the truth of this prediction, as fully appeared from the events of this year in the Scottish Church, and the years which followed it proved it more and more."

The lines above quoted are to be found in James Melville's diary,

with the exception of the substitution of "twentie-five" for "fyftein" as the day of the month. This may only be a clerical error, but there can be no doubt that the writer of the note either had access to Melville's diary, or had seen the lines, probably by the permission of Melville himself.

Under 22nd June, we are told that on that day 1597 "the Presbytery of St Andrews appeared by the King's command before His Majesty and the deputies of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who had met in the Royal Palace of Falkland. Here they considered of the justice of the deposition of John Rutherford from the ministry: the decree of the Presbytery was reversed, and he was ordered to be reponed, yet he did not long remain there, for God confirmed the sentence of the Presbytery, and, in fact, executed it, though human authority tried to uproot it."

John Rutherford had been deposed from his ministry in the parish of Kilconquhar for neglect of duty, non-residence in his parish, and because he was "louse in his behaviour and speeches at gentilmannis tabillis, ane brawlar and bostar, to the gret sclander of his profession." Notwithstanding his reponement by the Commission of Assembly, his brethren would have none of him, and they ultimately, in 1603, got rid of him, when he took to the profession of medicine and settled at Dairsie.

Another natural phenomenon is chronicled on 5th July. On that day in 1597 "the King's Majesty, moved by the ill reports of idle men, came to St Andrews in Scotland, whither he convened the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland. About this time, or a little after, in various parts and provinces in Scotland a great earthquake was felt, such as never before was heard of within the memory of man. In the village commonly called Cromarty, in the north; in the middle part of the realm, in the town of Perth; and in the western region, in Lenox. By this occasion it came into the minds of some to think of the earthquake which was in the time of Uzziah at Jerusalem: *Amos* i. 1; and *Zech.* xiv. 5: *vide* Josephus' *Antiquities*, ix. cap. x. 4, concerning this quake."

It is interesting to compare the above account with that given by James Melville in his diary. He says it "maid all the north parts of



Scotland to trimble from St Johnstoun throw Athall, Bredalbain, and all these hie lands to Ros and Nerin and Kinteall, quihilk was schawin me for certain be sum of our merchantes wha wer in Ros and Cromartie Firthe for the tyme." Then follows the same reference to Josephus' account of the earthquake in the time of Uzziah, and the same note of the incidental allusions to it in the prophecies of Amos and Zechariah. This is an additional confirmation of what I remarked before,—that the writer of these notes had had access to James Melville's diary.

On the 7th of July in the same year "some quires of paper full of calumnies which some ill-affected citizens of St Andrews collected from the sermons of their ministers and the preachings which were held in the days of the Presbytery, were offered to the King's Majesty and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland who had met at St Andrews, that they might the more incite the King to anger against Presbyterianism." Melville says of this: "I saw before the King lying, and thereafter had in my hand, a quere of paper (the words used in the Calendar notes are *schedæ cartæ*) of calumnies in fear wrait, gyfen up to the King." The calumnies appear to have concerned Robert Wallace and David Black, both ministers in the town, the former being Rector of the University. He demitted his office, and George Gladstones, afterwards Bishop of Caithness and Archbishop of St Andrews, was put in his stead, as we shall see from the next entry, which narrates how both ministers were removed from St Andrews:—

"12th July.—George Gladstones on this day, by command of the King and the Commissioners of the Church of Scotland, preached in St Andrews before the King, and then in the City Church, that so he might give them a specimen and make preparation of the ministry of that church from which before David Black, a famous preacher and effectual by the power of the Holy Spirit, had been banished; then also it was decreed to please the Court that Wallace, a learned man and of integrity, and a powerful preacher, should also be expelled from that charge, and Wallace was commanded under pain of rebellion to depart from the city within twenty-four hours; and likewise a day was appointed to David Black on which he was to depart under the same penalty."

On the 17th of the same month, accordingly, "George Gladstones took the ministry of the church of St Andrews on himself, those faithful servants of God, who had formerly ministerd there, being expelled."

On the 8th of February 1599, it is noted that "Rollock, rector of the University, and minister of the church of Edinburgh, after he had been long afflicted with stone, and harassed by many infirmities of body, took to bed in his house : at length William Scot, of Elie, in Fife, moved by singular affection towards Mr Rollock, would have him carried to his own house, and after he had been there some time he passed away quietly in God."

This was the famous first Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who did so much for the institution of which he was head. A full account of his life will be found in the preface to his collected works, published by the Wodrow Society.

Another obit occurs under 1st March :—

"John Durie, a faithful servant of Christ and the Gospel, who, after having preached Christ in Edinburgh about eleven years, was ordered by the King's authority to depart thence to the province of the Mearns and to ward himself on the northern part of Montrose, which happened about 1583. From that time he performed the duties of the ministry at Montrose, *Celurcae ad Mosam*, till the year (this day in the Julian style) 1600 by the new calendar, beginning the year from the first January, on which day he slept in the Lord."

Durie was well known to the writer of the notes, being probably, as we shall see, a relative of his, if not his son. He was the father-in-law of James Melville, and was a genial and lovable man, as we are told that he delighted in having good men around him, was given to hospitality, helpful to the destitute, compassionate to the distressed, and did not disdain occasionally to share, for relaxation and amusement, in the sports of the field. James Melville says of him : "For the gown was no sooner of, and the Byble out of hand, when on ged the corslet and fangit was the hagbut, and to the fields." It will be noted that the chronicler in the Calendar specially alludes to the change of style, the Julian calendar being superseded in Scotland by the Gregorian at this date.

2nd November 1600.—"Mr Robert Bruce, minister of the church of Edinburgh, having been ordered by command of the King to depart from Scotland, embarked this evening, and the third day after reached Dieppe in France."

Robert Bruce is so well known a figure in the ecclesiastical history

of the period that it would be out of place to enlarge on his character or work here. His exile from Scotland at this time was on account of his incredulity as to the exact circumstances of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which incensed the King highly against him. It will be noted that the chronicler says the ship arrived at Dieppe the third day after sailing. As the port of embarkation was Queensferry, this is evidently a mistake. Calderwood gives the date of his arrival in France as the 8th.

On the 23rd May it is noted that in 1601, "in Burntisland, where on this day the General Assembly had sat for nine days, other business being finished, it pleased the King publicly to renew his covenant with God and the people: then the ministers who were present, in the name of the churches and the people, did likewise, and promised to do the duty incumbent on them; and it was decreed that this action should be published in every church of the kingdom of Scotland."

The proceedings at this Burntisland Assembly must have been curious if not edifying. A long letter having been addressed to the Assembly by James Melville, who was ill at the time, the King took it out of the Moderator's hand and put it in his pocket; but, says Melville, His Majesty followed the advice of the first part of it, "and renewit the Covenant, to the grait comfort of all the Kirk at that Assemblie, and ordeanit thé same to be done throwout the land." The King also confessed his sins and his faith, promised to abhor all papacy, idolatry, and superstition; to execute justice, and do all duties of a godly and Christian king *better than ever before*. The last touch is delightful.

"On 3rd May 1602, Robert, third son of James VI. of Scotland, was washed with holy baptism, and on the third of June immediately following died."

"10th Nov. 1602.—The General Assembly began to be held in the royal palace of Holyrood. In this Synod men were named who might be promoted to episcopal benefices, on conditions before arranged: the Assembly sat till the 20th day of this month."

"4th Jan. 1603.—David Black, a Scot, a man of great integrity and a famous preacher of the Word, in the morning, safe and sound as it seemed, and to all appearance in good health, had appointed [to go] from Dundee to Perth in the evening with certain ministers and other good men whom he had invited to breakfast with him. After those who were with him had sat down on either side of the table, he himself, standing at the end, invoked evidently the blessing of God, and in the very act of prayer, gradually sinking down as he spoke, gave up the ghost, and put an end to his warfare in the year 1603, January being held for the first month."

This sudden death of David Black is related also by Calderwood, who says that James Melville deplored the loss which the Church sustained by his death in certain sonnets. He was minister of Arbirlot, and a man of much diligence and piety.

The departure of the King for his English dominions is noted under 5th April and his coronation under 25th July. With regard to the latter, it is stated that the day was "anticipated"; if this is so, it may possibly have been on account of the discovery of the plot in which Lord Cobham and others were involved, or it may have been owing to the prevalence of the plague in the city.

On 31st July 1604, we are told that James Melville and William Murray, Commissioners from the Presbytery of St Andrews, kept the appointed day for the General Assembly in Scotland at Aberdeen, and because no other Commissioners of Synods met, therefore it seemed to them fit to declare their presence by testimony and instrument of notary public, and to protest that it was not their fault that the Assembly was not held that day.

The King, always ready if possible to prevent the meeting of Assemblies, had postponed this one as fixed at the last meeting at Holyrood before referred to. The Presbytery of St Andrews, however, were determined to assert the liberties of the Church, and sent their Commissioners, with the above result. Calderwood gives the name of a third Commissioner, Mr William Erskine.

We now come to the entries which deal with the troubles in connection with the General Assembly at Aberdeen in 1605. It was an important event in Scottish Church history, and the chronicler devotes no less than fourteen entries to circumstances in connection with it. The notes are short, but they are evidently written from intimate knowledge of the facts, and can hardly have been made save by one who was closely associated with the incidents set forth. The facts are well known to students of the history of the period, but it may not be out of place to give a brief *resumé* of what occurred, as it will help to the better understanding of the notes which follow, and will render unnecessary any further comment on them.

At the Assembly held at Holyrood in 1602, it had been settled that

the next Assembly should be at Aberdeen, in 1604. It was, as we have seen, not summoned, and much dissatisfaction had been the result. Another was summoned for 1605, but countermanded, and the Council sent a letter to the Commissioner, Stratton of Lauriston, intimating that the King would highly disapprove of an Assembly being held. Notwithstanding the inhibition of the meeting, nineteen representatives from Presbyteries met, elected a moderator, and constituted the Assembly, and ten more joined them in a few days later, through some misunderstanding as to the date. They dissolved the meeting before any actual business had been done, but the mere fact of the Assembly having been held was sufficient to make the King furious. Summary measures were at once taken with the offenders. The whole twenty-nine were summoned before the Privy Council: of these sixteen were, on their expressing regret, dismissed with an admonition, but thirteen who justified their action were committed to various prisons. These thirteen, with the addition of one more who had repented of his former apology, were before long again brought up before the Council. This time they gave in a formal document called a *declarator*, signed with their names, in which they denied the competency of the Privy Council or any other secular authority to try them for their conduct in such a purely ecclesiastical matter as the holding of a General Assembly. The pleas they put forward were rejected by the Council, but the mere fact of the declarator having been put forward led to an unexpected result. The King, highly incensed at such independent views, ordered a new action to be taken in the document, and they were at once indicted on no less a charge than high treason. Six of the ministers, who were probably accounted the ringleaders, had been warded in Blackness Castle: their names were Forbes, who had been moderator of the Assembly, Durie, Strachan, Welsh, Duncan, and Sharp. It was decided to try these first, and the trial took place at Linlithgow before a jury, the presiding judge being the Justice-Depute, Hart, assisted by many noblemen and others. The question to be tried was put as a syllogism by Lord Advocate Hamilton as follows: "Whosoever, in whatsoever cause, declines the King's and Council's judicatory, incurs the guiltiness and pain of treason; but upon these the panel have declined the King's

and Council's judicatory; *ergo*, they have incurred the guiltiness and pain of treason."

After much argument and considerable pressure having been brought to bear on the jury, the panel were found guilty by a majority of nine to six; they were sent back to prison, and the King expressed his wish to have the remaining eight similarly tried; but the Council, subservient though they usually were, made a stand and positively refused to go on. Indeed, the effect was that so much sympathy with and interest in the ministers were shown, that there was a distinct revival of Presbyterian zeal in the land. James, however, was determined to fulminate all kinds of penalties against offenders. In February 1606, a proclamation was issued denouncing as seditious and punishable with death all speeches in defence of the Aberdeen Assembly, and all criticisms whatever on His Majesty's policy in Kirk and State; and in the month following a long treatise was issued under authority of the Privy Council, and printed for distribution throughout the country, under the title "A Declaration of the just causes of His Majesty's proceedings against those Ministers who are now lying in prison attainted of high treason." This was followed by another and still stronger proclamation, issued in September after the failure of the Hampton Court conference, discharging all ministers on pain of death from remembering in their sermons and prayers, otherwise than with reprobation, any of the ministers now in ward for holding "the late contemptuous conventicle in Aberdeen."

The rest of the story is soon told. Sentence of exile was pronounced on the six ministers, and on the 7th November they embarked at Leith, and left the shores of their native country for ever.

Turning to the notes in the Calendar relating to this stirring incident, we find the following:—

"2nd July 1605.—The ministers of the churches in the different provinces in Scotland, according to the order appointed by the Church, and confirmed by the authority of the King's Majesty and the estates of the realm, besides that that order of meeting in Assembly had been continually in use for about forty-five years, met at Aberdeen, and as they had been instructed by mandates from their several Presbyteries, held the appointed Assembly that day after various prerogations; and, therefore, many of them were punished with imprisonment, and some also with exile."

"3rd August.—Certain ministers of the gospel in Scotland were this day com-

mitted to prison by the authority of the highest tribunal of the Kingdom, the King ordering it, as afterwards several others were also for the same cause."

"17th August.—The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland were prohibited by public proclamation through a herald in the principal towns in the provinces."

"27th August.—The six Scottish ministers who had been imprisoned for some weeks were this day brought before the King's Council at Perth."

"3rd October.—The other ministers who were present at the Assembly at Aberdeen appeared at Perth before the King's Council, except those six who had before been committed to prison. Of these, six were ordered to enter different prisons. They obeyed."

"23rd October.—The ministers who were committed to prison at the beginning of August were this day summoned before the King's Council at Edinburgh."

"10th January 1606.—This day the six Scottish ministers who had been confined in Blakness for six months were produced before the tribunal at Linlithgow, and by the judge who presides at criminal causes were put to the verdict of fifteen chosen men, which is commonly called an assize, that they might pass sentence in a capital cause. And they at first, for the sake of justice, were disposed to acquit the accused; but afterwards the greater part, to please the chief magistrate, were induced partly to condemn and partly to throw doubt on their previous sentence. Meanwhile, there were six of the numbers who formerly adhered to a sentence of acquittal, yet these six ministers were condemned and put at the mercy of the prosecutor, and that with such a form of sentence as no one in that country remembered to have heard, much less any one experienced. Afterwards these ministers, six in number, were sent to prison, and when they had been confined there for ten months all of them were condemned to exile. The day of the judgment and sentence of condemnation was this 1606."

"24th May.—Forbes, one of the imprisoned ministers, was transferred from the prison of Blakness to the Castle of Edinburgh, and with him John Welsh his fellow prisoner, whose testimony he was to use in the cause he was compelled to plead."

"23rd September.—This day the sentence of exile of the Linlithgow tribunal was published against the six ministers who had now been above fourteen months confined in prison."

"13th October.—The sentence of the Court which judged the ministers on the 10th of January was judicially promulgated at Linlithgow this day, and they were ordered to go into banishment within the space of thirty days, and that on pain of death; but meanwhile they were sent back to prison and very closely kept."

"23rd October.—The six ministers who had already been condemned were brought before the Court this day to hear the sentence of exile which was inflicted on them, and to which [exile] they were sent after some days."

I cannot reconcile the statements of the last three entries, which seem to state that sentence of exile was thrice published. As a matter of fact, the sentence could not have been known so early as the 23rd September, because the King had not yet intimated his pleasure on the subject, but Melville gives this date also—besides the promulgation on

the 13th of October. It was not till some days later than that—three days indeed after the break-down of the Hampton Court conference—that His Majesty wrote to the judge who had presided at the time, ordering him to fix a court, to be held at Linlithgow or elsewhere, on the 23rd October, and then to cause doom of banishment to be pronounced on the alleged traitors. (Cf. *Privy Council Records*, vii. pp. lx. 262, *note*.) This was accordingly done, and Sir John Arnot, treasurer-depute, was ordered by the Council to make “dew and tymous provision of schipping and otherwyse for the transporting of the ministers.” We know that the chronicler is right in the little detail he gives about their being “very closely kept,” because the keepers of the castles throughout the kingdom were strictly charged by the Council “not to suffer the warded ministers to repair furth of the Castles, or any person to have access to them, as they will answer at their highest peril.”

On the 1st November we have the following entry:—“On this day the six ministers in Scotland who had been confined in prison for fifteen months were led out and went into exile in the year 1606; and on the 7th of this month they embarked.”

They were probably brought from Blackness to Edinburgh till the vessel was ready to sail. This it was expected to do on the 6th, at four in the afternoon, from Leith, and a large number of people assembled to see them off. A touching description of the scene is given by Calderwood. They did not actually sail on the 6th, however, as it was found that the skipper had not come on board, and they were allowed to return to their lodgings. “This,” says Melville in his diary, “was not without a Providence, as that night such a storm sprang up that the ship was compelled to lie all night in Kinghorn roads.” The date of the embarkation is specially mentioned again in the Calendar under its proper date, 7th November. “In the year 1606 the six ministers sentenced to exile beyond the dominions of James, King of Great Britain, went to Leith, and took ship to-day.” This is the last entry relating to the six ministers. Few of them were ever destined to see Scotland again. Alexander Strachan, the minister of Creich, died at Middleburg the following year. John Welsh, of Ayr, Knox’s son-in-law, settled in France, and for some years had his stipend regularly remitted



to him by the magistrates of Ayr: he became a fluent French preacher, and was much respected. He came back to Britain in 1622, intending to settle in Nova Scotia, but died in London in that year, aged 52. Andrew Duncan, minister of Creich, obtained the appointment of Professor of Theology in the College of Rochelle, but returned to Britain in 1613, and having made submission to the King, resumed his ministry in his old parish; he was, however, ultimately subjected to various prosecutions, and died at Berwick-on-Tweed in 1626. John Sharp, of the parish of Kilmarnock, in Fife, became Professor of Theology in the College of Die in Dauphiné, but being compelled to leave France in 1630, returned to Britain, and probably gave in his submission to the King, as he was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, in which town he died in 1648. Forbes, the minister of Alford, was the third son of William Forbes of Corse, and brother of Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. He had been Moderator of the Aberdeen Assembly, and was therefore considered a kind of ringleader of the offending ministers. After his exile he settled as preacher to the English merchants at Middleburg, whence he removed to Delft. He afterwards went to England and obtained the King's promise that his sentence and that of his co-exile Durie should be annulled; but the promise was of the usual pie-crust order, and, indeed, it was not long before he had to remove from Delft, owing, it is said, to the interference of the English Government. He died in Holland about 1634. Of Durie, the remaining one of the six, I shall have occasion to speak immediately.

I have dealt with all the entries relating to the case of the six ministers together in order to present a consecutive view of the situation, but seeing the incidents related extended over a period of about fifteen months, there are, as might be expected, some other occurrences which are noted as having taken place during that time. On 2nd Oct. 1605 a great eclipse of the sun, accompanied with great darkness, was seen in the kingdom of Scotland, and on the 5th November the Gunpowder Plot is duly chronicled in these words:—

“On this day the design of the Papists in England, and of others who were allied with them, was to destroy at one stroke, with gunpowder, the house in which the estates of the Kingdom were sitting, when all had met together in

Parliament. This plot, a very short time before it was to be put in execution, was wonderfully detected and frustrated; which posterity should never forget; for the King, Queen, and all their children would thus have perished in a moment if some one who was privy to that horrible treason had not warned some one dear to him of the danger by a letter, which, when it came into the hands of the King to be read, made him suspect that there was some contrivance on foot. Scrutiny in consequence was made, and there were found twenty-four casks of gunpowder under faggots in the lower storey of that edifice; and at the same time they observed a subterranean conduit sprinkled with gunpowder, and fire prepared outside in a subterranean ditch, which would quickly have reached the powder and set it on fire. Never can we sufficiently admire and gratefully acknowledge the deliverance which was given by God this day."

On 11th February 1606, a meeting of the Synod of Fife is mentioned as having taken place at Cupar thirty days after the condemnation (*i.e.*, the verdict against them) of the imprisoned ministers. Calderwood tells us that the King had appointed all the Synods to meet on this day, in order that one might not understand the resolution of another. Five Articles were submitted to them by his Majesty, all tending to the acknowledgment of his supremacy in the matter of calling Assemblies, and to the continuance and support of the state of Bishops. The result, however, was not satisfactory to the King, most of the Synods contenting themselves with referring the consideration of the Articles to the General Assembly.

On 8th May 1606 we have the obit of Robert Pont, "Theologian, Jurist, and a man skilled in various other sciences, minister of the church which is commonly called St Cuthbert's." Pont was one of the most distinguished and learned men in the Church. He was in 1569 made Provost of Trinity College, and afterwards presented to St Cuthbert's Church. In 1572 he was appointed to be one of the Senators of the College of Justice, but was deprived of that office in 1584 by the passing of an Act prohibiting all persons "exercising functions of ministrie within the Kirk of God to bear or exercise any office of civil jurisdiction." In 1587 the King desired him to be Bishop of Caithness, but this was prevented by the General Assembly. He died in the 81st year of his age, and is buried in St Cuthbert's churchyard, Edinburgh.

1st July 1606.—"On this day the estates of Scotland met in Parliament at Perth, when the Episcopal Hierarchy was re-established."

This entry refers to what is known as "the Red Parliament," because the nobles appeared in new red robes. Its most memorable Acts, so far as they related to ecclesiastical matters, were one "anent the King's Majesty's Prerogative," which upheld his supremacy over all estates, causes, and persons whatsoever. Another, "anent the restitution of the estate of Bischoppis," did not really re-constitute that order, because there were at that time no less than ten Scottish Bishops, but it gave them certain privileges and emoluments which they did not before possess.

23rd September 1606.—The obit of William Douglas, Earl of Morton, who died at Lochleven Castle. He is best known as the custodier of Queen Mary when she was imprisoned at Lochleven. On the death of Archibald, Earl of Angus and Morton, in 1588, he succeeded as sixth Earl of Morton. It is stated that "while he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his morals and the strict regard which he uniformly showed to the duties of religion. His public conduct was marked by independence, and he showed himself a warm and steady friend to the Presbyterian Church."

On 20th April we have the obit of Daniel de Dron "presbyter in the Church" (this in the vernacular and underlined), minister of the church of Flushing, and who commonly preached both in the Belgian and English church there. He died this day, Gregorian style, 1607.

I have not been able to discover who this Daniel Dron was. Stevens does not mention him in his list of ministers of the Flushing church, the first he gives being a Mr Potts, who acted previously to 1610.

On 20th June 1607 is chronicled the death of Elizabeth Durie, James Melville's first wife. Meanwhile, we are told, "her husband, partly as an exile from his native land, partly as a prisoner, was detained in England, for, summoned by royal letters, he had sailed from Anstruther on the 11th August, in the Julian style."

There is peculiar appropriateness in the mention of that lady, for, as there is reason to believe, these lines were penned by a relative, if not her own brother. She was the daughter of John Durie, one of the

ministers of Edinburgh, and Melville had, according to his own account, fallen in love with her when she was a girl of eleven or twelve, and had married her at sixteen. Melville himself was, at the time of her death, in England, where he had been since the Hampton Court conference. He was allowed to return for a short time to Anstruther to arrange his affairs after his wife's death.

On 17th September 1607 the appearance of a comet in the eastern parts of Europe is noted, and on the 25th of the same month it is again mentioned as appearing in the north-west at seven or eight o'clock in the evening.

On 6th January 1608 the death of Alexander Strachan, at Middleburg, to which I have previously referred, is chronicled. Calderwood says he died of the Flanders sickness, and had sent many but unavailing supplications to the King to be allowed to return to his own country.

21st November 1612.—“Prince Henry of Wales, the eldest son of the King of Britain, who had raised the greatest hopes in all, died this day. There was a rumour of poison administered through sprinkled gloves.”

The Prince of Wales was most popular in the country, and was, owing to his strongly expressed opinions against popery, the champion and hope of the Protestant party. “It was to his holding this ecclesiastical position,” says Dr Hill Burton, “that we may attribute the dark rumours about foul play that attended his early death.” It is more likely, however, that he died of some malignant fever.

The next note we have is an account of the death of James Melville, and so much space is devoted to his career that it is clear the entry must have been made by one who had some special interest in him. The entry is as follows :—

“20th January.—Mr James Melville, a man of rare piety and more than common prudence, and endowed with learning and erudition both divine and human, for three years and more lectured in Hebrew in the College of Glasgow, and after that was called by the public authority to the professorship of Theology in the University of St Andrews in Scotland. Having obtained this Sparta, he nobly, and with great applause from all, adorned it till 1587, at which time, on account of his singular and great gifts, he was called by the Church to undertake the pastoral office at churches which were destitute of ministers, which before were ruled by one minister, and could not agree to call any other

minister but him. He, when he was there, with the prudence and piety in which he excelled, provided two other ministers for those churches, one for the church of Anstruther, the other for the church of Pittenweem, where a church was newly built, for that town had before been a part of the parish of Anstruther. But he himself remained minister of the church of Kilrenney from the year 1590, where he discharged his office with very great profit, not only to that congregation but to all the neighbouring churches, till 1606, in which, on the 15th August, by the King's command, he went to London with Andrew Melville, his uncle. From which time till 1613 he was confined within certain limits, so that he was not permitted to return to his church and flock till a little before the end of that year liberty was given to him. And while he was considering of his return, on the 20th January he piously gave up his soul to God who gave it, 1614 by the Roman calendar, but by the Jewish calendar in the eleventh month of 1613, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, if not older."

The life of James Melville is so well known to students of this period of Scottish history, and has been treated of by so many writers, including himself, that it would be out of place to enter into any discussion of it here. There is a long and minute account of his last hours in Calderwood's *History*.

Under 21st May 1613 there is the following curious notice of the execution of Lord Maxwell for the assassination of the Laird of Johnston in 1608 :—

"Regulus Maxwell (a mistake for John), a Scottish noble, was put to death at Edinburgh, on account of the foul slaughter of Lord Johnston : his limbs are said, after his head was cut off, to have turned five men off the scaffold by many sharp blows, and that when his headless body was enclosed in a coffin, the coffin burst as it was being carried. As he professed himself a Roman Catholic, he perished in great favour with men of that kidney."

"2nd December.—On this day, in the Julian style, Mr John Kinnear, a learned man and pious minister of the church of Leuchars, died in the Lord in the year 1613."

Up to this date all the entries relating to Scottish affairs have been by one hand. Another now takes up the tale, and relates that on the 14th September 1616 "Robert Durie, when he had been an exile for ten years from his country of Scotland at Leyden, after he had there set up a church to his God, and had there preached the Gospel continually for seven years, died this day." The same writer notes the appearance of a large but pale comet in Holland on the 29th November 1618.

These are all the notes on the Calendar which have any relation to Scotland ; and though they may not disclose anything which is actually

new—and it would be strange if they did, seeing that few periods of our history are so well supplied with annals—they yet afford considerable interest as being the work of one who lived at the time, and was probably an actor in the scenes described. Let us see, as briefly as possible, if we can discover his identity. The entire notes on the book, to the number, as I previously stated, of sixty-four, seem to be the work of four hands. Those relating to classical and mediæval subjects are in the handwriting, so far as I can judge, of one who, under date 23rd September, describes himself thus:—“This day in the year 1554 was born the possessor of this book, John Fungger, in the village of Collum, at seven in the morning;” and he gives us a further glimpse into his family history on 9th April, when he says, “Mr Tilius Andreas, of pious memory, a reader (lector) in Leuwarden College, and my father-in-law, a candid and pious man, in the early morning, when it was just getting light, when he was hardly awake, heard a voice [say] that all things had been peaceful enough in the past months, but that the present month would be stormy. In this very month afterwards the most noble Prince of Orange was slain by a bloody thief, who discharged a gun at him, to the great sorrow of many men.” This, of course, refers to the assassination of William the Silent, which, however, did not take place in April, but on 10th July 1584. Who Mr Tilius Andreas was I do not know, but his son-in-law, Fungger, the original owner of this book, was sufficiently celebrated for some facts about him to have come down to us. He lived, or at all events was born, as he tells us, at Collum, which is a village in Frisia, near Leuwarden. He was a bit of a poet, and some verses of his may be found in the *Delicia Poëtarum Belgicorum*; he was the author also of a poem of 170 lines in praise of his native country, which he dedicated to Prince Maurice and Count William, the governors of Frisia, and also of a kind of etymological dictionary in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He is said to have died in 1611, but the book was probably out of his possession long before that, as the notes on Scottish affairs are in a different hand. The writer of these gives no personal details whatever about himself, but he must at the time of writing them have been living abroad, from his constant and specific mention of Scotland, which he would not have used had he

been in that country himself. Dealing, as the notes do, almost entirely with ecclesiastical affairs, we are led to suppose that he was in all probability a minister of the Presbyterian Church, while his frequent allusions to the Presbytery of St Andrews seem to show that he was a member of that body. With James Melville he must have been intimately acquainted, and, as we have seen, must either have had access to his diary, or have been in some way put in possession of his lines on the comet. He follows Melville, too, in his account of the publication or pronouncing of the sentence of banishment on the six ministers, and which appears, according to them, to have been done on three several occasions. Melville appears to have a special interest for the writer, as he not only gives a comparatively long account of his death, but mentions the demise of his first wife also. It may be noted, too, that he must have seen one of the few copies of Vautrollier's unfinished edition of Knox's *History*, which was printed in London in 1586, but almost immediately suppressed. The incident, however, which is most fully treated of in the notes is the trial and banishment of the six ministers, and the details given can hardly have emanated from any one who had not a personal share in the proceedings. The inference to be drawn, therefore, is that the writer was a Presbyterian minister, a member of the St Andrews Presbytery, an intimate friend of James Melville, and one of those six ministers who were exiled in 1606. We have seen the ultimate fate of five of these: the sixth was Robert Durie, the minister of Anstruther, and upon a careful consideration of all the circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that he was in all probability the author of the notes. He is said to have been the son of John Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and if this is the case he would be Melville's brother-in-law, and this would also account for the special mention which he makes of Mrs Melville's death. At all events, he was an intimate friend of Melville, and is frequently mentioned in the diary; indeed, there is a most amusing account given there of a stormy passage across the Forth from North Berwick to Elie, when he had to row for his life ("the auld man being dammist and machless"). He was for some time assistant to the schoolmaster at Dunfermline, and was ordained as minister of Aber-

erombie in 1588. His coming there was really through the influence of Melville, who in 1586 had been admitted to the parish, which then consisted of Anstruther, Kilrenny, Pittenweem, and Abercrombie. He brought with him Robert Durie as his assistant, and ultimately got him appointed to the sole charge of the parish of Anstruther: this was in 1592. A few years after, Durie accompanied the Association of Adventurers to the Isle of Lewis, but was not long there. In 1601 he was appointed with Robert Pont to visit the bounds of Orkney and Zetland. He took part, as we have seen, in the Assembly of 1605, and his subsequent fate has been fully told. When he reached the continent he was fortunate enough, after a time, to get a church endowed by the magistrates of Leyden, in Holland, where he finally settled. Being, as I have said, an attached friend of James Melville—who indeed styles him “my faithful friend and companion”—it is not surprising to find that he kept up a correspondence with Andrew Melville, who was living at Sedan. The sturdy old Presbyterian champion, resting after a stormy life in the cold shade of exile, wrote Durie many letters, some of which are now in the Advocates’ Library. He not unfrequently writes on terms of intimate and even playful familiarity. “When our dame bakes,” he says, “you shall have a scone. Commend me to my good cummer and to my godson, and to the rest of the bairns. I may see them once er I die, now entering my séventie year.” As Melville was born in 1545, this must have been written very shortly before Durie’s death. The pen was soon to fall from the hand of him who, I believe, wrote the notes we have been dealing with; if further evidence is wanted to connect him with their authorship, it is supplied by the fact that while the last entry in the handwriting in which all the Scottish notes have been made is on 2nd December 1613, the next entry, in point of date, is in an entirely different hand, and chronicles Durie’s death on 14th September 1614. This makes the presumption of his having been the writer of the others very strong indeed.

Of the adventures of the volume itself, unfortunately, we know but little. How it passed from the hands of Fungier into those of Durie it is impossible to say: Leuwarden and Leyden are a long way from each other, though both in Holland, but the possibilities of the book chang-



ing hands are endless, and need not be discussed. It next turns up in England, and must have been in the hands of the Dixon family before the end of the seventeenth century, as Charles Dixon chronicles the birth of his grandfather in 1612, and of his father in 1638, while his son James tells us that he himself was born in 1719. Some member of that family has inserted, under date 27th July, the obit of Carolus Ayrton in 1550,—a Margaret Ayrton, probably his daughter, having married John Dixon in 1569. The Dixons have lived at a place called The Marsh, in Salop, about 8 or 9 miles from Shrewsbury, for the last 300 years. The book was re-discovered in a curious manner about eight years ago by a member of the family, in a secondhand bookseller's shop in Shrewsbury. He was attracted to it by seeing his own name, Carolus Dixon, on the cover, and the pedigree of his family inside: he bought it forthwith for 2s. 6d. The book had either been sold at one of the sales at the Marsh, after the death of one of the proprietors, or it may have got into the bookseller's hands in another way. The grandfather of the present possessor, Mr Craig, was a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, married in 1811 a Miss Dixon of The Grange, Atcham, near Shrewsbury, and settled in Shrewsbury on his retirement from the ministry about 1817. It is possible that the book was given to him as relating to Scottish matters in which he would have an interest, and that it was sold at his death. In any case, it is not a little remarkable that it should have returned to the family in the way I have described.

In bringing this paper to a close—which has run to a length which I did not anticipate when I began it—I cannot but express my thanks to Mr Maitland Thomson, the Curator of the Historical Department, Register House, and Mr Hume Brown, the distinguished biographer of Buchanan and Knox, for much valuable assistance. And I venture to hope that the voice from the past, echoing over a gulf of nearly three centuries, has not fallen on your ears without exciting some degree of interest.