



Ladies of the Reformation

IN SCOTLAND.



2



“At midnight mirke thay [the persecutors] will us take,
And into prison will us fling,
There mon we ly quhile [*i.e.*, till] we forsake
The name of God, quhilk is our king.

“Then faggots man we burne or beir,
Or to the deid they will us bring:
It does them gude to do us deir,
And to confusion us down thring.”

Wedderburne's *Gude and Godly Ballates*.

“But hald you at my Testment fast,
And be not quhite of them aghast,
For I sall bring downe at the last
Their pride and crueltie.”—*Ibid.*





INTRODUCTION.

FERTILE as is the field of the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Scotland in materials of great and enduring interest, it presents only a few scattered gleanings in regard to the reformed ladies. This poverty of materials arises mainly from two causes—from the defective state of female education in Scotland at that period, and from the fact that the ladies attached to the Reformation in Scotland were not called, to any great extent, to suffer persecution and martyrdom.

At the time of the Reformation, and even before it, the ladies of Italy, Spain, France, and England, enjoyed distinguished advantages of mental culture. The dispersion of the Greeks, consequent upon the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, about the year 1443, had the happiest effects upon the revival of letters in these countries. Italy, which, during the darkest periods of Papal domination, had preserved a degree of refinement and knowledge to which the other nations of Europe were strangers, was the first to experience this intellectual resuscitation. In that country the learned Greek refugees, upon the overthrow of their empire, found an asylum; and bringing with them the works of their ancient orators, poets, and historians, they taught these models of eloquence and taste to the Italian

scholars, who studied them with enthusiastic ardour; and these studies, by refining their taste, increased their relish for the classic writings of their own scarcely less illustrious authors of antiquity. Similar were the advantages derived by Spain, France, and England, from the destruction of the Constantinopolitan empire. Their students or learned men, resorting to Italy, were instructed in the Greek language by some of the most illustrious Greek refugees; they besides acquired a pure Latin style under the first Italian masters; and returning home, they industriously laboured to introduce among their countrymen a taste for the Greek and Roman classics, in opposition to the scholastic and barbarous systems of education then prevalent. So strong was the passion for the cultivation of classical literature in these countries, that the daughters of the nobility and gentry were carefully taught the Greek and Roman languages under skilful masters, and in these languages many of them attained to great proficiency. But Scotland was somewhat later in deriving these advantages; and when Scotsmen who had travelled in Italy, Germany, and England, to acquire the learning not to be obtained in their own country, on returning home, introduced the cultivation of elegant and humanizing literature, the extension of a high education to the daughters of Scotland, even to those of rank, was little thought of. Hence in the history of the Scottish Reformation we have no ladies who can vie in learning and accomplishments with Renée of Ferrara, Olympia Morata, Margaret of Valois, Katharine Parr, Lady Jane Grey, the Ladies Seymour, and the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. Had the Scottish ladies enjoyed opportunities of cultivating their minds similar to those enjoyed by these illustrious ladies, numbers of them would, doubtless, have left behind them lasting traces of their genius and talents; and there would not have been wanting, among the Scottish Reformers, enough of learned gallantry to do justice to their merits. Henry VIII., depraved as he became when advanced in life, patronized learning in his early days, and was ambitious to bestow upon his daughters a finished education; an example which the nobility and gentry emulously

followed. Had the Scottish throne been filled by a sovereign with a rising family of daughters, of whose mental culture he was equally solicitous, his example would, no doubt, have had a similar effect upon the Scottish nobility, gentry, and people.

The other cause of the scantiness of our information respecting the ladies attached to the Reformation in Scotland, is the circumstance that Popish persecutors were not permitted, in the providence of God, to visit them, in very many instances, with the penalties of heresy. The most powerful of the Scottish nobility, and ultimately the Scottish government itself, having early become favourable to the Reformation, the Scottish Popish priesthood was soon deprived of the power of wielding the sword of the state for the extermination of heretics. It was different in most of the other countries of Europe where the Reformation took footing. In England, for example, though Henry cast off the Papal supremacy, yet still continuing in all other respects a dogmatic Papist, he ceased not to persecute the Reformers; and his bigoted, fanatical daughter, Mary, offered them up in whole hecatombs to the Roman Moloch. Thus England furnishes a much more numerous list of martyrs, of both sexes, for the reformed sentiments than Scotland, the number of whose martyrs under Popery is comparatively small.

In the 17th century, the intrepidity of the ladies of Scotland prompting them to become fearless confessors and devoted martyrs, was conspicuous. Sir Walter Scott, in his *Old Mortality*, describing the resolute firmness of the Scottish character during the persecution of Charles II. and James VII., observes—and the observation applies to the tender as well as to the hardier sex, as is evident from numerous examples in the history of that period—“It seems akin to the native sycamore of their hills, which scorns to be biased in its mode of growth, even by the influence of the prevailing wind, but shooting its branches with equal boldness in every direction, shows no weather-side to the storm, and may be broken, but can never be bended.” And if the examples of the heroism of the Scottish ladies who had embraced the reformed sentiments, are less

numerous in the 16th century than in the 17th, this did not arise from their want of a self-denying, self-immolating spirit, disposing them to hold fast the truth even in death, but from their not being subjected to the same extent to the fiery ordeal of persecution.

The courageous resolution of the Scottish female character may, indeed, be traced back to a much earlier period than the Reformation. It was called forth by the struggles in which Scotland, for ages before, had been engaged, in maintaining its independence against the more powerful kingdom of England; and it was nursed by historic and heroic ballads, which have so powerful an influence on the character of a rude and semi-barbarous people. These songs, sung not only by travelling minstrels, accompanied with musical instruments, but by the maidens of Scotland, at their convivial meetings, after the labours of the day were over, gave a touch of the heroic to the Scottish female character, as well as contributed to inspire the young men with an adventurous, intrepid spirit, in which chivalry and patriotism were combined. One of these rhymes, composed on the occasion of the defeat of the English at Bannockburn, was the following:—

‘Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne,
For your lemman¹ ye have lost at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What! weneth the King of England
So soone to have wone Scotlande?
With rumblyowe.”²

“This song,” says Fabyan, “was, after many days, sung in dances in the carols of the maidens and minstrels of Scotland, to the reproof and disdain of Englishmen, with divers others, which I overpass.” In the same century Sir John de Soulis, the Scottish governor of Eskdale, having, with fifty men, defeated a body of 300, commanded by Sir Andrew Hercla, who was taken prisoner, this

¹ Lovers or sweethearts.

² With heue a lowe—with rumblyowe, appears to have been formerly the ordinary burden of a ballad, as “Derrydown” is at present.

formed a new theme for the lyric poet; and the rhyming historian, Barbour, forbears to "rehearse the manner" of the victory; as, says he—

"————— quhasa likes thai may hear
Young wemen, quhen thai will play,
Syng it among thaim ilk day."¹

Ladies of rank appear to have imbibed the prevailing martial spirit in this age. In the 14th century, when, during the war which Edward III. of England maintained in Scotland, the town of Dunbar was besieged by part of the English army, led on by Montague, the Countess of March, commonly designated "Black Agnes," defended that place with uncommon courage and perseverance. In scornful contempt of the besiegers, she ordered her waiting-maids to brush from the walls the dust produced by their battering engines, and this in sight of the English; and when a tremendous warlike engine, called a sow, approached the walls, she called out, "Montague, beware! your sow shall soon cast her pigs," which she verified, for an immense mass of rock, thrown from a lofty tower, accompanied her threat, and crushed the ponderous machine and the besiegers which it contained.²

When, by the Reformation, the light of uncorrupted Christianity dawned upon Scotland, a nobler, a more thrilling heroism was super-added to this heroic love of country; for, sublime as is the spectacle presented by the hero or the heroine who suffers for the sake of country, it is outrivalled in sublimity by the spectacle of the hero or the heroine who suffers in the cause of God.

Previously to the Reformation, whilst the Popish religion still flourished in Scotland, many of the Lollards, or followers of John Wickliffe, were to be found in the west, and among them we meet with the names of some distinguished females. In 1494, in the reign of James IV., when thirty of "the Lollards of Kyle," so called because resident in Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, Ayrshire, were summoned before the king and his privy council for heresy, by

¹ Ritson's *Historical Essay on Scottish Song*, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

² Pyne's *Hist. of Royal Residences*, vol. ii., Kensington Palace, p. 50.

Robert Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, several females were included in the list; as Helen Chalmers, daughter of John Chalmers, son and heir of Sir John Chalmers of Galdgirth, and wife of Robert Mure of Polkellie; and Marion Chalmers, her sister, and wife of William Dalrymple of Stair. The leading articles of which they were accused were, that neither images nor the relics of saints are to be worshipped; that after consecration the bread of the eucharist remains bread, and is not transubstantiated into the body of Christ; that to worship it is idolatry; that the mass profits not souls in purgatory; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter; that he deceives the people by his bulls and indulgences; that he cannot remit the pains of purgatory, nor forgive sins, which is the prerogative of God alone; that he is the head of the Kirk of Antichrist, and that he exalts himself against and above God; that it is lawful for priests to marry; and that we should not pray to the Virgin Mary, but to God only. Such were the free opinions embraced by these bold proselytes of the new school, who had acquired them partly from disciples of Wickliffe visiting Scotland, and partly from reading his translation of the Scriptures in their private concealed meetings; and, like all ardent proselytes, they had been zealous in disseminating their deep hatred of the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church. "Yet God," says Knox, "so assisted his servants, partly by inclining the king's heart to gentleness (for divers of them were his great familiars), and partly by giving bold and godly answers to their accusers, that the enemies in the end were frustrate of their purpose."¹

It appears to have been at or about this time that the wife of John Campbell of Cesnock, Janet Montgomery, the seventh daughter of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton, and Campbell himself,² were in peril of their lives on account of their having embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe. Both of them were persons of exalted piety, and

¹ Knox's *History*, Wodrow Society edition, vol. i., pp. 7-11.

² He was the first of the Campbells of Cesnock, and was the son of Sir George Campbell of Loudonn, Sheriff of Ayr, the seventh in the genealogical table of that family.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. ii., p. 207.

their house was a school of Christian instruction; for they kept a priest, who read to them and their family the New Testament in their vernacular tongue; and the deportment of the whole household corresponded with the spirit of that sacred book. They also assisted the poor by all kind offices; and although convinced from the gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God, yet such was their benevolent disposition, that they still continued to receive the monks into their house, and to treat them hospitably. At times they would familiarly converse with their guests upon Christian doctrine, and condemn the almost universally prevailing superstitions. Taking advantage of this, and violating the laws of hospitality, the monks brought before the bishop an accusation of heresy against the lady, her husband, and the priest. The accused being in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the king, James IV., who graciously heard the cause on both sides, notwithstanding the displeasure of the ecclesiastics, who claimed the exclusive power of trying cases of this nature. Campbell, not a little agitated by fear of the monks, and unwilling to commit himself, answered with caution. Upon this the king, having commanded the wife to adduce what she had to say in self-defence, she pled the cause of them all with such ability and boldness, readily and appropriately quoting from the Scriptures in support of her statements, as to astonish the sovereign, who not only acquitted all the defendants—Campbell, his wife, and the priest—but also, rising up, heartily shook Mrs. Campbell by the hand, and highly commended her acquaintance with Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened that if ever after they should, in this manner, harass such honourable and innocent persons, he would inflict upon them exemplary punishment; and he presented to Campbell certain vil-lages as a memorial of this honourable acquittal, and of the high place which Campbell held in the royal favour. These facts are recorded by a nearly contemporary author, Alexander Ales.¹ They

¹ In the dedication of his work, entitled *Responsio ad Cochlei calumnias*, 1534, to King James V., quoted in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii., p. 400.

are also celebrated by Mr. John Davidson, afterwards minister of Prestonpans, in his poem commemorative of Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of Kinyeanleuch. After informing us, as he had been told by honest aged men of Kyle, that the laird of Cesnock, "eightie yeares sensyne and mare," had been doomed to public execution at Edinburgh, by the ecclesiastics, "for Christ's evangell, which he read," but rescued by James IV., he adds :—

"Some sayes death was alswel prepard,
For priest and lady as the lard :
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory :
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie,
Who our religion so oft cald,
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald."

It was then little dreamed of that these Lollards were laying the train for that explosion of opinion which was afterwards to shake the Papacy to its foundations in Scotland, and to establish the Reformation.

None of the Scottish queens or princesses, at the period of the Reformation, had the honour of supporting that great cause. Hopes were entertained that the first queen of James V., the beautiful, amiable, and accomplished Princess Magdalene, eldest surviving daughter of Francis I. of France, by his excellent queen, Claude, sister of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, would patronize the new opinions, or at least throw the weight of her influence on the side of toleration. Having, when only four years of age, lost her mother, who died on the 20th of July, 1524, she was brought up under the care of her aunt, Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, afterwards Queen of Navarre, a well known patroness of the French Reformers, many of whose doctrines she had embraced; and it was believed that the mind of Magdalene had been imbued, by the instructions of her relative, with the same enlightened and liberal principles. But she did not long survive her union with James,

¹ *i.e.*, from the date of the composition of the poem, which was in 1574.

which was solemnized on the 1st of January, 1537, in the church of Notre Dame, Paris. The fatal disease of consumption, derived from her mother, had begun to undermine her health before her marriage, and she died on the 10th of July, forty days after her arrival in Scotland,¹ having nearly completed her seventeenth year, to the sincere regret of all classes of subjects, with the exception of the priests and prelates, who dreaded the overthrow of their pomp and power, from the influence of a queen who had been educated under the inspection of a person of such suspicious orthodoxy as Margaret of Valois.² It was on this occasion, observes Buchanan, that "mourning dresses were first worn by the Scots, which," adds he, "now after forty years, are not very common, although public fashions have greatly increased for the worse."

The second queen of James V., namely, Mary of Guise, who upon the death of James became queen regent, was hostile to the Reformation. And her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots, who was educated at the French court, was trained up in a blind devotion to the Popish Church, and taught by her uncles, the Guises, to believe that it would be the glory of her reign to restore her kingdom to the jurisdiction of the Pope. This, which could not have been accomplished without rekindling the flames of persecution, it was her purpose to achieve, whenever a fit opportunity offered itself. But happily she had never the means of doing serious injury to the reformed cause in Scotland. On her arrival at Edinburgh, on the 20th of August, 1561, to assume the reins of government, finding the Protestants in possession of the power of the state, she had meanwhile to yield to circumstances; and a few years after, her conduct, particularly her participation in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, entirely and for ever stripped her of the sovereign power, which fell into the hands of the Reformers.

¹ Drummond.—*Holinshed's Chronicles, &c.*, London, 1808, vol. v., p. 513.

² Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, book xiv.





KATHARINE HAMILTON.

SISTER OF PATRICK HAMILTON, THE MARTYR.



KATHARINE HAMILTON, the first of the Scottish female representatives of the Reformation to which we introduce the reader, was the daughter of Sir Patrick Hamilton, of Kincavil, Linlithgowshire, by his wife, who was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to James III. Her father was a natural son of James, first Lord Hamilton,¹ the father of James, second Lord Hamilton, and first Earl of Arran, whose son James, second Earl of Arran, and Regent of Scotland, was, next to Mary Queen of Scots, nearest heir to the Scottish crown. Thus, on the father's side, she was nobly though not royally descended; and on the mother's side she was related to the royal family of Scotland. She was sister to the famous Patrick Hamilton, the first native who suffered martyrdom in Scotland for the Protestant faith;

¹ Pinkerton affirms his legitimacy, supposing that he was a son of Lord Hamilton, by his second wife, Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of King James II., and relict of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran.—*History of Scotland* under the house of Stuart, vol. ii., pp. 45, 46. But Douglas has proved, from charters, that he was an illegitimate son of that nobleman.—*Peevage of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 697.

and she had another brother, Sir James, who also embraced the reformed sentiments. On the 2d of May, 1520, she lost her father, who fell on the High Street of Edinburgh, in a feud between the Earls of Arran and Angus, when about seventy men were slain, and James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, narrowly escaped with his life. Beaton was at that time one of the Hamilton party, though he afterwards, when Archbishop of St. Andrews,¹ made her brothers and herself feel the power of his wrath.²

The chief means by which Katharine was brought to the knowledge and belief of the reformed doctrines, were the instructions of her brother Patrick and the reading of the New Testament in English; for copies of Tyndale's New Testament had by this time been brought into Scotland. Her brother Patrick, after he had returned to Scotland from Germany, in 1527, inflamed with an unquenchable desire to communicate to his blinded countrymen the knowledge of the true way of salvation which had dawned upon his own mind, taught her the same divine and saving truths.

The burning of her brother, on the last day of February, 1528, shortly after his arrival in Scotland, made a deep impression on her mind, and confirmed her convictions of the truth of the principles which he had taught her, and for which he had suffered.

About six years after his martyrdom she was exposed to no small danger of sharing the same fate. Her relation to him had made her an object of suspicion to James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had brought her brother to the stake, and to other ecclesiastics, who were waiting for an opportunity of proceeding against her for heresy.

At length she, with several others, were cited to appear before an ecclesiastical court, to be held in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, in August, 1534, to answer to the charge of maintaining heresies repugnant to the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, and condemned by general councils and by the most famous universities. On the

¹ He succeeded to the metropolitan see in 1522.

² Pinkerton's *Hist. of Scot.* under the house of Stuart, vol. ii., pp. 130-133.

day appointed, several of those summoned appeared before the court, in which James Hay, Bishop of Ross, presided as commissioner for Beaton, the metropolitan archbishop; and refusing to abjure, were sentenced to the flames—as David Straiton, a gentleman of the house of Laurieston, and Norman Gourlay. Others who appeared having abjured and publicly burned their bills, were pardoned. Others sought safety in flight, as Katharine's brother, Sir James, of Kincavil, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, who was condemned in his absence as a heretic, and his goods and lands confiscated. Katharine made her appearance, and the special charge brought against her was her maintaining that none could be saved by their own works, and that justification is to be obtained exclusively through faith in the righteousness of Christ. She admitted that these were her sentiments. Upon this, Mr. John Spence, lawyer, and afterwards king's advocate, one of those who had sat in judgment on her brother Patrick in 1528, began to argue the question with her. To enlighten her mind on the doctrine of the merit of good works, he proceeded to a lengthened discussion of the subject, telling her that there were divers sorts of good works—"works of congruity and works of condignity"—each of which had attached to them a peculiar kind of merit. "Works of congruity," said he, "are those done antecedently to justification, which prepare for the reception of grace, and which it is congruous for God, in his goodness, to reward, by infusing his grace. Works of condignity are those performed after justification, from freewill, assisted by the grace infused at justification, which are meritorious, not only because God has promised a reward to them, but likewise on account of the intrinsic value of the works themselves." To Katharine, who had not studied dialectics, the abstruse distinctions, with which Spence seemed so familiar, were probably new, and served only to perplex her mind. At last, her patience being exhausted with the tediousness and subtilty of his argumentation, which entirely failed to convince her, she cried out, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of

works can save me but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour." King James V., who was present in the court during that day, clothed in red apparel, on hearing the very summary manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer's learned casuistry, was much amused, and turning about, he laughed heartily. By the entreaties and blandishments of the monarch, who was, doubtless, actuated by a humane solicitude to save her life, she was prevailed upon to retract her sentiments. "He called her unto him," says Calderwood, "and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and so she escaped."¹ Had she remained inflexible, she would probably have been doomed, like Straiton and Gourlay, to perish at the stake.

But if she had not the resolution of her brother Patrick, who preferred an honourable death to an abandonment of the truth, she was not long in repenting of the concessions which she had been induced to make, and dreading the wrath of Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, she left Scotland in the close of the year 1535; and, like her brother, Sir James,² proceeded to England, where she was introduced to Jane Seymour, queen of Henry VIII. In the spring of the year 1539, she was residing at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and had been there a considerable time before, being still afraid to return to

¹ *History*, vol. i., p. 109.

² Various allusions to Sir James, while in England, occur in the state correspondence of the period. On the 3d of March, 1535, Sir Adam Otterburn had written to Cromwell respecting him. In August, Cranmer introduced him to Cromwell as a gentleman who had left his country for no other cause but "that he favoured the truth of God's Word." On the 26th of February, 1536, Cranmer again wrote to Cromwell, requesting him "to move the king for somewhat to be given him to live on here in England." On the 24th of April, Sir James sent to Cromwell a copy of the sentence pronounced against him by the court held in Holyrood Abbey, praying that Henry VIII. would interpose with the Scottish monarch in his behalf. Cromwell, in the name of his royal master, did so by letter, and the reply from Stewart, the lord treasurer, dated 19th May, was, "that while the lady of Sir James and his children wanted nothing necessary for their maintenance, his highness (though his relation) could not help him, neither direct nor indirect, without danger to his conscience, except the gentleman be first reconciled to and by the pontiff."—*State Papers*, vol. v., pp. 21, 41, 49. Sir James, however, was permitted by his sovereign to return to Scotland in 1540.—Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 139.

Scotland, from the danger to which the adherents of the reformed sentiments were exposed. These facts, which close the scanty notices of her life which time has preserved, are recorded by the Duke of Norfolk, in a letter to Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, dated 29th March, 1539. "Daily cometh unto me," says Norfolk, "some gentlemen and some clerks, which do flee out of Scotland, as they say, for reading of Scripture in English; saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I give them gentle words, and to some money. Here is now, in this town, and hath been a good season, she that was wife to the late Captain of Dunbar, and dare not return for holding *our* ways, as she saith. She was in England, and saw Queen Jane. She is Sir Patrick Hamilton's daughter, and her brother was burnt in Scotland three or four years ago."¹

Katharine had, indeed, at present much reason for apprehension in the event of her returning to Scotland. Between the years 1534 and 1537, many persons were prosecuted for heresy; but towards the close of the year 1538, when David Beaton was raised to the dignity of a cardinal, and made assistant and successor to his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the persecution was carried on with aggravated fury. On the 1st of the month in which the Duke of Norfolk wrote that letter containing the allusion to her, just quoted, five Reformers—Friar Kyllor, Friar Beveridge, Sir Duncan Simson, a regular clergyman, Robert Forrester, a gentleman, and Thomas Forrest, Vicar of Dollar—were committed to the flames, upon the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.² If, therefore, before, she was afraid to return to Scotland, lest she might be involved in the punishment, as she was involved in the guilt of heresy, this alarming intelligence increased her fears, the more especially as Cardinal Beaton, who was now high in power, was a man of more remorseless cruelty than even his uncle.

¹ *State Papers*, vol. v., p. 155. Norfolk, who did not interest himself much in matters of this kind, is incorrect as to the date of her brother's martyrdom, which took place eleven years before this.

² Knox's *History*, vol. i., pp. 61-63.



HELEN STARK,

WIFE OF JAMES RANOLDSON.

UPON the death of James V., a few days after the birth of his daughter and successor, Mary, who was born December 8, 1542, a regency was necessary during the minority of the infant queen. Cardinal David Beaton, who for many years had been, to all intents and purposes, prime minister to James V., claimed and assumed the dignity of regent, solely upon the authority of a testament which he himself had forged in the name of the deceased king. But, by the unanimous choice of the nobility, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran, who, after Mary, was next heir to the throne, was appointed regent, greatly to the public satisfaction. Arran, however, who was feeble and vacillating, was ill qualified to preside at the helm of government in such stormy times; and having, in the beginning of September, 1543, from the terror of Cardinal Beaton and his faction, publicly recanted the reformed faith, which he had previously professed and patronized, and returned to the bosom of the Romish Church, he was now so entirely governed by Beaton that he had only the title of regent, Beaton possessing all the power of that office, without the envy of the name. The apostasy of Arran was the origin of that unrelenting persecution of the Protestants which, after the lapse of a few months, was unexpectedly renewed, and in which Helen Stark, the subject of the present notice, fell a victim. At the solicitation of the cardi-

nal, he carried through Parliament, on the 15th of December, 1543, a resolution in which, after adverting to the great complaints made of the increase of heretics within the realm, he exhorts all prelates and ordinaries, within their respective dioceses and jurisdictions, to inquire after all such persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church, assuring the bishops that he should be ready at all times to do therein as became his office,¹ in other words, that he would sanction by his authority the punishment of heretics, even by death.

The cardinal immediately proceeded to give effect to this persecuting act. With this for his object, in the beginning of the year 1543-4, he first made an ecclesiastical progress to Perth, where the reformed opinions were openly professed by some of the citizens, accompanied by the regent and other persons of distinction.² On his arrival, which was on St. Paul's day, the 25th of January, he commenced his bloody work. Many were accused of heresy, but only Helen Stark, with five others, were, on the information of a friar, named Spence, apprehended. These other five were Robert Lamb, merchant; William Anderson, maltman; James Finlayson; James Hunter, flesher; and James Ranoldson, skinner, Helen's husband. They were all arrested on the very day of the cardinal's arrival in Perth, and imprisoned in the Spey Tower, that on the morrow they might be arraigned as heretics.

Upon the morrow Helen and the rest were brought before their judges, and something like the form of a trial was gone through. All

¹ *Acta Parl. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 443.

² We follow Knox, Foxe, and Calderwood in the chronology of the progress. Knox says it was on "St. Paul's day before the first burning of Edinburgh," by the English troops under the Earl of Hertford. Now the first burning was in May, 1544.—*History*, Wodrow Soc. edition, vol. i., p. 117. Foxe gives the same date, upon the authority of extracts from the registers of the court sent from Scotland.—*Acts and Monuments*, vol. v., p. 623. Calderwood confirms the accuracy of this chronology (*History*, vol. i., p. 137), and it is farther corroborated, from various documents, by the editor of Knox's *History*. Buchanan is therefore incorrect in referring this progress to the end of the year 1545. Keith, in a very unsatisfactory note, disputes the commonly assigned date, and adopts that of Buchanan.—*History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, pp. 40, 41.

of them, in general, were charged with holding meetings for conversing upon and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, contrary to the act of Parliament 1542-3, whereby the lieges were forbidden to argue or dispute concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures. Other offences were imputed to one or more of them in particular. Robert Lamb and James Ranoldson were charged with having interrupted Friar Spence while teaching, in a sermon at Perth, upon All-Hallow Day last, 1st November, that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints, and with having declared in the face of the audience that his doctrine was false, and contrary to the Holy Scriptures. William Anderson, James Finlayson, and James Ranoldson were charged with having treated disrespectfully the image of St. Francis, by hanging it up on a cord, nailing two ram's horns on its head, and putting a cow's rump to its tail; and with having eaten a goose upon All-Hallow-e'en. James Hunter was a man of weak understanding, and had little religious knowledge, but, having kept company with these persons, he was accused of heresy. The specific charges brought against Helen Stark were, that in childbed she had refused to call upon the Virgin Mary, the special patroness of lying-in women, according to the legends of the Popish Church, though exhorted to do so by her neighbours, declaring that she would pray to God alone, in the name of Christ; and that she had said "that had she lived in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have shown respect to her low estate, as he had done to the Virgin's, by making her the mother of Christ;" by which she simply meant that it was not from any merit of her own that the Virgin Mary obtained, in preference to other women, the honour of being made the mother of Christ, but that this was solely owing to the free undeserved goodness of God. These words, which the clergy and the whole Popish multitude accounted most execrable, and her refusal to place herself under the special protection of the blessed Virgin, the mother of the Redeemer, as was the fashion throughout Christendom for women under their confinement, were considered undoubted proofs of heresy.

The six prisoners were pronounced guilty of violating the act of

Parliament formerly referred to, by the verdict of a jury, and were condemned to die, the men to be hanged at the common place of execution, and Helen Stark to be drowned in a pool in the neighbourhood. After the sentence was pronounced, the male prisoners had their hands bound, which, when Helen witnessed, she requested to be bound also by the officers with her husband. The town of Perth, strongly sympathizing with Helen and the other condemned prisoners, interceded with the governor in their behalf, and he would willingly have saved their lives, had he not been overawed by the cardinal and the cruel priests, to whose persecuting policy he was now committed, and who, he dreaded, might assist his enemies in deposing him from the regency, provided he failed to sanction their sanguinary measures for putting down heresy. Certain priests in the town, who had been accustomed to visit Helen's house, and the houses of her fellow-sufferers in the days of their ignorance, and who had partaken of their hospitality, were earnestly entreated to interpose with the cardinal to prevent the execution of the sentence, but they absolutely refused. Thereafter the male prisoners, attended by a numerous body of soldiers to prevent a tumult, which the persecutors, from the unpopularity of their proceedings, dreaded, were conducted to the place of execution, which was under the windows of the Spey Tower. All of them comforted one another, expressing their assurance that they would sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, and, commending their spirits to God, they surrendered their lives with fortitude and constancy.

Helen and her husband had lived together in the tenderest union, and in the ardour of her affection she implored, as a last request, that she might be permitted to die with him; but she had been sentenced to undergo a different kind of death, and the affecting request was denied. Being allowed to accompany him to the place of execution, she ministered to him consolation by the way, exhorting him to patience and constancy in the cause of Christ, and parting from him with a kiss, she expressed her feelings in these singularly touching words, the sincere effusion of the heart, for the occasion was too

serious for mere theatrical display of sentiment: "Husband, be glad; we have lived together many joyful days, but this day, on which we must die, ought to be the most joyful of all to us both, because now we shall have joy for ever. Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven."

Immediately after his execution, and the execution of his fellow-martyrs, she was led forth to a pool of water in the neighbourhood, to undergo the death to which she had been condemned. On her way, passing by the monastery of the Franciscans or Gray Friars, which was situated on the south-east corner of the town, near the river, she said, "They sit in that place quietly who are the cause of our death this day, but they who witness this execution upon us shall, by the grace of God, shortly see their nest shaken;"¹ words which were fully verified in 1559, when that monastery, together with the Dominican or Black Friars' monastery, and the Charter House or Carthusian monastery, were completely demolished in a tumult of the excited populace.² Upon reaching the pool she prepared for her fate. Having several children, one of whom was an infant hanging upon her breast, a scene of the most affecting nature was exhibited, which strongly moved the spectators, many of whom could not refrain from shedding tears. Her affections being now strongly excited towards her orphan children, the thought of separation from them seemed for a moment to disturb the serenity of her mind, and she commended them to the compassion of her neighbours. But the most powerfully exciting cause of agitation and agony, was her parting with her sucking child. This beloved object, at whose couch she had often sung, in the joyousness of her heart, her favourite airs, she took from her bosom, and after fixing upon it a last look, full of the tender yearnings of a mother's heart, gave it to the friend who had undertaken to become its nurse. This struggle with parental affection made the sacrifice of her life the more trying, but it made it

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 175.

² Besides these three monasteries, there was another in Perth, that of the Carmelites or White Friars.

also the more magnanimous, the more sacred, the more acceptable to God. Recovering from the shock, she yielded herself to death with unwavering faith, calm tranquillity, and heroic fortitude. With-



Helen Stark parting with her Child.

out any change of countenance, she saw her hands and her feet bound by the executioner. Thus secured, and being tied in a sack, she was plunged into the water.¹ After a momentary struggle her redeemed spirit, emancipated from all its sorrows, was rejoicing before the throne of God; and may we not affirm that, next to the Saviour, among the first to welcome her into that happier state of being were her own husband and his fellow-sufferers, who had reached it, perhaps, hardly an hour before?

Whether Helen Stark and the other martyrs were offered their lives upon condition of recantation, we are not informed. The probability is that they were not; that the inexorable cardinal was determined, under whatever circumstances, to make a terrible example of these heretics, thereby to arrest the progress of heresy by inspiring universal terror, and to set a pattern for the other prelates

¹ Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1655, book ii., p. 75.

to copy in their respective dioceses. The cardinal's cruelty was as short-sighted as it was atrocious. It produced effects the very opposite of those intended. These and other deeds of Popish barbarity perpetrated in the neighbourhood, as the burning alive of Mr. George Wishart, at St. Andrews, in 1546, strengthened the convictions which they were intended to extinguish, increased the hatred of the people against priests and Popery, and diffused throughout the country a favourable disposition towards the reformed religion.





ISABEL SCRIMGER,

WIFE OF RICHARD MELVILLE.

ISABEL SCRIMGER, was a daughter of Walter Scrimger, of Glaswell, "a branch of the honourable family of Diddup, in which the office of royal standard-bearer, and of constable of Dundee, had been long hereditary." She was sister to Henry Scrimger, professor of Civil Law in the Protestant university of Geneva, a man "whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his countrymen." Her husband, Richard Melville, was proprietor of Baldovy, a small estate situated on the banks of the South Esk, about a mile to the south-west of the town of Montrose; and, after the Reformation, minister of the kirk of Maritoun, which was adjacent to his own house.¹ Like him she was "godly, faithful, and honest, lightened with the light of the gospel, at the first dawning of the day thereof within Scotland." The reformed sentiments had early made considerable progress in Angus and Mearns, and she was among their first converts in these counties. She had profited from the instructions of John Erskine, of Dun, and of the reformed preachers who were brought to her neighbourhood by that excellent man, in whose castle, where they were hospitably received and protected, meetings were held for hearing the Scriptures read and ex-

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i., pp. 5, 39, 41, 421.

pounded. She was also indebted for confirmation in the truth to George Wishart, who had returned in 1544 to Scotland, from the prosecution of his studies at Cambridge, full of zeal for the pure gospel, and had opened a school at Montrose.

Mrs. Melville was a very amiable, kind-hearted woman, as well as of a contemplative turn of mind, and much given to the exercises of devotion; on which account she was "exceedingly beloved by her husband, friends, and neighbours." Her husband had eight brothers, and their father having fallen in the battle of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, fought between the Scots and the English under the command of the Duke of Somerset, in the year 1547, and their mother having died in the same year, the younger of them, being unprovided for, became dependent upon him. His Christian principle and his warm fraternal affection did not permit him to neglect his duty, and he acted towards them in all respects the part of a father; nor was she less attentive in promoting their comfort and welfare than if they had been her own children. Towards Andrew, the youngest—afterwards so celebrated in the ecclesiastical and literary annals of his country—who, when little more than two years of age, was brought home to her house, she was especially kind, nursing him with all the tenderness of a mother. These brothers, and Andrew in particular, who, from his tender age, had enjoyed a larger share of her maternal sympathy than the others, ever after remembered her with heart-felt gratitude, and delighted to speak of the overflowing goodness of her benevolent heart, and of the endearing acts of kindness she had conferred upon them in their early years. "I have divers times heard," says her youngest son, James, "when my father's brothers, Roger, John, Mr. James, and Robert, could not satisfy themselves in commending her godliness, honesty, virtue, and affection towards them. And I have often heard Mr. Andrew say, that he being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her, embracing him and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne tak me to his rest!' Now she had had two

laddies before me, whereof the eldest was dead; and betwixt him and the second she bore three lasses; so, in end, God granted her desire, and gave her ane, who would to God he were as like to Mr. Andrew in gifts of mind as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed, but takes me for Andrew's brother."¹

"There is something peculiarly interesting," says Dr. M'Crie, "though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that its kind offices, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite, in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer and more enthusiastic than that which is merely filial—a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is finely combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor."²

Mrs. Melville died in the year 1557, within a year after the birth of her son James, who became only second in celebrity to his uncle Andrew, in the ecclesiastical transactions of his country in his day. Thus this lady was honoured to stand in very close relationship to two men, to whose exertions, in the close of the 16th century, and in the beginning of the 17th, in defending her ecclesiastical liberties, Scotland must ever lie under a deep debt of gratitude. She was the foster-mother of the one, and the natural mother of the other.

Her eldest daughter, Isabel, who had been trained up under her own eye, possessed much of her own excellence of character; but

¹ James Melville's *Diary*, Wodrow Soc. edition, p. 15.

² *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i., p. 5.

her earthly course was even shorter, for she died of her first-born child, in 1574, the year after her marriage. Of this young lady her brother James has left some interesting notices, which we subjoin in his own graphic language: "My eldest sister, Isabel," says he, writing under the year 1567, when he was about eleven years of age, "would read and sing David Lindsay's book, namely, concerning the latter judgment, the pains of hell, and the joys of heaven; whereby she would cause me both greet and be glad. I loved her, therefore, exceeding dearly, and she me more than the rest. She showed me one day, amongst others, a ballad set out in print against ministers that, for want of stipend, left their charge, beginning:—

'Whoso do put hand to the pleuche,
And therefra bakward goes;
The Scripture maks it plean aneuche,
My kingdom is nocht for those,' &c.

"With this she burst forth in tears, and says, 'Alas! what will come of these at that latter day? God keep my father, and Mr. James Melville, and Mr. James Balfour from this!'¹ And after cries out the verses of David Lindsay:—

'Alas! I trimble for to tell
The terrible torments of the hell;
That peanful pit who can deplore?
Quhilk sall endure for evermore.'

"With her speeches and tears she made me to quake and chout bitterly, which left the deepest stamp of God's fear in my heart of any thing that ever I had heard before. I was given to a bairnly, evil and dangerous use of pyking;² the which she perceiving, of purpose gave me the credit of the key of her chest, and having some small silver in a little schottle, I took some of it, thinking she should not have missed it. But by that occasion she entered so upon me with so sore threatenings, and therewithal so sweet and loving admo-

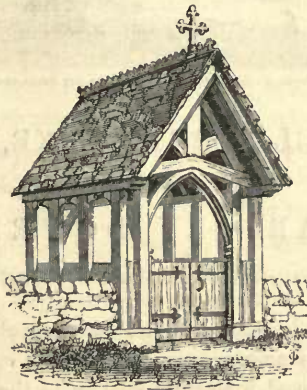
¹ Mr. James Melville was her uncle, and Mr. James Balfour her cousin-german, "both ministers and stipendless."

² Committing petty thefts, pilfering.

dition and exhortations, that I thank thee, my God, I abstained from it all my days thereafter; and wherever I was, if I could have gotten any thing to buy, worthy of her, I was accustomed to send it her in token of our affection, so long as she lived. This benefit I had of God, by her means, that winter, for increase of his fear, and honesty of life.”¹ He thus affectionately records her death:—“The beginning of this year [1574] was most dulfull to me, by the departure of my dearest sister Isabel, who died of her first-born; in whom I lost my natural mother the second time.”²

¹ James Melville's *Diary*, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 28.





John Knox's House, Edinburgh, where Marjory Bowes died.

ELIZABETH ASKE,
AND
MARJORY BOWES,

MOTHER-IN-LAW, AND WIFE OF JOHN KNOX.

BY birth these two ladies were English ; but we include them among our notices of the reformed ladies of Scotland, from their relation to the illustrious Scottish Reformer, John Knox, the one having been his mother-in-law, and the other his wife. We shall combine into one narrative such memorials of their lives as have come down to our time.

Elizabeth Aske was a daughter and co-heiress of Sir Roger Aske, of Aske, in Yorkshire ; and her husband, Richard Bowes, was the

youngest son of Sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatlam. She had to Bowes a family of two sons and ten daughters, of which Marjory was the fifth daughter.¹

These two ladies became acquainted with Knox during the period of his officiating as a preacher in the town of Berwick, in 1549 and 1550, by appointment of the Privy Council of England. The mother, a woman of deep piety, highly appreciated his talents and character; she had derived from his sermons much instruction and pleasure; and she contracted with him an intimate friendship, which remained unbroken till her death. At the same time, a mutual attachment sprung up between him and her daughter Marjory, which ultimately issued in their union.²

Mrs. Bowes had been educated in the Popish religion, and continued in the profession of it during the first part of her life; but, having been brought to the knowledge of the reformed principles, she embraced them with ardent zeal, and, though constitutionally timid, adhered to them with unshaken firmness of purpose, in the face of much temptation and opposition. These facts we learn from a letter written to her by Knox in 1554. "God," says he, "has given unto you many probations of his fatherly love and care which he bears towards you; for what love was that which God did show unto you when he called you from the bondage of idolatry, after that so long ye had been plunged in the same, to the brightness of his mercy, and to the liberty of his chosen children to serve him in spirit and verity. How mercifully did God look upon you, when he gave you boldness rather to forsake friends, country, possession, children, and husband, than to forsake God, Christ Jesus his Son, and his religion known and professed! Was it not an assured sign of God's favour towards you, that in the time of blasphemous idolatry, he brought you into the bosom of his kirk, and there fed you with the sweet promises of his mercy? and now, in the end, hath he brought you home again to your native country, in which, I trust, ye shall be compelled to do nothing against your

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 407.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 88.

conscience, which ought and must be ruled by God's Word only."¹ In another communication to her he says, "I write this to the praise of God. I have wondered at that bold constancy which I have found in you, at such time as mine own heart was faint."²

Mrs. Bowes was much afflicted with melancholy, the result, in a great measure, of ill health and physical temperament; and this exerted a powerful influence over her religious exercise and feelings. It led her to occupy her thoughts more with her own unworthiness and defilement in the eyes of infinite purity, than with the unbounded love and mercy of God towards the chief of sinners. Hence the predominance of self-abasement, sorrow of spirit for sin, and apprehensions of the wrath of God, in the frame of her mind, depriving her of the joy to be derived from the consoling truths of religion. Into her emotions of sorrow no one could enter with a truer and deeper sympathy than Knox, as his correspondence with her abundantly shows. His *Fort for the Afflicted, in an Exposition of the Sixth Psalm*, was undertaken to alleviate her inward troubles.³ Yet by all his efforts he could never altogether remove from her mind the painful dejection to which it was subject.

Before Knox left Berwick, he and Marjory Bowes interchanged mutual pledges of fidelity. In a note to a letter to Mrs. Bowes, which he added to the answer he published to the Jesuit Tyrie, he says, "I had made faithful promise, before witnesses, to Marjory Bowes, her daughter." The mother was friendly to the intended union; and hence, after this, Knox always addresses her, in his letters, by the name of mother. The father, and some relatives on his side were, on the other hand, opposed to the match, partly from family pride, not thinking the Scottish ecclesiastic of sufficiently honourable condition to form an alliance with a member of their family; and partly, it would appear, from want of sympathy with the Reformation, if not from direct and open hostility to it. This

¹ Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 392.

² Knox's *Select Practical Writings*, Free Church publications, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 106, &c.

opposition deeply wounded the feelings of the young lady, and of her mother, as well as of Knox. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, Knox gives expression to his bitterness of spirit on this account in these words:—"Dear mother, so may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shown unto me, at all times, since our first acquaintance; albeit, such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care towards you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that, this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes¹ on the matter ye know, according to your request; whose disdainful, yea, despiteful words, have so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him! Among other his most displeasing words, while that I was about to have declared my heart in the whole matter, he said, 'Away with your rhetorical reasons! for I will not be persuaded with them.' God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner. I am not a good orator in my own cause, but what he would not be content to hear of me, God shall declare to him one day, to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me."²

The marriage was therefore, in the meantime, postponed, in the hope that the father and other obstinate relatives might relent. At last, when the prospect of this appeared hopeless, the union was solemnized about the summer of the year 1553, soon after the accession of Queen Mary to the English throne.³

Mrs. Knox and her mother were anxious that Knox should settle in Berwick, or in its neighbourhood, though it was extremely

¹ Mrs. Bowes's brother-in-law.

² Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 373.

³ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 112, 114.

doubtful now, when Mary was swaying the English sceptre, whether a man who had been so zealous a preacher in England in the reign of Edward VI., would be allowed to remain there in peace, even though he should live in privacy. Her father was abundantly able to give her and her husband a sufficient establishment; and Mrs. Bowes, who cherished towards Knox a deep unchanging affection, as if he had been her own son, did what she could to remove the unkind feelings which her husband had conceived against him, and to obtain some arrangement by which her daughter and son-in-law might take up their residence in Berwick, but without success. To these, her friendly endeavours to realize what she herself and her own daughter so earnestly desired, and to which Knox appears not to have been disinclined, he gratefully refers in a letter to her, written from London, on the 20th of September, 1553. "My great labours," says he, "wherein I desire your daily prayers, will not suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between your husband and you, touching my matter concerning his daughter. I praise God heartily both for your boldness and constancy. But I beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therewith. It becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deliverance of my own flesh [his wife], as that I will do by God's grace; both fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have written to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother Henry will declare to you and to my wife. If I escape sickness and imprisonment [you may] be sure to see me soon."¹

Besides the painful feelings she experienced from her father's displeasure at her marriage, Mrs. Knox was, immediately after it, kept in a state of distressing anxiety from the persecution to which Knox was exposed, from his indefatigable diligence in preaching the truth in various parts of England. He was obliged to conceal himself; and his enemies continuing the search for him with unrelaxing diligence, he set sail for France, and landed safely at Dieppe, a part of Normandy, in that kingdom, on the 20th January, 1554, his wife

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 114, 115.—*Knox's Works*, vol. iii., p. 376.

having had no opportunity of seeing him previously to his leaving the country.¹

During his absence at this time, which was nearly two years,² she did not follow him to the continent, but remained at Berwick with her parents. She and her mother were now assailed by the importunities of her father to conform to the Popish religion, which Mary had re-established in England. Whatever were his own sentiments, he had no hesitation in accommodating himself to the times, and he seems to have thought that it was foolish scrupulosity for them to refuse to conform and to expose themselves to the penalties of heresy. But neither of them would yield to his solicitations. Casting aside worldly hopes and fears, and listening only to the dictates of conscience, they evinced, in the most decided manner, their determination not to forsake, upon any consideration, the faith which they had embraced from full conviction of its truth.³ Knox, in his correspondence with them, confirmed them in their good resolutions. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, he thus exhorts her in reference to this subject, and the advices which he tenders to her were equally intended for his wife:—"If man or angel shall labour to bring you back from the confession that once ye have given, let them in that behalf be accursed, and in no part (concerning your faith and religion) obeyed of you. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation unless they speedily repent. But whosoever it be that shall solicit or provoke you to that abominable idol, resist you all such boldly unto the end; learning of the Holy Ghost not to defile the temple of God with idols; neither yet to give your bodily presence unto them; but obeying God more than man, avoid all appearance of iniquity. . . . Continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., pp. 118-120.—Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., pp. 370, 371.

² He spent some time in Switzerland, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Calvin, officiated for some time as minister to the English exiles at Frankfort, till he was driven from them by the dissensions about the Liturgy.

³ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 133.—Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 345.

be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I oft commune, yea, and as it were comforting myself, I appear to triumph, that God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke."¹

In this period of trial and persecution, Mrs. Knox and her mother, while deprived of the preaching of the Word, were in the habit of meeting together for religious exercises, with several individuals in the city of Berwick, who, like themselves, refused, at whatever peril, to countenance with their presence the Popish worship. When Knox, after his return from the continent, about the close of harvest, 1555, had the pleasure of seeing them again, it was a mutual congratulation that none of them had polluted themselves by bowing the knee to the established idolatry, or entering within the precincts of a Popish temple.²

Mrs. Knox enjoyed his society only for a short time, in consequence of a secret journey which he undertook, to visit the Protestants of the Scottish capital; and the ardent thirst for the Word excited among his countrymen having induced him to remain longer than he expected, she, with her mother, who was now a widow,³ at last joined him at Edinburgh. In the following year they left Edinburgh for Geneva, upon his accepting an invitation given him by the English congregation of that city to become their pastor. Having bidden adieu to their friends, "with no small dolor to their hearts and unto many of us," says Knox, they set sail before him in a vessel proceeding to Dieppe; while, after having again visited and taken farewell of the brethren in different places, he followed them in the month of July that same year.⁴

On the 13th of September, Mrs. Knox and her mother were, along with Knox, formally admitted members of the English congregation

¹ Knox's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 345. This letter is dated, "At Dieppe, the 20th of July 1554; after I had visited Geneva and other parts, and returned to Dieppe to learn the estate of England and Scotland."

² M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 172.

³ "The particular time of Mr. Bowes's death I have not ascertained, but it seems to have been between 1554 and 1556."—M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 282.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 173, 187.—Knox's *History*, vol. i., p. 253.

at Geneva. While she was resident in that city her two sons were born. Nathaniel was born in May, 1557, and was baptized on the 23d; Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, being godfather. Eleazar was born in November, 1558, and was baptized on the 29th, Myles Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, being godfather.¹

When Knox, on the 7th of January, 1559, left Geneva for his native country, upon an invitation which he had received from the Scottish Protestant nobles, Mrs. Knox, with her two children and mother, in the meantime remained behind him, it being uncertain whether they could live with safety in Scotland. But in the summer of the same year, in compliance with the wishes expressed by him in letters to them, they left that city for Scotland. In June they were at Paris, and they made application to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the French court, through some of their Scottish friends, who were at that time in Paris, for a passport, permitting them to proceed through England. Throckmorton, besides granting this request, wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th June, 1559, in which he endeavoured to allay her majesty's resentment against Knox, on account of his treatise against female government, and besought her, by the exercise of generosity towards his wife, to conciliate the good-will of a man who was the master-spirit of the ecclesiastical revolution then going on in Scotland, and who, from his great influence, had the power to do important service to her majesty.²

Having left France, Mrs. Knox, with her children and her mother, reached England in safety; and, after a short stay with her relatives, she proceeded on her journey to Scotland with her children, leaving her mother behind her. She was accompanied by Christopher Goodman, who had been Knox's colleague at Geneva, and who was afterwards successively minister of Ayr and St. Andrews; and she reached her husband on the 20th of September.³ It being her

¹ Knox's *Works*, notes by editor, vol. i., pp. xvii, xviii.

² See his letter in Forbes's *Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., pp. 129, 130.

³ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. i., p. 282.

mother's intention soon to follow her, Knox, at her request, on the day after her arrival wrote a letter to Sir James Croft, asking permission for Mrs. Bowes to repair to Scotland, and explaining the motives which induced her to purpose residing in that country, if not permanently, at least for some time. "One thing," says he, "must I suit of you, to wit, that either by yourself, or else by Sir Ralph Sadler, to whom I could not write, because no acquaintance hath been betwixt us, you would procure a license for my mother, Elizabeth Bowes, to visit me, and to remain with me for a season; the comfort of her conscience, which cannot be quiet without God's Word truly preached, and his sacraments rightly ministered, is the cause of her request, and of my care. . . . From St. Andrews, the 21st of September, 1559."¹ Having obtained letters of license about the month of October,² Mrs. Bowes left her friends in England, and joined her daughter in Scotland, where she remained until her death.

Mrs. Knox did not live long subsequently to her return to Scotland, having died in the close of the year 1560, shortly after Knox was settled as minister of Edinburgh, and had obtained a comfortable establishment for her and her children. On her death-bed, sensible of her approaching dissolution, she was resigned and peaceful, supported by the hope of a better world; and to her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, she left this benediction, "that God, for his Son Christ Jesus' sake, would of his mercy make them his true fearers, and as upright worshippers of him as any that ever sprang out of Abraham's loins;" to which her husband responded in the affirmative with all his heart.³

She was probably buried in St. Giles's church-yard, in the grave afterwards occupied by Knox himself, which, according to tradition, is the spot in the Parliament Square where the statue of Charles II. now stands.

The loss of this excellent woman was a severe affliction to Knox,

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 456.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 17, 47.

³ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 415.

and he endeavoured to mitigate his anguish by an assiduous attention to his duties. In his history only an incidental allusion to this bereavement, and to the wound which it inflicted on his heart, occurs, when he says that "he was in no small grief by reason of the late death of his dear bedfellow, Marjory Bowes."¹ She was much respected and beloved by all who knew her abroad; and Calvin, on hearing of her death, wrote to Knox a letter, dated Geneva, April 23, 1561, in which expressions of much esteem for the departed are mingled with expressions of cordial sympathy with him in his loss and grief. "Your widowhood," says he, "as it ought, is sad and distressing to me. You had obtained a wife whose equal is not everywhere to be found. But as you have been well taught whence consolation under sorrow is to be derived, I doubt not that you patiently bear this affliction." And in a letter to Christopher Goodman, of the same date, he says, "I am not a little sorry that our brother Knox has been deprived of his most amiable wife."² Time, while it gradually lightened, and ultimately removed the pressure of this affliction, never extinguished in Knox's mind the remembrance of the dear departed, who had shared the hardships of his exile. He fondly recalled her memory in his closing days, delighting to retrace the first affections of his heart; and it is observable that in speaking of her in his last will, his language is more tender and endearing than when he speaks of his second wife, who was then alive, though he sincerely loved her, as she was in every respect worthy of his affection. In this document, executed on the 13th of May, 1572, not quite six months before his death, when leaving various legacies to his two sons by his first wife, he says, "To my two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar Knox, I unfeignedly leave the same benediction that their dearest mother, Marjory Bowes, left unto them. . . . Further, I have delivered by Master Randolph to Mr. Robert Bowes, sheriff of the bishopric, and brother to the said Marjory, my umquhile³ dearest spouse, the sum of five hundred pounds of Scots money, to

¹ *Calvini Opera*, tom. ix., p. 150

² Knox's *History*, vol. ii., p. 138

³ *i.e.*, late, deceased.

the utility and profit of my said two sons; the which money is that part of substance that fell or pertained to them by the decease of Marjory Bowes, their mother, of blessed memory."¹

Mrs. Knox appears never to have had more children than her two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar. In 1566 they were sent by their father to England, to reside with their relations. They received their education at St. John's College, in the university of Cambridge, their names being enrolled in the matriculation book only eight days after their father's death. Nathaniel, the eldest, after obtaining the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and being admitted fellow of the college, died in 1580. Eleazar, the youngest, in addition to the honours attained by his brother, was created bachelor of divinity, ordained one of the preachers of the university, and admitted to the vicarage of Clacton-Magna. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College.²

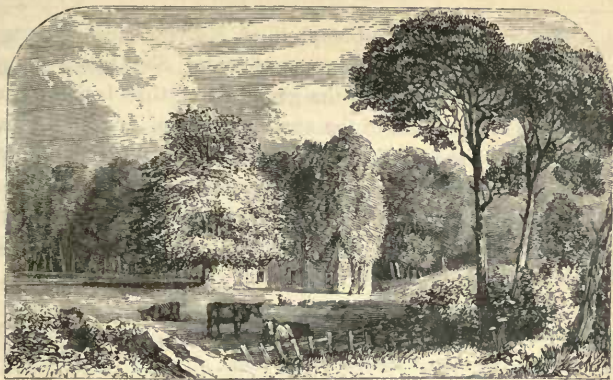
Mrs. Bowes survived her daughter, Mrs. Knox, several years. This appears from an advertisement prefixed to one of Knox's letters to her, published in 1572, in his vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit. In this advertisement he informs us that Mrs. Bowes had lately departed this life, and that he had published that letter to let the world know the intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them.³ She was probably interred in the same grave with her daughter.

¹ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 415.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 147, 268.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 208.





Remains of the Castle of Kinyeancleuch.

ELIZABETH CAMPBELL,

WIFE OF ROBERT CAMPBELL OF KINYEANCLEUCH.

LIZABETH CAMPBELL was probably, as Robertson, in his *Ayrshire Families*, conjectures,¹ the daughter of John Campbell, of Cesnock, the second representative of the Campbells of Cesnock, by his wife Janet, third daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun, the eighth representative of the Campbells of Loudoun, to whom, as stated by Crawford in his *Peerage*,² he was married in 1533. She was thus descended from the Loudoun Campbell family, and on the father's side from a distinguished branch of it which had early connected itself with the Lollards of Kyle. Her ancestors, John Campbell, of Cesnock, and his lady, Janet Montgomery, to whose attachment to Wickliffe's doctrines we have already adverted,³ were apparently her grandfather and grandmother.

Robert Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, to whom this lady was mar-

¹ Vol iii., Supplement.

² P. 234

³ See p. 519.

ried, was the son of Hugh Campbell, of Kinyeancleuch, who was the first of that family, and a younger son of Sir George Campbell, of Loudoun, the sixth in the genealogy of that house. Thus both of them were cadets of the ancient family of Loudoun, which held the office of sheriff of Ayr so early as the 13th century, and which was afterwards elevated to the peerage of Loudoun. This is noted by Mr. John Davidson, in his poem commemorative of their life and death, a work from which we derive the most of our materials for the present sketch.¹

“But to be plainer is no skaith,
Of surname they were Campbells baith :
Of ancient blood of this cuntrie,
They were baith of genealogie :
He of the shiress house of Air,
Long noble, famous, and preclair :
Sho of a gude and godly stok,
Came of the old house of Cesnok.”

His father, Hugh, like her ancestors, had ardently embraced the reformed doctrines, and hospitably entertained at his residence at Kinyeancleuch, and given all the encouragement in his power, to the fervid and apostolic George Wishart when in Ayrshire.² Robert, following in his father's footsteps, maintained the reformed principles from an early period of life with uncommon zeal and activity, and from his sincere piety, from the soundness of his understanding, the disinterestedness of his spirit, the decision of his character, and the consistent part which he uniformly acted, he acquired much personal influence, and proved of great service to the reformed cause. He was the intimate friend of John Knox, Regent Murray, and the

¹ It is entitled, “A Memorial of the Life and Death of two Worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife, Elizabeth Campbel. In English meter. Edinburgh: printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the king's majestie, 1595. *Cum Privilegio Regali.*” It was written by Davidson in 1574, but not published till 1595. So rare did that, the only edition, become, that only one copy of it was known to exist, when, in 1829, it was reprinted at Edinburgh among “The Poetical Remains of Mr. John Davidson, Regent in St. Leonard's College, and afterwards minister of Salt Preston.”

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. i., p. 188.

leading Reformers of his day, who greatly valued his counsel, and reposed with entire confidence in his integrity. In the beginning of the year 1556 he conveyed Knox to Kyle, where the Reformer preached in the castle of Kinyeancleuch, which stood on the margin of a *cleugh*, or deep ravine, near the confluence of a small streamlet with the water of Ayr, about a mile southward from the town of Mauchline,¹ and in the houses of other gentlemen in those parts who adhered to the Reformation, dispensing in some of them the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He then accompanied Knox to Castle Campbell, the seat of the Earl of Argyle, in the parish of Dollar, Clackmannanshire, where the Reformer preached for some days.² In 1562 he attended Knox on the occasion of the famous disputation between the Reformer and Quintin Kennedy, of Maybole. The family traditions relate that on the resignation of Mary Queen of Scots, he was chosen by the burghs to represent them at the coronation of her son, James VI., and that in that character he had the honour of handing the crown to Knox, who placed it on the head of the first Protestant king of Scotland, at Stirling, on the 29th of July, 1567.³ He visited Knox on his death-bed, 24th November, 1572, and the Reformer left to him the care of his wife and children.⁴

Educated in the same religious principles, nearly of the same age, and possessing much similarity of character, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell were models of conjugal affection, and their household a model of a well regulated Christian family.

“Sic twa I knowe not where to finde,
In all Scotland left them behinde :

¹ “The ancient castle is now in ruins. The scenery around it is at once wild, picturesque, and beautiful in the extreme.”—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement, p. 85.

² Knox's *History*, vol. i., pp. 250, 253.

³ These, and many other circumstances highly honourable to his character, were, it is said, recorded among the family papers; but the most of these documents were barbarously destroyed by Claverhouse and his troopers, in 1684, when they plundered Mauchline and the castle of Kinyeancleuch.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement.

⁴ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 237.

Of sa great faith and charitie,
 With mutuall loue and amitie :
 That I wat an mair heauenly life
 Was neuer between man and wife :
 As all that kend them can declair,
 Within the shiresdome of Air.”¹

At the time of their union the Protestant religion was but in its infancy, and from the tyranny of the government and priesthood, it was perilous for Protestants openly to profess the truth. In these circumstances the reformed ministers resorted to the house of this excellent pair, where they privately preached the new doctrines, and were hospitably entertained. By these meetings for prayer and the exposition of the Scriptures, such as attended them were greatly confirmed in their attachment to the reformed faith, and the way was prepared for its ultimate triumph in Scotland.

Mrs. Campbell was a diligent student of the Scriptures, and few women of her time surpassed or equalled her in the knowledge of them. Endowed with a retentive memory, a sound judgment, and readiness of utterance, she expressed herself with great propriety on religious questions, much to the edification and comfort of others, and her whole deportment did honour to the religion which she professed. These, and other good qualities by which she was distinguished, Davidson thus celebrates:—

“And as for her the trueth to tell,
 Among women she bure the bell :
 During her daies in her degrie,
 In godliness and honestie :
 Of judgement rypest in God’s law,
 Of any woman that I know :
 In God’s buke she was so verseit,
 That scarce wald men trow to rehearse it :
 Of so excellent memorie,
 And als of sic dexteritie,
 God’s Word to vse to her comfort,
 And theirs who did to her resort,
 That her to heare it was delyte,
 In Scriptures she was so perfyte :

¹ Davidson’s Poem.

Quhilk was not words and babling vaine,
 Bot words with knowlege joyned certaine :
 Quhilk in her life she did expresse,
 By doing as she did professe :
 All God's true seruants far and neir,
 She did esteim as freinds most deir :
 And neuer loued societie,
 With any godlesse companie :
 Baith wise and provident was sho
 In household things she had ado :
 Quhat should I say, this woman od,
 Was his great comfort vnder God :
 And doubtles was of God a blessing,
 Of speciall gifts after his wishing."

She was eminent, too, for her disinterestedness in supporting the reformed cause. After describing the self-denied exertions of Mr. Campbell, who rode early and late through all parts of the country, north and south, east and west, through Angus, Fife, Lothian, and Argyle, to stimulate the zeal of such as favoured and supported "the liberty of Christ's kirk and the gospel," Davidson eulogizes Mrs. Campbell for having encouraged his pious and patriotic zeal, instead of grudging the time and money thus expended, and giving him the ungracious reception at his home-coming, which some wives would have done, even though they had not been of the race of the Norwegian Amazons, who, the poet tells us, had, by the agency of the Evil One, found their way into Scotland.

"Bot yet or I passe further mair,
 I man speak something of his wife,
 Quha neuer made barrat nor strife :
 Nor this his doing did disdaine,
 Was neuer man heard her complaine,
 As many wiues in the cuntrie,
 I trow had loked angerlie
 On her gude-man, who at all tyde
 Was ay so reddy for to ryde :
 For so oft ryding could not misse,
 Bot to procure great expensis :
 He might look as they tell the tale,
 When he came hame for euill cooled kail :

Ze haue so meikle gear to spend,
 Ze trow neuer it will haue end :
 This will make you full bare there ben,
 Lat see (says she) what other men,
 So oft ryding a field ye finde,
 Leauing thair owne labour behinde :
 This and farre mare had oft bene told,
 Be many wiues, yea that we hold
 Not of the worst in all the land.
 I speak not of that baleful band,
 That Sathan hes sent heir away,
 With the black fleete of Norroway,
 Of whom ane with her tyger's tong,
 Had able met him with a rong,
 And reaked him a rebegeastor,
 Calling him many warlds weastor ;
 Bot latting their euil wiues alane,
 This gude wife murmuring made nane,
 Bot ay maist gladly did consent,
 To that wherewith he was content :
 Rejoysing that he had sic hart,
 For Christis kirk to take that part."

Mrs. Campbell, in like manner, co-operated with her husband in a lenient and generous treatment of their tenants. They were ever ready to counsel them in difficulty and to comfort them in distress. He took payment of their rents as they were able to make it, and never pressed them to the uttermost, nor "set their rooms over their heads," "nor made them poor with great grassums." Sloth, impiety, and wickedness, were the only causes on account of which he would warn any of them to remove, the 101st Psalm being his rule in the management of his estate as well as of his family; and, as Davidson testifies—

"His wife also was of his minde,
 Though many be not of her kinde :
 Bot on their husbands daylie harp,
 That to their tennants they be sharp :
 Thinking their state can na wayes lest,
 Except their pure-anes be opprest."

Like Mr. Campbell, she was also noted for her liberality in relieving the wants of the poor. Many of this class obtained lodgings

nightly at the castle of Kinyeancleuch, and she treated them with kindness and compassion. Nor were their religious interests neglected. After supper they were brought into the hall and examined on the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, which had the good effect of stimulating the ignorant to diligence in acquiring some measure of Christian knowledge, that, on returning to Kinyeancleuch, they might be able, by their answers to the questions put to them, to please the laird and his lady.

Among those of the reformed who shared in Mr. and Mrs. Campbell's kindness and hospitality at their house at Kinyeancleuch, was Mr. John Davidson, then regent of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, afterwards minister of Prestonpans. What brought him to their residence was the trouble in which he was involved on account of a poem of his composition, which was printed without his knowledge, entitled, *Ane Dialog, or Mutuall Talking, betwix a Clerk and ane Courtour, concerning four Parishe Kirks till ane Minister*, in which he exposed the avaricious policy of Regent Morton, who, with the view of seizing upon a large portion of the revenues of the church, obtained, in 1573, an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, or even four parishes, and placing them under the care of one minister. For this offence he was summoned before a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was, however, liberated on bail. By the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in March, 1573-4,¹ he was tried for this performance; but afraid of offending the regent, the Assembly, though of the same sentiments with Davidson, would neither approve nor condemn it. Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, who' was at the Assembly, being dissatisfied with the timid temporizing conduct of the supreme ecclesiastical court in shrinking from their duty, took Davidson along with him to Kinyeancleuch, where, being introduced to Mrs. Campbell, he found her a person of not less intelligence, devotion, and public spirit, than her husband. "Such a good example of piety and holy

¹ The poem was printed in the January preceding.

exercise," says he, "I saw in that family, that methought all my lifetime before but a profane passing of the time."¹

Campbell was seized with fever at Rusco. He had accompanied, by special request, Sir Hugh Campbell, of Loudoun, the young sheriff of Ayr, on a journey to his father-in-law, Sir John Gordon, of Lochinvar.² In this journey, having come to Rusco, where they staid with Lochinvar all night, Campbell on the following morning complained, after prayers were ended, of pain in the head, and was forced to return to bed. His illness turned out to be fever. Lochinvar and his lady paid him every attention, frequently visiting him, and commanding everything to be brought to him which he needed. The sheriff was much distressed at the illness of his friend, and

"The shireff's wife with hart full sare
Him visited also late and are."

Believing that his end was approaching, Campbell desired Davidson, who had accompanied him in this journey, and who since his illness had read to him, at his request, passages from the Scriptures, particularly the Psalms of David, to go to Kinyeancleuch, to Mrs. Campbell, on a twofold errand, first, to obtain from her for himself what was requisite in order to his safe and comfortable escape into England, from the vengeance of Regent Morton; and, secondly, to convey to her intelligence of her husband's sickness, that, after having despatched her business, she might come to him. "Brother," said Campbell to him, in reference to the first of these objects, "I see I must depart out of this life, which time I have long looked for. Therefore ye shall go with expedition to my wife, and cause her furnish you, and send some to convoy you a gateway to England, where ye shall address yourself to Mr. Goodman,³ and he will find you a convoy to

¹ Calderwood's *History*, vol. iii., p. 312.

² Sir Hugh was married to Lochinvar's daughter, Margaret, in 1572. Like his father, Sir Matthew, he was a promoter of the Reformation.—Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. ii., p. 209.

³ Mr. Christopher Goodman, formerly successively minister of Ayr and St. Andrews, had returned to England, his native country, in 1565, where he remained till his death, which took place at Chester, in 1601.

Rochelle. Take my best horse with you, and ride your way with my blessing." Having taken farewell of his friend, Davidson, on the 17th of April, proceeded to Kinyeancleuch, where he arrived on the same day, and communicated the tidings with which he was intrusted. Mrs. Campbell would gladly have done everything in her power to assist him on his way to England, but he was dissuaded by some of his friends from fleeing in the meantime, lest his brethren should be discouraged. On the following day she hurried off on horseback for Rusco, and

"She raid that wilsome wearie way,
Neir fourtie myles on Law Sunday;"

the journey being rendered still more arduous from the badness of the roads. After her arrival she did all that the assiduous and affectionate ministry of woman could do to mitigate Mr. Campbell's sufferings; and though death was to all appearance near, it was comforting to her to hear him expressing his confidence of victory, and his desire to depart and to be with Christ. She had been with him only three days when death terminated his earthly course. He died in the prime of life, not having completed the forty-third year of his age; and his corpse being brought from Galloway by an honourable attendance, it was interred in the church-yard of Mauchline, on the 24th of April.¹

Mrs. Campbell did not survive him two months. A few weeks after his death she went to Ayr, to reside for some time with his much esteemed and pious relative, James Bannatyne,

"Thinking to live most quietly,
Among that godly company :
For the hale race of all that hous,
Of Kinyeancleuch are right zealous :
And of lang tyme hes sa bene kend,
The Lord assist them to the end :
For Robert and this James of Air,
Sister and brother barnis were :
And sa nane meeter she could finde,
For to remaine withall behinde."

¹ Davidson's Poem.

But her appointed time on earth was also now nearly completed. She had not been long under her friend's roof when she was taken ill of a fever, and she obtained the desire which she had heartily expressed—to follow her husband if it was the will of God—having died, after a short illness, about the middle of June, also in the prime of life, being only about forty years of age. She was buried in the church-yard of Mauchline, close by Mr. Campbell.

Having recorded the death and burial of both of them, Davidson, in summing up their character, says—

“Lang may ye seek to finde sic tway,
As God there nowe hes tane away.”

And after expressing his doubts whether a man and woman of “such rare and heavenly qualities” were left behind in Scotland, he adds that their “away-taking”

“Should make vs clearlie vnderstand,
That God's just judgements are at hand,
To punish the rebellion,
Of this maist stubborne nation :
Who to God's will dois not attend,
For no punition he dois send :
For we may easilie consider,
The way taking of thir together,
Of so excellent behaveours,
And that almost bot in their flowers,—
For nane of them was past throughlie,
The age of fourtie yeares and thrie,—
Is not for nought what euer it be,
That is to followe hastelie :
For why sic as the Lord God loues,
Before the plague he oft remoues :
According as the Scripture sayes,
Quhilk shortned good *Josias'* dayes.”

Mrs. Campbell had by her husband a son and a daughter, Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Nathaniel having died young and without issue, before his parents' death, Elizabeth inherited her father's estate.¹ She was married about the year 1574, to Robert Camp-

¹ This is evident from the Commissary Records of Edinburgh, MS. in her majesty's

bell, her cousin-german, the son of Hugh, the younger brother of her father, who had obtained the lands of Mongarswood, in Kyle, a considerable and pleasant property, situated about half-way between Mauchline and Sorn, by marriage with a daughter of Mungo Campbell, of Brownside, and who thus became the founder of the family of Mongarswood. Upon marrying her he renounced his right to his paternal estate, carrying on the line of the Kinyeancleuch family; and Mongarswood fell into the hands of his next younger brother, who carried on the line of the Mongarswood family.¹ Davidson, on publishing his poem commemorative of her parents' worth, from which we have so largely quoted, dedicated it to this lady, who appears to have inherited her parents' spirit. In the dedication he says:—"Finding this little treatise (sister, dearly beloved in Christ) of late years amongst my other papers, which I made about twenty years and one ago, immediately after the death of your godly parents of good memory, with whom I was most dearly acquainted in Christ, by reason of the trouble I suffered in those days for the good cause, wherein God made them chief comforters unto me, till death separated us. As I viewed it over, and read it before some godly persons of late, they were most instant with me, that I would suffer it to come to light to the stirring up of the zeal of God's people amongst us, which now beginneth almost to be quenched in all estates, none excepted. . . . To their request at length I yielded, although long unwilling, in respect of the baseness of the form of writing, which yet, at the time of the making thereof, I thought most familiar, according to the old manner of our country, to move our people to follow the example of these godly persons according to their calling and estate. And so being yet put in good hope that it would profit, I was contented it

General Register House, from which we learn that "the testament dative and inventar of the goods, gear, and sums of money, and debts pertaining to" her father, were "faithfully made and given up" by her, "their daughter and executrix," as the "decreet of the Commissary of Edinburgh, of the date the 25th April, the year 1585, at length purports."

¹ Robertson's *Ayrshire Families*, vol. iii., Supplement, pp. 79, 80.

should be after this manner published. The saying also of Gregory Nazianzen, writing of Basil the Great after his death, did not a little encourage me, it being by God's providence in my hands when I was about to write this, the sense whereof followeth : ' It is a thing of most dutiful affection to commend the memory of holy persons that are departed, especially of such as have been of most excellent virtues, whether it be by friends or strangers.' I have directed it unto you, dear sister, by name, that ye may make your profit of it in particular, for confirming you by the worthy example of your parents, in these evil and declining days, in that godly course of Christianity, wherein it hath pleased God to make you succeed unto them, no less than to the worldly heritage, proceeding rightly from them to you, after the death of their only son Nathaniel, your brother. From Edinburgh, the 24th of May, 1595. Your assured friend in Christ, " J. D."

This lady lived to an advanced age, having died in 1627, as may be inferred from her son, John Campbell's being returned her heir in the lands of Kinyeancleuch, on the 20th of October that year.¹ The lands remained in the family till towards the close of the 18th century, when they were sold to Claud Alexander, Esq., of Ballochmyle.

¹ *Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio*, vol. i., Ayr, No. 249.





ELIZABETH KNOX,

WIFE OF JOHN WELSH.

LIZABETH KNOX was the youngest daughter of the celebrated John Knox, by his second wife, Margaret Stewart, youngest daughter of Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman who, under all circumstances, had proved Knox's faithful and constant friend. The marriage between Knox and this lady was contracted in March, 1564. Popish writers, unable to dissemble their malice and envy, that the man who had overthrown the Papacy in Scotland had succeeded in forming a matrimonial alliance with one of the noble houses of his country, and a house, too, allied to the royal family, represent him as actuated by the ambition of raising his family to the Scottish throne; and they attribute his success in gaining the affections of the young lady to sorcery, and the assistance of no less a personage than the devil. "To the end that his seed, being of the blood-royal, and guided by their father's spirit, might have aspired to the crown, . . . he did pursue to have alliance with the honourable house of Ochiltree of the king's majesty's own blood. Riding there with a great court, on a trim gelding, not like a prophet or an old decrepit priest, as he was, but like as he had been one of the blood-royal, with his bands of taffeta fastened with gold rings and precious stones: And as is plainly reported in the

country, by sorcery and witchcraft did so allure that poor gentlewoman, that she could not live without him; which appears to be of great probability, she being a damsel of noble blood, and he an old decrepit creature of most base degree of any that could be found in the country: So that such a noble house could not have degenerated so far, except John Knox had interposed the power of his master, the devil; who, as he transfigures himself sometimes in an angel of light, so he caused John Knox appear one of the most noble and lusty men that could be found in the world.”¹ We have better authority for affirming that Knox rather owed this honourable matrimonial alliance to the high reputation he had acquired as a man of Christian worth and ability, and as the reformer of Scotland.² Another Popish writer, equally veracious, informs us that the young lady, soon after the nuptials, observing Knox and the devil engaged in earnest conversation, was thrown into such terror that she immediately fell sick and died. “For as the common and constant bruit of the people reported, as writeth Reginaldus and others, it chanced, not long after the marriage, that she lying in her bed, and perceiving a black, ugly, ill-favoured man, busily talking with him in the same chamber, was suddenly amazed, that she took sickness and died; as she revealed to two of her friends, being ladies, come thither to visit her a little before her decease.”³ “It is unfortunate,” remarks Dr. M’Crie, “for the credit of this ‘true information,’ that the Reformer’s wife not only lived to bear him several children, but survived him many years.” Notwithstanding their disparity of years, she lived very happily with Knox till his death, cheerfully bearing her share in the trials of his life, and ministering to his comfort with affectionate assiduity.

Her children by Knox were three daughters, Martha, Margaret, and Elizabeth. Martha, the eldest, was married to Mr. James

¹ Nicol Burne’s *Disputation*, pp. 143, 144, quoted in M’Crie’s *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 329.

² See *Ladies of the Covenant*, p. xvii.

³ Father A. Baillie’s *True Information*, p. 41, quoted in M’Crie’s *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 330.

Fleming, minister of Bathans, now called Yester, in the Presbytery of Haddington, East Lothian.¹ Margaret was married to Zachary Pont, minister of Bower, in Caithness, and son of the celebrated Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.² And Elizabeth, the youngest, the subject of this notice, became the wife of the famous John Welsh, minister of Ayr.

Elizabeth was probably born about the year 1568 or 1569. At her father's death, which took place on the 24th of November, 1572, she would be only about three or four years old, and therefore of an age too tender to have derived much advantage from his instructions. After her mother's marriage, secondly to Andrew Ker, Fadounside, in Roxburghshire, a zealous Reformer, which took place before the 25th of May, 1574,³ she probably resided for the most part at Fadounside, and received such education as it was customary for ladies in her rank to receive at that time in Scotland.

Her first acquaintanceship with John Welsh is not recorded. It was probably after his settlement as minister of Selkirk, which took place in the course of the year 1589, when he had an opportunity of frequently meeting with her in his intercourse with the family of Andrew Ker, who probably attended his ministry. A mutual affection sprung up between him and her, which ultimately issued in their happy wedlock. The precise date of their union is uncertain. In the year 1594 Welsh was translated from Selkirk to Kirkcudbright, but whether their marriage was solemnized while he was incumbent of the former place, or after his removal to the latter, we are without the means of determining. It is, however, certain that

¹ Mr. Robert Fleming, author of the *Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, was a son of this minister, but by a second marriage.—Steven's *Hist. of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam*, p. 83.

² M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 356.

³ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 353. One of her children by this second marriage was Mr. John Ker, who succeeded Mr. John Davidson, who died in 1604, as minister of Prestonpans. He was the father of Mr. Andrew Ker, who became clerk to the General Assembly upon the resignation of Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, and continued to fill this office till the restoration.—Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 89.

they were married before the 8th of April, 1596.¹ In 1600² Welsh was translated to Ayr.

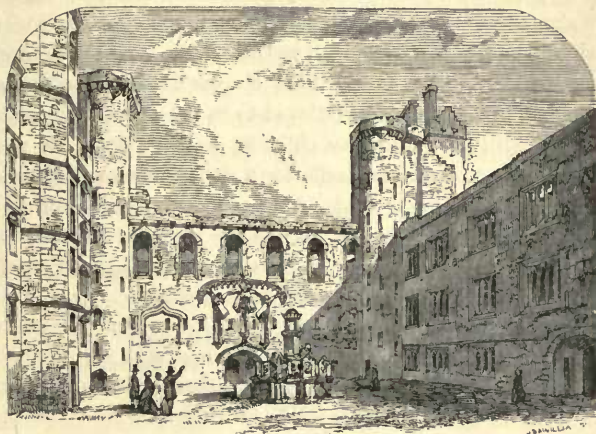
If, during the first years of her wedded life, Mrs. Welsh's days were not altogether unclouded, she met with nothing peculiarly trying. But when James VI., upon his accession to the throne of England, in pursuance of his resolution to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with the Church of England in its government and discipline, first endeavoured to destroy the freedom of the General Assembly, the most formidable barrier, from its popular constitution, to the consummation of his purpose, this subjected her to a series of afflictions, first in Scotland and afterwards in exile, on account of her husband's fidelity in maintaining the liberties of the Scottish Church.

To accomplish his object James dissolved and prorogued the meetings of the Assembly, threatened and bribed its members, and had recourse to all the arts of kingcraft, of which he thought himself a perfect master. Mr. Welsh resisted these proceedings, and, in consequence, incurred the royal displeasure. In July, 1605, a general assembly, which had been legally appointed, having been kept at Aberdeen by several ministers of the church, contrary to the expressed wishes of the monarch, who was afraid of their passing some acts against the bishops, Mr. Welsh, who had been appointed a member of that assembly, but at which he was not present, it having been abruptly dissolved before his arrival in Aberdeen, was, on the 26th July, brought before the privy council at Edinburgh, where he then was; and refusing to answer the questions put to him, he was committed prisoner to the Tolbooth, and on the same day was trans-

¹ This appears from the following extract from *Particular Register of Inhibitions*, vol. v. "11 Feb., 1602. Said Mr. Zach. Pont and spouse inhibited by Mr. Johne Velsche, minister of Godis word at our bust of Kirckcudbryt, and Elizabeth Knox his spous." Pont owes complainers 1000^m, as per contract between parties at Schyrismylne, 8th April, 1596.—*M'Crie's Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 356.

² For this and the two first dates in this paragraph, the author is indebted to his friend, the Rev. James Young, Edinburgh, who is about to publish a very interesting *Life of Welsh*.

ported by the guard to Blackness Castle.¹ In January, 1606, he and five other ministers who had kept the assembly, were brought to trial before the court of justiciary, held in the palace of Linlithgow, under a charge of high treason.



Linlithgow Palace—the Quadrangle.

On this occasion Mrs. Welsh, leaving her children at Ayr, set out for Linlithgow in the depth of winter, and through roads almost impassable. The wives of the other ministers also came to that town. She and these other ladies were doubtless present in the court on the day of trial, but they had retired before the close, and all of them were anxiously waiting the issue, which did not take place till eleven o'clock at night. On hearing that the prisoners had been found guilty of high treason, a crime inferring the punishment of death, by the verdict of the majority of a packed and overawed jury, instead of lamenting their condition, they rejoiced, and thanked the Lord Jesus that their husbands had received strength and courage to stand to their Master's cause, saying that, like him, they had been tried and con-

¹ Forbes's *Records*, Wod. Soc. pub., pp. 4 3, 404, 406.

demned under covert of night.¹ The ministers at their trial had declared before the judges and jury, "As for the matter whereof we are to be accused, and ye are to be our judges this day, we are fully resolved of it that it is the undoubted truth of God, and belongs essentially to Christ's crown and kingdom; . . . and through the Lord's grace we are resolved to seal it up with the testimony of our blood, if it shall please him to call us thereto."² And these intrepid women were prepared to see those dearest to them suffer death rather than desert what they believed to be the cause of Christ, and to be left, with their fatherless children, destitute upon the world. Thus it is that persecution calls forth the noblest sentiments, and inspires for the noblest deeds of heroic self-sacrifice. But the tyranny which calls them forth is thereby rendered only the more hateful, and the tyrant only the more overwhelmingly exposed to the execration of man and the retribution of heaven.

"Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse
To be the awakener of divinest thoughts,
Father and founder of exalted deeds."³

The pronouncing of the sentence upon the condemned ministers was delayed till his majesty's pleasure should be known. The king at length resolved to banish them out of all his dominions for life, never again to return without license, under pain of death and all the penalties due to convicted traitors. The sentence was formally pronounced upon them on the 23d of October, a month being allowed them to prepare for their departure; and on the 7th of November they embarked at Leith for France.

Mrs. Welsh accompanied her husband and the other banished ministers to the pier of Leith, and joined in the solemn religious exercises engaged in before their embarkation.⁴ Having taken farewell of him—for she did not intend to follow him for a few months—she returned to her children at Ayr, with conflicting

¹ Row's *History*, Wod. Soc. edition, p. 240.

² Forbes's *Records*, p. 486.

³ Wordsworth.

⁴ Melville's *Diary*, p. 669.

emotions of joy and sorrow ; of joy, at the constancy and courage in the cause of Christ she had witnessed ; of sorrow, at the thought of being driven from the land of her birth, destitute and unprotected, into a land of strangers. On his arrival in France Welsh remained for some time at Rochelle ; he then removed to Bordeaux, and ultimately became minister of Jonsack, in Angoumois. In the following year Mrs. Welsh joined him, as we learn from his letters to Robert Boyd, of Trochrig, who was then minister and professor of theology in the college of Saumur. In one of these, dated Rochelle, March 16, 1607, he says—"I look for my wife with the first fair wind, if it please God ; pray for his blessing therein."¹ In another, to the same friend, dated Bordeaux, June 26, 1607, he says—"My wife salutes you after the most hearty manner, and longs greatly to see you, and is greatly sorry that that occasion offers not."²

At Jonsack the circumstances of Mrs. Welsh and her family were very uncomfortable, and their health far from good. They suffered much from the rude and unfeeling character of the people, who, instead of condoling with so illustrious exiles, who were expelled their country for the testimony of Jesus, and showing how sincerely they sympathized with them in their afflictions, were so destitute of the sentiments of justice and generosity, that they neither paid Welsh the stipend they promised him, nor evinced the smallest desire to promote the comfort of himself and of his family ; and he was, besides, often treated with much disrespect and contumely. This we learn from various passages in his letters to Robert Boyd. In a letter to him, dated Jonsack, September 17, 1611, he says—"Brother, trust me in one thing, day nor night I have no repose here ; and think now the Lord is opening a door to me, for want of payment ; whereof I have made complaint both to the consistory and colloquy, who have granted me the liberty of the discipline, that if within three months they pay me not, that shall be in my liberty. Brother, I cannot show you the particulars of my grief here, unless

¹ Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 287.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

I had occasion to see you. . . . My wife salutes you heartily; she has been sick of a continual fever this month and more. We are here in a miserable hole, without pity or compassion, among, as it were, barbares; and notwithstanding that our lodging be [such] for unwholesomeness, that ever since I came here my family has been sick, yet they would never show me that mekle favour as to provide for a lodging to me that was contenable for my health and the health of my family. The indignities I receive, and have received here, are intolerable; but I have learned to bear them for Christ's sake."¹ In the course of Welsh's correspondence with Boyd, frequent references are made to Mrs. Welsh's illness, caused, doubtless, by the privations and hardships she endured at Jonsack. But she bore all her afflictions with tranquillity and fortitude, which greatly encouraged and sustained Welsh, who was sometimes ready to sink under accumulated bodily and family distresses. "I thank my God," says he, "my wife bears her cross with comfort and contentation, the which to me is no small comfort."²

On Sabbath, September 14, 1614, Mrs. Welsh lost her eldest daughter, who died of sickness on the seventh day of her illness. In reference to this bereavement, and to the deep affliction of the mother and of himself under it, Welsh, in a letter to Boyd, written on the day of his daughter's death, says—"I am extremely sorry that I cannot keep the tryst as I promised to you by my letter; for I am so sore afflicted, through the death of my eldest daughter, who took sickness upon Monday and died this Sunday, as the bearer can tell you. Also my wife is in sic an estate that I dare not leave her, by no means, lest that doleur and laugeur get the upper hand of her. . . . She is in very great distress, more than can be expressed. My soul is in anguish; but the God of consolation, who comforts them that are cast down, knows how to comfort us. I would beseech you to come this length, though you should find little but subject of sorrow. We are at present, indeed, in case for

¹ Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 320.

² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

little thing but mourning. Let us have a room in your most ardent prayers."

Mrs. Welsh was much tried from her husband's ill health during the whole period of his exile. He originally possessed an iron frame; but the climate of the parts of France where he settled did not agree with his constitution, and what he had suffered before he left Scotland, by an imprisonment of about fifteen months in the dungeon of Blackness, and in the castle of Edinburgh, rendered him a more easy victim to the influence of an insalubrious atmosphere and uncomfortable dwelling. Having left Jonsack, he became minister of St. Jean d'Angely, a town in Lower Charente, in France; but his constitution was broken, and at last serious pulmonary symptoms began to make their appearance. After the reduction of St. Jean d'Angely, in 1621, by Louis XIII., war having broken out between that monarch and his Protestant subjects, Welsh sent a supplication from Zealand, whither he had removed, to James VI., praying that he might have liberty to return to Scotland, his physicians having recommended his native air as the only remedy offering the prospect of recovery.³ Permission having been granted him to come to London, he and Mrs. Welsh set out on their journey for the English capital. On their arrival they consulted with their friends, and it was thought that the most likely way of succeeding in their object, was for Mrs. Welsh personally to make an appeal to the compassion of the sovereign; and from the rank of her relatives on the mother's side, she obtained access to his majesty. She laid her case before him; but James, who regarded Welsh with something of the same antipathy felt by his mother towards John Knox, would not allow him to return to Scotland except on conditions with which he could not conscientiously comply. The particulars of the interview have been preserved, and they are strikingly characteristic both of Mrs. Welsh and of King James. He asked her who was her father? "John Knox" was her reply. "Knox and Welsh!" he exclaimed, pronouncing an oath, after his

¹ Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for Maitland Club, p. 330.

² Calderwood's *History*, vol. vii., p. 511.

usual manner, "the devil never made such a match as that." "It's right-like, sir," she returned, "for we never speired¹ his advice." He then asked her how many children her father had left, and whether they were lads or lasses. "Three," she answered, "and they are all lasses."² "God be thanked!" he profanely cried, lifting up both his hands, "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked³ my three kingdoms in peace." She again renewed her suit that his majesty would be pleased to give her husband his native air. "Give him his native air!" replied James, again uttering an oath, "give him the devil." "Give that to your hungry courtiers," she instantly retorted, in a tone of stern reprehension, little concerned, in her zeal against profanity, about provoking his wrath. The utmost limits to which his condescension would go, was to promise to grant her request, provided she would persuade Mr. Welsh to submit to the bishops. This heroic woman, who, resembling her father, stood fast to her principles, like a pillar of brass, lifting up her apron and holding it towards the king, replied, "Please your majesty, I'd rather kep⁴ his head there."⁵ She withdrew from his presence, doubtless repeating in her own mind that inspired text, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help" (Psalm cxlvi. 3), and leaving James, if we may venture to guess his feelings, astonished at her boldness, her inflexible adherence to her principles, and her uncommon readiness and sarcastic power of reply.

Had this matron been the wife of a Popish ecclesiastic of Mr. Welsh's energy of character, she would probably have obtained all she sought. Not that James had any love for Papists, but he greatly dreaded them. He knew that regicide, or the killing of heretical and excommunicated princes, was the doctrine, not only of the Jesuits, but of all the Popish orders, and of almost all the Popish clergy, and the dread of the pistol or dagger of some fanatical Popish

¹ *i.e.*, asked.

² The other two, besides Mrs. Welsh, were Martha and Margaret. See p. 564. Knox had two sons by his first wife, but they were both dead by this time, and had died without issue. See p. 574.

³ *i.e.*, enjoyed.

⁴ *i.e.*, receive.

⁵ M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 273.



R. VERTRELLY.

MRS. WALSH'S INTERVIEW WITH KING JAMES.

J. GUDWIN



assassin would have extorted from him concessions which he would never have granted from a sense of justice. He had pronounced the Papists to be dexterous king-killers. The numerous attempts made upon the life of his predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, and the fate of Henry IV. of France, whom Ravallac, so recently as 1610, had stabbed in his coach in open day in the streets of Paris, were fresh in his memory. But he knew the Presbyterians too well to have any apprehension of their having recourse to such desperate means of redress, and he therefore rudely denied the suit of the humble presbyter's wife, because he could do it with impunity.

In refusing Mrs. Welsh's petition, James was probably influenced by private views and resentments; for he had often been reproved by Mr. Welsh for his habit of profane swearing, and he so shrunk from the reproofs of this venerable man, that if he had been swearing in a public place, he would turn round and inquire whether Mr. Welsh was present.

Soon after her unsuccessful interview with the king, Mrs. Welsh had the affliction to lose her husband, who died in May that year, in London, after upwards of fifteen years banishment—"one of the fathers and pillars of this church, and the light of his age; . . . a man filled with the Holy Spirit, zeal, love, and of incredible labour and diligence in the duties of his vocation," as Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in his obituary, describes him in recording his death.¹ He was interred in one of the church-yards of London. Having performed to him the last offices of respect, she returned to Scotland, and spent the remainder of her days in Ayr, where she had many Christian friends. She survived him little more than two and a half years, having died in January, 1625. Her death is thus recorded by her relative, Robert Boyd of Trochrig: "In the month of January, 1625, died at Ayr, my cousin, Mrs. Welsh, daughter of that great servant of God, the late Mr. John Knox, and wife to that holy man

¹ Bannatyne *Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 291, where Boyd's obituary is given in the original French. Wodrow, in his *Life of Robert Boyd*, printed for the Maitland Club, p. 263, has given an English translation of it.

of God, Mr. John Welsh, above mentioned, a daughter and spouse worthy of such a father and husband. God bring us with them to a holy and happy end in his own time by the way he hath prepared in his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."¹

From Mrs. Welsh's last will and testament, subscribed by her on the 8th of January, 1625,² we learn that she left behind her two sons, Josias and Nathaniel, and a daughter, Louise. She had another daughter, her eldest, who, as we have seen before, died in France. If Louise is the daughter whose birth is referred to in her father's letter to Robert Boyd, dated Jonsack, May 20, 1613, "My wife, thank God, is safely delivered of a daughter,"³ she would be at the death of her mother in the twelfth year of her age. Mrs. Welsh had given birth to three sons. But the eldest, whose name is not given, who studied medicine, and took his degree of M.D., had been accidentally killed in the Low Countries.⁴ Josias, the second, who inherited much of his father's talents, energy of character, and piety, was educated at Geneva, and on his return to Scotland was appointed professor of Humanity in the university of Glasgow.⁵ Upon the introduction of Prelacy, being expelled from this situation, he went to Ireland, where he became minister at Templepatrick, and one of the distinguished founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster. He died of consumption, in early life, on the 23d of June, 1634.⁶ His son John, minister of Irongray, in Galloway, is well known as one of the most intrepid of the persecuted ministers during the reign of Charles II. Nathaniel, Mrs. Welsh's third and youngest son, afterwards perished at sea. The vessel in which he had embarked having been shipwrecked, he swam to a rock, but was there starved to death, and his body, when found upon the rock some time afterwards, was in the prayerful attitude of kneeling, with the hands stretched out.⁷

¹ Bannatyne's *Miscellany*, vol. i., p. 291.

² See this document in M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii., p. 417.

³ Wodrow's *Life of Robert Boyd*, p. 326.

⁴ Kirkton's *Life of Welsh*.

⁵ Reid's *Hist. of Presb. in Ireland*, vol. i., p. 112.

⁶ *Life of Robert Blair*, Wodrow Society edition, p. 135.

⁷ Kirkton's *Life of Welsh*