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THE

LIFE OF

ANDREW MELVILLE,

THE

SCOTTISH REFORMER.

ABRIDGED FOR THE BOARD,
FROM McCRIE'S LIFE OF MELVILLE.

PHILADELPHIA :
PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1840, by
A. W. MITCHELL, M. D.,
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Eastern District
of Pennsylvania.

3054
895790

Stereotyped by
S. DOUGLAS WYETH,
No. 7 Pear St., Philadelphia.

Printed by
WM. S. MARTIEN.

LIFE OF MELVILLE.



ANDREW MELVILLE was born near Montrose, in Scotland, on the first of August, 1545, and was the youngest of nine sons. His father, Richard Melville, was slain in battle when Andrew was only two years old; and his eldest brother Richard took charge of the family and faithfully performed the part of a parent to his brothers; and as the subject of this memoir appeared to have a feeble constitution, and a strong inclination to learning, his brother resolved to give him the best education he could. He was first placed in a grammar school, at Montrose, under the tuition of Thomas Anderson, a man of no great erudition, but one of the best teachers of his time. Here Andrew acquired the rudiments of Latin, in which language he became afterwards so great a proficient. While at this school he became healthy and vigorous, and con-

tinued to enjoy good health to an advanced age.

In the year 1559, Melville was sent to the university of St. Andrews, and entered the college of St. Mary, then called the New College. The writings of Aristotle were then the text books in all the sciences taught in the colleges of Scotland; but the professors could not read them in the original; it was, therefore, a subject of admiration that this youth studied his lessons in the original Greek; and as he was of small stature, and of youthful appearance for his age, the wonder was still greater; and his teachers treated him with the utmost tenderness and respect. When he left the university, he had the reputation of being "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land." He probably was, for a while, under the tuition of that celebrated scholar, poet, and historian, George Buchanan, who returned to his native country while young Melville was at college. The university of Paris was at this time in the highest credit, and Andrew Melville was sent thither. Here he studied Greek under Turnebus, Hebrew under Mercerus, and logic and eloquence under the famous Peter Ramus. The young

Scotsman was greatly admired in the university for the fluency with which he could speak Greek. While here, he also had an opportunity of attending the lectures on the civil law, of that great jurist, Baldwin; and he was desirous of improving himself in every branch of knowledge.

When he had finished his course at Paris he went to the university of Poitiers, where, as soon as he arrived, he was made a regent of the college of St. Marceon. In this situation he continued for three years, engaged in the study of jurisprudence. But in 1568 Poitiers was vigorously besieged by Admiral Coligni, at the head of the Protestant army, and strenuously defended by the Duke of Guise. The classes in the university being suspended by the siege, Melville became tutor to the only son of a counsellor of parliament. Coming one day into his room, he found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon ball. The dear little fellow endeavoured to comfort his parents by such religious truths as he had learned from his tutor: and then turning to Melville, said in Greek, *Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μου τετεληκα.* “Master, I have finished my course.” Melville could never mention this scene without tears.

Though he took no part in the contest, yet finding that he was suspected of forwarding the besiegers, Melville resolved to quit France, and repair to Geneva for the prosecution of theological studies. Great caution was necessary in carrying this purpose into execution; for it was reported that foreign troops were coming to the assistance of the Admiral, and the governors of the provinces bordering on Switzerland and Germany had received strict orders from the court to suffer none to leave the kingdom without passports. Having concerted his journey with a young Frenchman who wished to accompany him, he left his books and other effects behind him, and set out on foot with a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. This was a mode of travelling to which he was partial, and the usual way in which he equipped himself for it. Being light in body, and full of spirits, he performed the journey with great ease; and when his fellow-traveller, exhausted with fatigue, had thrown himself on bed, he sallied forth, and examined whatever was worthy of being seen in the places at which they stopped. By avoiding the public roads and fortified towns, they passed the frontiers of France without meeting with any

interruption. Night had set in when they reached Geneva, and the city was strictly guarded on account of the confusions of France, and the multitude of strangers who came from it. When questioned by the guard, the Frenchman replied that they were poor scholars from France. The countenance of the soldier expressed his thoughts as significantly as if he had said aloud, "We have got too many persons of your description already." Melville, perceiving this, assured him that they had enough of money to pay for all that they required, and showing him the letters which they had for Monsieur Beza, begged to know where they would find that minister: upon which the gates were opened to them.

At their first interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, of whom he talked to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity which happened to be then vacant in their Academy. Accordingly he was put on trial within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges, that he was immediately admitted. A quarter of a year's salary was paid him at his admission, which proved a

very seasonable relief; for, notwithstanding his courageous language to the guard, the joint funds of the two travellers did not exceed a crown when they entered Geneva. He was now able to support himself creditably, and also to maintain his desponding companion until such time as he obtained a situation.

But Melville chiefly valued his situation as affording him an opportunity of hearing the lectures of the distinguished men then in the university. At this time Greek was taught by Portus, a native of Candia, to whom the language was vernacular. He was charmed with the progress which Melville had made in his favourite tongue, and took delight in instructing him. But Theodore Beza was the man whom he valued more than all the rest. After Calvin, Beza was undoubtedly the brightest ornament, and most powerful champion of the Reformation. To great talents, learning and piety, Beza added politeness and affability of manners, which rendered his society agreeable as well as instructive, to which Melville had unrestrained access at all times. While resident at Geneva, he formed an acquaintance and friendship with many distinguished men; and when the St. Bar-

tholomew massacre took place, multitudes of the Hugonots who escaped took refuge in Geneva, among whom were some eminent professors of jurisprudence; a branch to which Melville paid great attention, and by which he was rendered eminently useful in promoting the liberties of his own country.

In the year 1572, several distinguished persons from Scotland visited Geneva, and Melville received letters from his friends, which revived his love of country, and he determined to return to Scotland. It was not without feelings of regret that Melville parted from Geneva, and the friends whom he had gained during his residence in that city. In the subsequent period of his life, he frequently retraced the scene in his imagination, and relieved his mind, amidst his labours and anxieties, by recollecting the happy years which he had spent there, in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the society of some of the greatest and best men of the age. The subject is more than once introduced in his poetical pieces, and always with tenderness and enthusiasm. In a poem to the memory of John Lyndsay, one of his countrymen who died at Geneva, he pays an affectionate tribute to the most distin-

guished individuals whom he had known in that city. This is introduced by a deploration of the massacres so disgraceful to the neighbouring kingdom of France, which were painfully associated with the delightful recollections which the thoughts of Geneva excited in his breast. He made his journey through France, and spent a short time at Paris—but the civil war still raging, he found it expedient to cross the channel as soon as possible. He spent a few days in London, and then proceeded to Edinburgh where he arrived in July, 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country.

Melville had no sooner arrived in Scotland, than he was waited on by Buchanan and Hay, commissioned by the Regent Morton to secure his services as domestic instructor, in his house; but, disliking the thoughts of a court-life, he respectfully declined, and went to Angus, and took up his residence with his brother Richard, at Baldovy, where he became tutor to his son James, who had finished his education at St. Andrews, and was desirous of entering the ministry.

But Andrew Melville's fame as a scholar had been too widely spread by Beza's letter to the General Assembly, to admit of his

remaining in retirement. Two applications were made to the Assembly for his services, the one from St. Andrews, the other to be principal of the University of Glasgow. The Assembly, after hearing the representations from both universities, determined in favour of Glasgow. Upon this he paid a visit to that city—and, after conference with the trustees, agreed to accept the office of Principal. On this journey he stopped a few days at Stirling, and was introduced to the young king, then only nine years of age, with whose literary attainments he and his nephew, James Melville, who accompanied him, appear to have been very much struck. Here, also, he met with Buchanan again, and found him engaged in writing the history of Scotland. The University of Glasgow was founded in 1450, by a bull from Pope Nicholas V. at the solicitation of William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. But it was destitute of funds, and never had flourished, and was at the time of Melville's becoming principal, in a ruinous state. But this energetic and distinguished scholar reformed and enlarged the course of academical education, so as to give a new face to the institution. The studies which he introduced required six years for their completion. And he not only intro-

duced a new course of study, but took pains to inspire the students with a new literary spirit. He procured able men to be chosen in all departments, and by his influence with the Regent, obtained considerable permanent funds for the University. There is good reason to believe, that during his residence in the Glasgow University, no college in Europe afforded better opportunities of acquiring useful knowledge. Indeed, Melville was undoubtedly one of the most learned and accomplished scholars in Europe.

In the government of the college, he had formidable difficulties to encounter from the ungovernable character of some of the young nobility and gentry, who were unwilling to submit to authority; but he maintained the rights and discipline of college with invincible courage and firmness, and completely triumphed over every attempt to prostrate his authority.

The following is an instance of this, which throws light on the manners of the age, and derives interest from the relation it bears to a young gentleman who afterwards attracted considerable notice, both as a military and a literary adventurer. Mark Alexander Boyd, was the younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkhill, and a near relation of Lord Boyd, the

favourite of the Regent Morton. Having lost his father at an early period of his life, he was placed under the care of his uncle, the archbishop of Glasgow, for the sake of his education. Young Boyd evinced spirit and genius, but accompanied with a headstrong and ungovernable temper. He had created much vexation to the master of the grammar-school, and to the first regent under whom he studied at college. When he entered the second class, James Melville, who taught it, told him that such practices as he understood him to have indulged in would not be tolerated. The admonition had the desired effect for some time, but at length the impression of it wore off, and Boyd received the castigation of which he had been forewarned, and which his behaviour merited. Upon this the affronted stripling resolved to be revenged. Having pricked his face with his writing instruments, and besmeared it with the blood which he drew, he presented himself before his friends in this guise, with loud complaints of the cruel treatment which he had received from his regent. The Principal and Professors investigated the affair, and easily detected the trick which had been played. But the relations of the young man having foolishly taken his part, he not only

absented himself from the college, but determined to have still ampler revenge. In concert with his cousin, Alexander Cunninghame, a near relation of the Earl of Glencairn, he waylaid the regent in the church-yard as he was returning one evening to the college. Boyd came behind him with a baton, but retreated when the regent, who had perceived his tread, turned round. Cunninghame then rushed forward with a drawn sword; but the regent, though unarmed, being an expert fencer, declined the thrust aimed at him, seized the sword-arm of the assailant, and wresting the weapon from his hand, detained him a prisoner. The rector and the magistrates of the city were of opinion that this outrage could not be passed over without injuring the peace and credit of the College, and decreed that Alexander Cunninghame should come to the place where he had committed the offence, bare-headed and bare-footed, and there crave pardon of the University and of the regent whom he had assaulted. Encouraged by his friends he refused to submit to this sentence; and nothing was to be heard in the town and country but loud threatenings that the Boyds and Cunninghames would burn the college and kill the professors. Disregarding these threats, Mel-

ville summoned the offender before the Privy Council, went himself to St. Andrews to prosecute the cause, and, notwithstanding the powerful interest with which he had to contend, obtained a decree, ordaining Alexander Cunninghame to obey the sentence of the University and Town Council against a certain day, or else enter as a prisoner into the castle of Blackness. Andrew Hay, the rector, a man of great prudence and knowledge of the country, was of opinion that the college should not insist on the execution of this decree; as the pride of the families concerned would not suffer them quietly to see their relation make such a humiliating acknowledgment, and it was to be feared that the affair would not terminate without bloodshed. To this advice the Principal peremptorily refused to yield. "If they would have forgiveness (said he) let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it; but ere this preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all the blood of my body first."

On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow accompanied by his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn by his, to the number of between four

and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the University being assembled in the College-hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me (exclaimed Melville) let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents, and students, in their gowns. The church-yard was filled with gentlemen in armour, who, however, gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward supported by two of his friends, and, with an air and tone very different from those of a penitent, said he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any present who were ready to accept it. "Doubt not of that; we are ready," replied Melville. This bold reply completely deranged the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a show of willingness to obey the order of the Privy Council, but at the same time to intimidate the College from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself

obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the ceremony was over, the Principal and his company left the churchyard in the same manner as they had entered it, without meeting with the slightest insult or interruption. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, as some of them expressed themselves, "greater fools than they came."

It was not until 1577, that Melville received his library from Geneva, the want of which he had sensibly felt; for at that time the library of the University was extremely meagre. About the same time a foundation was laid for a university library, and many learned men sent in liberal donations of valuable books. About this time, also, he made his first publication, which was "a Poetical Paraphrase of the Song of Moses, and a Chapter of Job, with several smaller Latin Poems." The "Carmen Mosis" is a fine specimen of modern Latin poetry, and is worthy of the pupil of Buchanan. The entrance of Melville on the duties of principal in the College of Glasgow, has deservedly

been considered an era in Scottish literature; and, perhaps, Scotland owes her present high standing in literature and science, more to him than any other individual.

But Melville was not active merely in the promotion of literature, but also took a deep interest in the concerns of the church. From the beginning of the Reformation, professors of theology had not only the liberty of publicly preaching, but *ex officio* sat in the higher judicatories of the church; and before the plan of delegation was adopted, they were considered as having a right to a seat in the General Assembly.

The Scottish church, from the beginning of the Reformation, did not admit of any order of ministers above pastors; and those called superintendents were considered only as temporary officers, dependent entirely on the General Assembly. The popish Bishops and Abbots continued to hold their rich benefices, and to sit and vote in Parliament, in consequence of their baronial titles. In the year 1571, it became necessary to fill several bishoprics, vacated by the death or forfeiture of their former incumbents. The General Assembly had repeatedly declared their mind on this subject, that these bishoprics should be dissolved; and that the revenues should

be applied to the support of superintendents and ministers. To this the court, and the greater part of the nobility were opposed; and contrived to get it effected, that the vacant benefices should be bestowed on noblemen, who after securing such part of the revenues to themselves as they wished, presented to these livings, thus curtailed, whomsoever they pleased. These proceedings gave the greatest dissatisfaction, and were protested against by the commissioners of the church. And if they had steadfastly adhered to their principles, they would have succeeded; but to prevent this, various arts were resorted to, and some were intimidated; so that they yielded to the demands of the nobles. But to secure their object more effectually, a meeting of superintendents and ministers was convened at Leith, in January, 1572, which after sitting a while, assumed to itself the name and powers of a General Assembly, and devolved the whole business on a committee, with power to meet such persons as might be appointed by the privy council, and to have power to determine finally all cases of this kind.

This joint committee met and agreed, that the titles of Archbishops, Bishops, the bounds of dioceses, &c. should not be altered, at least

till the king came of age. They agreed also, that the persons appointed to fill these vacancies should be of lawful age, and should be chosen by a chapter of learned ministers, and should be subject to the General Assembly in spiritual, as they were to the king in temporal matters. Abbacies and priories were to be disposed of in the same manner; and inferior benefices to be given to ministers well qualified, who should reside in the parish; and pluralities were to be prevented.

The regent and council immediately confirmed this agreement, and engaged to use their influence to induce the lay patrons to perform their part of the contract. This was the famous ecclesiastical constitution of the convention of Leith, which contained in it a heterogeneous mixture of presbytery, episcopacy, and popish monkery; but in one respect it was harmless, as it did not interfere with the discipline of the church. Though according to it there were bishops, they had no episcopal authority; and though abbots were recognized, they had no right to sit in the ecclesiastical judicatories. The General Assembly, moreover, had power over both bishops and abbots, and might call to account the chapters for electing unsuitable persons. But still it was a system

of confusion. There were both bishops and superintendents, and the authority of these was co-ordinate; and if this constitution had gone fully into operation, it would have overthrown entirely the liberties of the people. The true secret of the whole contrivance, however, did not appear in the articles of agreement. This was to get the revenues of these rich benefices into the hands of the nobility, which was intended to be managed by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees. These bishops received the denomination of *tulchan* bishops, in allusion to a custom in the Highlands, of stuffing a calf-skin with straw, and placing it before the cow to cause her to give her milk. This was called a *tulchan*; the skin only was visible, while the straw was concealed. No genuine Episcopalian will admit that these were true bishops; although in the heat of controversy, some writers to prove that episcopacy always existed in Scotland, have appealed to the convention of Leith.

The articles of the aforesaid agreement were laid before the General Assembly, which met this same year, at St. Andrews in March, and at Perth in August. Here it was declared that there was no intention to sanction

any offices which savoured of popery ; and it was resolved to be expedient to change the offensive names of archbishops, archdeacons, abbots, &c. which were offensive to the ears of the people, for others ; and, also, that these articles should be considered as only adopted for an *interim*, until a permanent establishment of the church could be obtained from the king, regent, and council. The system, however, went into operation, and the evils of it were soon apparent to the most simple and unsuspecting. The vacant sees were generally filled by unqualified candidates ; some by very young, and some by very aged persons ; while men without learning, talent, or character, were put into others. The consequence was, that at every meeting of the Assembly, complaints were lodged against them for interfering with the superintendents, neglect of duty, simony, and the alienation of the property of the church. This was not all : the lay patrons, not being bound by the agreement, disregarded it ; and the regent took no pains to influence them to conform to the articles agreed upon, in their presentments. The regent also contrived to get from the collectors the third of the benefices, and appointed one pastor over several parishes, assisted by readers, to whom a very

small salary was allowed. The ministers complained loudly of these abuses, and began to consult on measures to check them. The regent now withdrew his countenance from the assemblies, and began to call in question the right of the ministers to meet; and pretended that he had a right to exercise the same supremacy over the church which had been assumed by the kings of England.

This was the unhappy and confused state of ecclesiastical affairs when Melville returned to Scotland. Knox was gone, and there was hitherto no one who seemed to possess the qualities necessary to take his place. All were convinced that something should be done, but it was not easy to agree upon the change which should be attempted, or the measures to be pursued.

Melville sat as a member of the General Assembly which was held at Edinburgh in March, 1575, being the first meeting of that judicatory after his admission to the College of Glasgow. This Assembly resumed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, which had formerly been under its consideration. The conviction that something behoved to be done in this matter was now become so general and strong, that a Convention of Estates, held a few days before, had voted 'that great in-

conveniencies had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a decent and comely government in the church ;' and had appointed a committee, consisting of laymen and ministers, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical polity agreeable to the word of God and adapted to the state of the country. The General Assembly appointed a committee of their number to meet with the parliamentary commissioners, enjoining them to wait on the business, and to transmit to the ministers of the different provinces any overtures that might be made. But though they had no objection to concur with the government, they considered the subject as one that properly belonged to themselves, and therefore appointed such brethren as had studied the question most accurately, to meet and prepare a draught to be laid before the Assembly. Melville was a member of this committee, which was renewed from time to time, and whose labours at last produced the Second Book of Discipline.

At the next Assembly, in August, 1575, when it was proposed to proceed, as usual, to the trial of the bishops, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested, that the examination of the conduct of the bishops should not prejudice what he

and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their office. On this occasion, Melville rose and addressed the Assembly in a speech of considerable length, in which he supported Dury's proposition, and stated his own sentiments respecting episcopacy. 'He was satisfied,' he said, 'that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to the interests of religion. The words *bishop* and *presbyter* are interchangeably used in the New Testament; and the most popular arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original language of Scripture. It was the opinion of Jerome and other Christian Fathers, that all ministers of the gospel were at first equal; and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, and not in divine appointment. A certain degree of pre-eminence was, at an early period, given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view, or under the pretext of preserving unity; but this device had oftener bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. From ecclesiastical history it is evident, that, for a considerable time after this change took place, bishops were

parochial and not diocesan. The same principles which justify, and the same measures which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, will justify and lead to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch over a province or kingdom, and of a universal bishop or pope, over the whole Christian world. He had witnessed the good effects of Presbyterian parity at Geneva, and in France. The maintenance of the hierarchy in England, he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses, which had produced dissensions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom. And he was convinced that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances which at present afflicted the church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil, by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the church.'

This speech was listened to with the utmost attention, and made a deep impression. The question was immediately proposed, 'Have bishops, as they are now in Scotland,

their function from the word of God, or not? and ought the chapters appointed for electing them to be tolerated in a reformed church?' For the better resolution of this question, the Assembly agreed that it should be debated by a select number on each side. John Craig, who had been Knox's colleague, but was at this time minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, were nominated to argue on the negative; and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, of Leith, on the affirmative side of the question. After two days' reasoning and conference on the subject, the committee presented their report. They did not think it expedient, for the present, to give a direct answer to the first part of the question, but were unanimously of opinion, that if unfit persons were chosen as bishops by the chapters, they ought to be tried anew and deposed by the General Assembly. They reported farther, that they had agreed on the following points, respecting the office of a bishop, or superintendent: First, that the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the word, administering the

sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is the chief function of bishops according to the word of God. And, secondly, that out of this number some may be chosen to visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly shall allot to them; to admit ministers, with the consent of the ministers in their respective bounds and of the particular congregations concerned; to admit elders and deacons where there were none, with the consent of the people; and to suspend ministers, for just causes, with the consent of their brethren in the district. The consideration of this report was deferred until the next meeting of Assembly. There were six bishops present, none of whom offered any defence of the episcopal office. In April 1576, the Assembly, after deliberation, approved of and adopted the report of the committee in all its parts; and for carrying it into effect, ordained that such of the bishops as had not taken the charge of a single congregation, should now make choice of one. From this time the Assembly followed up their decision, until they formally abolished the episcopal office. In April, 1578, they agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be

addressed in the same style as other ministers, and, in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishopric, they discharged the chapters from proceeding to a new election before next meeting of Assembly. At last the General Assembly which met at Dundee in July, 1580, found and declared the office of a bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church; ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition; and appointed the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. The minutes bear, that this famous act was agreed to by "the whole assembly in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office." The King's Commissioner was present in the Assembly, and made not the smallest opposition to the procedure.

Some difficulty was experienced in bringing the bishops to a compliance with this

act. Men are naturally reluctant to relinquish power, and the bishops, in this case, were supported by the court; but such were the diligence and energy of the Assembly's agents, that before the year was ended, all had resigned except five.

Committees were now appointed to mature a plan of church government; one was to meet in Glasgow, another in Edinburgh, a third at St. Andrews, and a fourth at Montrose. These sent the result of their consultations to a general meeting at Stirling, where every article was discussed, and all objections considered. This work when completed was presented to the General Assembly, which met in April, 1578; of which Melville was the moderator. This was the "Second Book of Discipline," already mentioned; which although not ratified by the civil authorities, was henceforth considered as morally binding on the churches, and was generally obeyed; and the next Assembly took care to direct that presbyteries should be erected in every part of the country.

The "First Book of Discipline," was an admirable composition considering the circumstances of the case: but it was got up

hastily upon the overthrow of the hierarchy, and contained many provisions suited to the peculiarity of the times, and omitted many things which experience afterwards taught to be important. The "Second" was drawn up with great deliberation, and by men who had thoroughly studied the subject; and is a well digested and regular system of church government, which has maintained its ground in Scotland against all opposition; was soon introduced in substance into England while the Parliament bore sway, and has been adopted by all the descendants of Scotch Presbyterians in the United States, and such as have joined themselves to these bodies. But the system does not materially differ from that composed by Calvin for the reformed churches on the continent. The credit or odium of overthrowing Episcopacy in Scotland has been attributed to Melville, and no doubt he bore a conspicuous part in the transaction. He considered no pains or labour too great, to accomplish the establishment of the church of Scotland on a scriptural platform.

Earl Morton, the Regent, endeavoured by various means to gain over or intimidate Melville. The highest office in the gift of

the crown was at his beck, and indeed the archbishopric of St. Andrews was designed for him, and secretly offered, but he resisted all baits of this sort.

While the Assembly were taking some measures that were disagreeable to him, he one day sent for Melville to his chamber. After discoursing for some time on the importance of preserving the peace of the church and kingdom, he began to complain that the public tranquillity was in danger from certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville explained, by telling his Grace, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the King's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his allowance. To this Melville answered, that, if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convoked hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and

yet they were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cæsar. Having appealed in proof of this assertion to the Acts of the Apostles, the Regent replied scornfully, "Read ye ever such an Act as we did at St. Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the Queen Regent at Perth in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you." He added, 'that in a great crisis the conduct of men was not to be rigidly scanned by common rules, and actions which in other circumstances would be highly censurable, may be excused and even approved; as our Saviour virtually justified those who introduced to him a palsied invalid by the roof of a house, without waiting the permission of the proprietor. At that time the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and all men pressed into it, without asking the leave of prince or emperor.' The Regent, biting the head of his staff, exclaimed in a tone of half-suppressed indignation, which few who were acquainted with his manner and temper could hear without alarm: "There will

never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the country.”—“Tush, Sir,” replied Melville, “threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord’s. *Patria est ubicunq̄ue est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared*, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth.”

The General Assembly were early attentive to the importance of a learned ministry. In 1575, they ordained that no one should be admitted to the office of the ministry, unless acquainted with the Latin language, except his natural talents were great. And Melville exerted his influence, in more cases than one, to introduce learned printers into Scotland, but his efforts were rendered abortive by the Regent.

The first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland was in 1579, by order of the General Assembly.

Another object which Melville had greatly

* Expended.

at heart, was the new-modelling of the universities. With the assistance of Arbuthnot, he formed the plan of a new constitution for Glasgow and Aberdeen. In the former it was introduced, but met with much opposition in the latter. The University of St. Andrews was remodelled, according to a plan devised by Melville and Smeton. Among other things, they planned that one of the colleges should be converted into a theological school, in which a full course of theological learning might be pursued. This was intended as an antidote to the Jesuits' colleges on the continent.

Melville exerted all his influence with the Assembly to secure this object, and accomplished it, and it led to his removal; for when a theological seminary was agreed upon, there was but one opinion as to the man who should be placed at its head. He was therefore transferred from Glasgow to St. Andrews, though on his part reluctantly, and Smeton was put in his place as principal of Glasgow.

James, however, scrupled, whether it was lawful to take a pastor from his flock, to make of him a professor in a college. This question, after deliberation, was determined

by the Assembly in the affirmative. Andrew Hay dissented from the vote for the removal of Melville, it was supposed from personal attachment ; but probably he was influenced by a regard to the institution of which he was rector. Melville left Glasgow in 1580. His departure was signalized by many tears. This year, also, he lost one of his most intimate and valued friends, Mr. John Row, minister of Perth. Row was a reviver of literature in Scotland, as well as a reformer. His literary attainments were very considerable, for the time in which he received his education, and they were combined with much piety, candour, disinterestedness, and courage in the defence of the truth.

The University of St. Andrews, the oldest in Scotland, was founded by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, in the year 1411. But the bull of Pope Benedict XIII. was not obtained until 1413. Five other bulls were signed by the pope on the same day, granting the most ample privileges to the institution. It was formed on the model of Paris and Bologna ; and the students were divided into nations, according to the country from which they came. The nations were those of Fife, Angus, Lothian, and Albany. This last included all from every place, except

those mentioned. The rector had supreme authority over the members of the university, to punish them civilly or ecclesiastically, except only where the crimes were such as to incur capital punishment ; and, in certain cases, persons not properly under the jurisdiction of the university, might be called before the rector and punished. This naturally laid the foundation for collision between the authority of the university and the civil power. For the sciences taught there were faculties, over each of which a dean presided. At that time, there was no faculty of medicine in the universities. There were no public buildings for the use of the university, but the professors taught and lectured wherever they could find a house ; and it appears that they received no regular salaries, but only small fees on the admission of students, and something, also, where they conferred degrees.

In 1458, Bishop Kennedy founded the college of St. Salvator, the faculty of which consisted of three professors of divinity, called provost, licentiate, and bachelor ; and four masters of arts, all in priests' orders ; and six poor scholars or clerks ; making in all thirteen persons. As this college was amply endowed for the support of the masters and scholars

who belonged to the foundation, very strict rules were laid down for its government ; and bishop Kennedy took care to have it supplied with able men as professors.

The college of St. Leonard was founded in 1512, by John Hepburn. It had formerly been an hospital for the reception of poor strangers, and when pilgrimages became less frequent, was converted into an asylum for aged women ; but these not behaving well, it was erected into a college, and provision made for the maintenance of twenty poor scholars. The frequency of lectures and sermons was prescribed with great exactness.

Those teachers and students who belonged to neither of these two colleges, attended to their literary pursuits in a building called the *pædagogium* ; but Alexander Stewart, a great patron of learning, took measures to have the *pædagogium* erected into a college ; but it was not fully established as a college until 1554, when archbishop Hamilton obtained a papal bull from Pope Julius III., when it received the name of St. Mary's College. It was provided with four principal professors, a provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist ; eight students of theology ; three professors of philosophy, and two of

rhetoric and grammar. The duties of all these were exactly prescribed in the constitution of the college. The professors and students of this college were required to wear gowns and caps, after the Parisian manner. The funds of this institution were ample. Although one great design of establishing the colleges in this university was to support the catholic faith, yet the doctrines of the Reformation very early crept in, and greatly prevailed; and, in process of time, all these foundations came into the hands of Protestants, and were turned against those principles for the defence of which they were instituted.

After the Reformation, commissioners were appointed both by Parliament and by the General Assembly, to visit the universities, and report their condition to these bodies respectively. These reports were made in 1579. They also agreed upon a new course of instruction, which was adopted, and was for the time, very complete. Melville entered upon the duties of his office as principal of "St. Mary's," or as it was commonly called, "New College," in December, 1580, and proceeded to deliver a course of lectures on theology. The ability with which he performed his duty as professor, has been

acknowledged by his very enemies. His lectures were not only attended by a large audience of students, but the regents and professors of other colleges were frequent in their attendance. But he experienced great trials and difficulties in carrying the new plan of education into effect; and many opposed themselves to the whole system, as a mischievous innovation; and he had the mortification to meet with opposition from some on whose aid he had a right to calculate. It may serve to show the spirit of the times, and the authority which Aristotle had acquired in the schools, to relate, that Melville, in lecturing on the attributes and providence of God, would frequently take occasion to point out and refute the errors of the Stagyrice. But this created a strong sensation in the university, where Aristotle's authority in any thing had never been questioned. The old professors began to rally round their idol, and delivered lectures in vindication of all the opinions which Melville had attacked.

The state of civil affairs, about this time, became very much perplexed, and Melville was deeply involved in the transactions which occurred. Although the General Assembly had formally dissolved the bishoprics,

yet the king with his counsellors revived them; and the see of Glasgow having been given to Lennox, the place was offered to a number of ministers, on condition that the person accepting would give up all the revenues, except an annual allowance, to be agreed upon. Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was induced to accept the office. He was "a vain, feeble, and presumptuous man." Melville appeared before the Assembly of 1581, as his accuser. The cause was committed to the presbytery of Stirling, and Montgomery was prohibited from leaving his charge at Stirling; but this he disobeyed. The chapter appointed to elect a bishop for Glasgow, refused to obey the order of the privy council; and the office remaining vacant beyond the prescribed time, was determined to have lapsed to the king; and the Synod of Lothian were called to appear before the council, which they did by Mr. Pont, who firmly declined their jurisdiction in a cause purely ecclesiastical.

In 1582, Melville was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrews in April. The king sent in a letter, and as soon as Montgomery's case was taken up, a messenger at-arms entered the house, and charged them on pain of rebellion, not to pro-

ceed in the process against Montgomery. The Assembly, however, resolved to proceed in the trial; but directed a respectful letter to be written to the king. The issue was, that the sentence of the presbytery of Stirling was confirmed, and Montgomery was suspended from the exercise of his ministry; and other charges were tabled against him, which, if proved, would have involved deposition and excommunication. But Montgomery came in and confessed his fault, and promised to have nothing further to do with the bishopric of Glasgow; and thus the sentence was stayed. But the Assembly, understanding the character of the man, directed the presbytery of Glasgow to maintain a careful watch over him; and their caution was not superfluous, for he soon began to preach at court, and to revive his episcopal claims, being supported and urged forward by Lennox.

The presbytery of Glasgow having met to take his case under consideration, Lennox entered the place where they were sitting, with an armed force, and seizing Mr. Howieson, the moderator, dragged him out of the chair, and struck him several times with great brutality; and when the students expressed their indignation at such proceedings,

they were dispersed by the armed band, and some of them were wounded ; but, notwithstanding this interruption, the presbytery went on with the business, and came to the resolution that Montgomery had violated his promise, and contravened the act of the General Assembly. This was transmitted to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed John Davidson, minister of Libberton, to excommunicate Montgomery, who accordingly pronounced the sentence, which was published on the next Sabbath, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and all the surrounding churches. Lennox and Arran were enraged beyond measure, and a proclamation was issued by the Privy Council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery to be null and void. The College of Glasgow was laid under an interdict ; the ministers of Edinburgh were frequently called before the Council and insulted, and one of them, John Dury, was banished from the capital. An extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was called, at the opening of which Melville preached a bold and spirited sermon against tyranny. As this was considered but a continuation of the Assembly which met in the spring, Melville was continued the moderator. They drew up a spirited and pointed remon-

strance to the king and council, in which they loudly complained of an infringement of their privileges in the late proceedings. Melville was appointed to go at the head of a deputation to the king, at Perth, to present the remonstrance. The favourites of the king expressed great indignation at this deputation, and it was given out that if they ventured to come to Perth, they would be massacred; and when they arrived at Perth, an attempt was made to persuade Andrew Melville not to appear, as Lennox and Arran were particularly incensed against him. But he could not be intimidated. "I am not afraid, I thank God; nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ. Come what God pleases to send, our commission *shall* be executed." When the deputation had gained access to the king, and had read the remonstrance, Arran, looking round with a threatening countenance, said: "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "*We dare!*" replied Melville, and advancing to the table, took up the pen, and subscribed his name; whose example was immediately followed by the others. Arran, bold as he was, appeared abashed by such intrepidity. Some Englishmen, who happened to be present, were astonished at the boldness of the mi-

nisters, and thought they must be supported by an armed force.

In all the proceedings of the Assembly and ministers, during this period, they acted strictly within the law ; they had no support from the nobility ; and seem to have taken no part in the political intrigues by which the administration was changed. No tumult was excited by them ; and though the people were on their side, they never attempted to excite them to violence. But Lennox and Arran were so intolerable on account of their rapacity and arrogance, that a combination was formed against them by the principal barons, who obtained possession of the young king's person, and forced Lennox to leave the kingdom, and Arran to confine himself to his house. This was called the *Raid of Ruthven*. Though the ministers had no agency in this change, the church enjoyed for a time peace and liberty in consequence of it.

About this time, one of the greatest luminaries which Scotland ever had was extinguished. George Buchanan, whose original genius, classical learning, and poetic productions, place him far above all rivalry, died in advanced age. He was uniformly the friend of the Reformation. Melville

shared a large part in his confidence and friendship.

For a while, Melville officiated as preacher in the parish church of St. Andrews, alternately with his nephew, James Melville. This was by the express order of the Assembly: but he desired some suitable person to be chosen for this pastoral office. And, accordingly, Mr. Pont was sent to take charge of this parish; but the principal inhabitants, not wishing for such a man, who could deal out reproofs from the pulpit, neglected to give him a suitable compensation, and he remained only twelve months in the place.

The Assembly, sensible of the importance of having an able preacher in St. Andrews, appointed first, Arbuthnot, principal of the University of Aberdeen, and then Smeton, principal of the University of Glasgow, to fill the place; but the king interposed, and prevented their acceptance, on the ground that they could not be spared from their respective Universities. For three years, therefore, the burden of pastoral duty fell upon Melville; but as he felt it to be his duty faithfully to reprove the flagrant vices of the high as well as the low, he gave great offence to some leading men. On one occasion, the provost arose, and left the house, in the midst of the

sermon; and various threatening placards were stuck up on the gate of his college, which gave uneasiness to his friends, but he remained unintimidated. The king, whatever, for a while, he professed, was never reconciled to the Lords of Ruthven, who had banished his favourites, and by degrees they resumed their influence, until all who had taken part in that proceeding were declared traitors.

In 1584, Melville received a summons to appear before the Privy Council, to answer for seditious words, uttered by him in prayers and preaching on a fast, the preceding month. The university, the town council, and the kirk, sent in full attestations of Melville's loyalty. When he appeared, he gave a full account of his sermon on that day; but the council refused to be satisfied, and determined to go on with the trial. He prepared a protest, which he presented to the council, insisting that his trial should be in the ecclesiastical courts, and at St. Andrews, where the offence was charged to have been committed, and that an accusation should not be received but before two or three witnesses. And, finally, he protested against William Stewart appearing, either as a witness, or an accuser, as he had cherished deadly malice

against him, and had often threatened his life. The reading of this protest produced such a burst of indignation from the king and Arran, that those without were alarmed, lest some violent act should have been committed. This violence, however, only served to arouse Melville's spirit, and he resolutely defended the step which he had taken; and, stepping forward, he unclasped his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and threw it on the table, saying, There are my instructions; see if you can find, that in any point I have transgressed them. Arran took up the book, and finding it in a strange language, handed it to the king, saying, "He scorns your majesty." "No," said Melville, "I do not scorn, but with all gravity, sincerity, and earnestness, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his church." He was removed several times, but not allowed to have any intercourse with his brethren. Entreaties and menaces were employed to induce him to withdraw his protest, but all in vain. Although the witnesses could testify nothing against him, yet he was condemned for declining the authority of the council, and for irreverent behaviour in the king's presence. He was ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punish-

ed in his person and his goods at the pleasure of his majesty.

Finding that the place of his imprisonment was changed from Edinburgh Castle to Blackness, a dark and loathsome prison, entirely under the control of Arran, he began to apprehend that this unprincipled courtier was meditating his destruction; but he manifested no signs of intimidation, and dined at Lawson's, with the city clergy, being the most cheerful person in company; and when the officer arrived to take charge of him, he directed him to be introduced; but, in a few minutes, left the company, and lay concealed until night, when he and his brother Roger made their way to Berwick, where they arrived, next day, in safety, to the great disappointment of Arran, who had a troop of horse in waiting, to convey him to Blackness.

Melville's flight to England was directed in providence to the discovery of the secret and faithless negotiations which archbishop Adamson had been carrying on for some time with the bishops of England, for the overthrow of presbytery in Scotland, while his professions and specious behaviour had been such as to deceive even Melville himself, who had lived on terms of great inti-

macy with him at St. Andrews. He was in London when Melville arrived there, who gave warning to his friends in Scotland of what was going on there. Adamson did not long need to wear the mask; as soon as he returned to Scotland presbytery was overthrown. A parliament was found venal enough to sanction all the acts which the court wished to have passed. These have been called "the black acts." The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to pull out of the pulpit any minister who should dare to censure what the parliament had done. Lawson, Balcanquhall, and Pont, went up, and with the usual ceremonies, solemnly protested against these acts. Orders were immediately issued to seize them, but they saved themselves by a timely flight. About twenty other ministers followed their example, and escaped into England. Lindsay and Howieson were imprisoned for praying for the refugees, and a bond was drawn up, which all ministers were required to subscribe, engaging to obey the edicts of the late parliament. This, most refused at first, but by the introduction of an ambiguous clause, many of the boldest and best ministers in Scotland, such as Craig, Dury, and Erskine, were caught in the snare, and

subscribed. Melville, while in London, wrote a reply to a libellous paper, purporting to be a declaration of the king and council respecting the affairs of Scotland. In the month of July, 1584, the earls of Angus and Mars and others wrote to Melville, requesting him with Lawson to meet them immediately at Newcastle, "on matters of great importance." When this request came, he was on a visit to the two English universities, and was thus prevented from meeting these noblemen. Melville was received with the honour due to his literary character, in these ancient seats of learning; and spoke in high terms of the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. Upon his return to London, he was called to the painful duty of attending the death-bed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James Lawson, who died in great peace and comfort, and bore honourable testimony to the cause which he had long been labouring to support. Though an exile and a stranger in London, his body was attended to the grave by some hundreds of distinguished persons. Lawson was the man to whom Knox left the congregation in Edinburgh, as believing

him to be better qualified for the station than any other of his brethren.

Another change of administration now took place in Scotland. The exiled nobles, encouraged by Elizabeth's ministers, entered the border of their native country, and were soon joined by multitudes who were anxious to be delivered from the tyranny of Arran. By the time they reached Stirling, they had around them a great army, and Arran was obliged to seek his safety in flight. The king now again fell into new hands, and the exiled nobles were brought into great favour. But they were more solicitous to secure good terms for themselves, than to provide for the deliverance of the church from oppression, which they had made a prominent object in all their manifestoes while in exile. A parliament was called to meet at Linlithgow, in December. The Assembly had been accustomed to convene uniformly a little before the meeting of parliament, to have an opportunity of preparing their petitions to lay before that body. And, accordingly, they called a meeting at Dunfermline, in the end of November; but the king had issued positive orders that they should not come into the town; upon which they met in the fields, and adjourned to

meet at Linlithgow. Melville found the ministers in a very unhappy state of division respecting the subscription which a number of them had made. He laboured hard to prevent dissension, and to unite them, as their success depended altogether upon union.

This parliament and assembly broke up, however, without accomplishing the desirable objects, which the faithful ministers hoped would be effected. The king, now twenty years of age, undertook to draw up with his own hand, a declaration in reply to the representation of grievances, &c. prepared by the Assembly, in which he seemed unwilling to grant any thing of importance to their demands. The ejected professors had, indeed, by parliament, been restored to their places, but Melville was unable to resume his station at St. Andrews, on account of the plague; but in the month of March, the ensuing year, he returned to St. Andrews, after an absence of two years, and again commenced his theological lectures.

After Arran, no man was so offensive to the nation as archbishop Adamson. At the synod of Fife, which met at St. Andrews, April, 1586, he was first denounced from

the pulpit, by James Melville, and then tried before the synod and condemned and excommunicated. But when the cause came before the General Assembly, they agreed to remove the censure, provided Adamson would sign a submission which they prescribed, to which he consented.

Melville was employed to write to the French protestants, that their ministers, who should choose Scotland for a place of exile, should find protection. Du Moulin carried back these fraternal letters, who had been in Scotland now two or three years.

As soon as Adamson was restored, the court began to take measures to depress Melville, his rival. He was sent for by the king, and after being graciously received, was informed that his services in the university would, for a season be dispensed with, and he might visit his native place; and afterwards he had a writ served on him requiring him to confine himself beyond the Tay, until further orders. In the mean time, the bishop was directed to deliver a lecture in the university, on which all should be obliged to attend. The principal duties of New College, however, devolved again upon James Melville. After some time, by

means of one of the king's domestics, he obtained his release.

The king, before the meeting of the Assembly, had called together some of the ministers, whom he knew to be less rigid than the rest, and obtained their consent to a modified episcopacy. Their resolutions were laid before the Assembly, who declared that bishops were not superior to pastors. And on being asked whether they would not allow them a pre-eminence in respect of order, if not of authority, they answered that it had no foundation in Scripture, but if forced upon them, they must receive it. After several conferences, it was agreed that until presbyteries were better constituted, and until the General Assembly should take further order, bishops might introduce ministers with the consent of a majority of the presbytry; and that they should preside in the presbyteries with which they were connected, but should be subject to the General Assembly, or commissioners appointed by them. At the same time presbyteries were ordered to be established, and many wholesome provisions of the "Second Book of Discipline" were renewed, with the consent of the king; and so much was gained as afterwards laid the

foundation for the subversion of episcopacy in the Scottish church.

In the end of June his Majesty accompanied Du Bartas, the French poet and ambassador, to St. Andrews. On his arrival he came to the New College, and intimated that he would return in the course of an hour, along with his learned French friend, to hear a lecture. Melville had already read his ordinary lecture, and was quite unprepared for entertaining such illustrious auditors; but the King would take no excuse. Accordingly the university was assembled, and Melville delivered an extemporaneous discourse, which gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except his Majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church government. Next day bishop Adamson feasted the King and Du Bartas. Previous to this he pronounced an elaborate discourse, containing the substance of his late lectures in support of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville attended on the occasion, and was observed to take notes during the delivery of the discourse. When it was over, he sent information to the royal party, and to the members of the university, that he intended to prelect in the afternoon.

Suspecting his intention to answer the bishop's oration, James sent one of his attendants to warn him, that if he did not keep within the bounds of moderation, and of the respect due to his presence, he would again lay him under restraint. Melville replied, that he was bound to counteract the effects of poisonous doctrine at the risk of his life, but, so far as was consistent with what he owed to truth, he would be most tender of his Majesty's honour. James sent a second messenger to say, that he depended on his prudence, and meant to take a repast with him in the college. At the hour appointed, the hall was crowded with auditors, among whom were the King, Du Bartas, and Adamson, who, expecting to be attacked, had obtained liberty from his Majesty to defend himself. Melville took no notice of the discourse which had been delivered in the morning, but quoted from certain popish books, which he brought along with him, the leading positions and arguments which the bishop had advanced; and then, as if he had to do only with Roman Catholics, proceeded to overthrow them "with such inimitable force of reason and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed and stricken as dumb as the stock he sat upon." His

Majesty afterwards made a speech in English, interposed some scholastic *distinguos*, and concluded by enjoining the members of the university to respect and obey the bishop. He then partook of an entertainment in the college and retired. Du Bartas remained behind to converse with Melville. In the evening James asked his visitor's opinion of the two discourses. Du Bartas said, they were both learned, but the bishop's was prepared for the occasion, whereas the Principal had shown that he had a vast store of various learning at command; "besides," added he, "he has far more spirit and courage than the other." In this judgment his Majesty professed to acquiesce.

Melville was chosen moderator of the Assembly in 1587, in which meeting the lands of the bishops, abbots, &c., were annexed to the crown, which paved the way for the overthrow of episcopacy.

In the beginning of the year 1588, Melville took an active part in arousing the nation to a sense of its danger from the threatened Spanish Armada. James had received timely warning of the hostile intentions of the King of Spain, and of the correspondence which he maintained with Scotland; but he testified no disposition to

adopt the precautions necessary to avert the danger which menaced his dominions. While Jesuits and seminary priests were seducing his subjects from their allegiance, and preparing them for revolt on the first appearance of a foreign force, he was busy commenting on the Apocalypse, and demonstrating by arguments drawn from that book that the Pope was Antichrist. So bold was the faction devoted to Spain and Rome, and so great its influence at court, that it obtained a protection for these dangerous emissaries to remain in the country; a liberty which they improved in maturing a plot to banish or massacre the Protestant statesmen. In these circumstances, Melville, in virtue of the powers vested in him as moderator, called an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. He opened the deliberations with an animated address, in which he acquainted the members with his reasons for convening them. The alarming crisis had drawn an unusual concourse of the subjects to the capital, and all were actuated with the same spirit. It was agreed that the barons, burgesses, and ministers, should meet apart, to consult on the dangers which hung over the church and commonwealth, and on the best means of providing against

them. A deputation was appointed to lay the result of their consultations before the King, and to make him an offer of their lives and fortunes. James interpreted this as an interference with his administration, and an implicit censure upon his past conduct; but the deputies having remonstrated with him freely on the dangers of the times, he, after consulting with his advisers, returned them thanks for their zeal, and nominated a committee of Privy Council to meet with them and concert common measures for the public safety. The consequences of this cooperation were of the happiest kind. Among other steps that were taken, a solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence, approved by his Majesty and zealously promoted by the ministers of the church, was sworn by all ranks. In this they protested that the reformed religion and his Majesty's estate had the same friends and foes, and engaged that they would defend and maintain them against all plots and preparations, foreign or domestic, and particularly against the threatened invasion from Spain; that they would assist in the discovery and apprehension of Jesuits and other vassals of Rome; that they would assemble at his Majesty's command, and hazard their lives, lands, and

goods, in resisting the common enemy ; and that they would lay aside all private feuds, and submit every difference that might arise among them in the mean time to the judgment of arbiters to be chosen by the King. By these means Scotland was put in a state of defence, and in concert with England waited the result of the formidable preparations of Spain.

Melville was the means of introducing to the General Assembly and getting recommended to the church in Edinburgh, Robert Bruce, second son of the laird of Airth. This young man possessed great abilities and zeal for the reformed religion, and was pronounced by Melville to be a worthy successor of Knox and Lawson. A better agreement now subsisted between the king, the church, and people. This harmony of feeling was greatly promoted by such men as Bruce, who obtained great influence over the minds of the people. During the six months that James was absent in Denmark, for the purpose of being married, the country remained in a delightful state of tranquillity. Instances of bloody feuds, which had been so frequent, were, during this period, scarcely witnessed, in any instance.

The ceremony of the coronation of the

queen was celebrated with great pomp in Holyrood-house, on the 17th of May, 1590, in the presence of the ambassadors of Denmark, the principal nobility and clergy of the country, and an immense multitude of people. Three sermons were delivered, one in Latin, one in French, and one in English. The minister who was chiefly employed in the solemn ceremonies of the occasion was Robert Bruce, minister of the high church, Edinburgh. He anointed the queen, and with the assistance of the chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her head.

Andrew Melville, who did not know until shortly before the ceremony commenced, that he should be requested to take any part in the solemnity, nevertheless recited a Latin poem in celebration of the event. His performance was greatly admired, both for its spirit and elegance, and the dignity and propriety of its delivery. The king, in returning him thanks, was pleased to say, that he had, that day, done him and the country such honour, as he never could requite. He enjoined it upon him to deliver his poem immediately into the hands of the printer, and added, that all the ambassadors joined earnestly in this request.

Accordingly, it was published next day, under the title of *Stephaniskion*, and being circulated through all Europe, was a means of increasing the literary reputation of the author.

Upon the occasion of the murder of the Earl of Murray by Huntly, great indignation was felt by all good people, which was increased by the recollection of the virtues and services of the old regent, the father of Murray. But the king having taken no steps to punish the murderer, Melville was sent to stimulate him to do justice. In conversing with his majesty, he expatiated on the excellent character of the regent, but the chancellor checked him, and ordered him to be silent. Melville replied that from the king alone would he receive a command to be silent in such a case. The king said that none would defend Knox, Murray, and Buchanan, but seditious and traitorous theologues. Melville replied, that these were the men who had put the crown on his head, and deserved better treatment.

In 1588, a great variety of accusations were laid in against Adamson. His cause was remitted to the presbytery of Edinburgh with full power to issue it. He was found

guilty of falsehood and double-dealing. He still, however, seemed to depend upon the royal favour, until the withdrawal of his living opened his eyes to see that he was indeed forsaken. It was in vain that he attempted by plaintive verses to move the pity of the king, and to revive his former feelings of friendship, by putting him in mind of his own services. The king paid no attention to him. The poor bishop had lived too fast, and was now reduced to abject poverty and miserable want. But people had so little confidence in his sincerity, that when he complained, they did not believe that he really was in such destitute circumstances. As a last resource, he wrote a suppliant letter to Melville, in which he confessed his faults, and entreated the favour of one whom he had for years endeavoured to injure. Melville immediately went to see him, and relieved his necessities, and for some time supported his family out of his own funds. He also exerted his influence to obtain assistance for him from others. When the Synod of Fife held its annual meeting, he attended, and entreated that the sentence of excommunication might be removed; and on this occasion he signed several papers, in which he utterly renounced Episcopacy,

and professed deep sorrow for the opposition which he had made to the judicatories of the church. Such declarations, from such a man, and in such circumstances, are worth little. Concerning his learning and talents all were agreed. There is a beautiful little poem, published by his son-in-law, composed a little before his death, which breathes much of the spirit of piety. He died February 19, 1592. Melville's Christian conduct to him when in distress, needs no comment. It is worthy of imitation, as well as of praise.

This year is memorable for the legal establishment of presbytery. By an act of parliament, assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, were established. In this famous act were embodied some of the leading articles of the "Second Book of Discipline," in regard to the powers of these judicatories. This act is still the charter of the privileges of the church of Scotland. Not that she regarded this as conferring on her any rights which she did not possess from the word of God, but by this act of parliament these rights were acknowledged.

This final settlement of the church upon a scriptural basis, was not obtained without a struggle: many of the nobility opposed it strenuously, and at last believed that the

king would never consent to it; but he was influenced by a desire to quell the rising spirit of the people, on account of the un-avenged murder of the earl of Murray. It was an act of grace to remove the just indignation of an incensed people.

To Melville this settlement of religion must have been peculiarly gratifying, as it was the object for which he had been struggling from the time of his return to Scotland. He now saw the triumph of that cause which he believed to be agreeable to the will of God, and for which he had laboured for eighteen years. And he now could hope to have the opportunity of devoting himself to his academical pursuits, without interruption. In the year 1590, upon the death of the venerable James Wilkie, president of St. Leonard's college, and rector of the University, Andrew Melville succeeded him in the latter office; and, on many occasions, displayed his firmness and energy as the chief magistrate of the University. Among his other employments, he acted as ruling elder in the kirk of St. Andrews. It had from the era of the Reformation become a custom in this place, on account of the important causes which came before them, to elect members of the kirk-session, out of the University, and not uncommonly

ministers were chosen to this office; and Dr. McCrie mentions what he supposes will startle his southern neighbours, that even archbishops have in that town served as ruling elders, and felt it to be no degradation. Melville had been instrumental in obtaining for St. Andrews two very excellent ministers, David Black, and Robert Wallace. The former, in particular, was most indefatigable in his pastoral duties, and faithful in the exercise of discipline; by which means a great reformation was wrought among the people, in the suppression of vice, the increase of religious knowledge, and the diminution of pauperism. It was with a special view of encouraging and aiding this pious man in his arduous labours, that Mr. Melville consented to act as ruling elder in the kirk. He also attended the weekly meetings of the presbytery, and took his share in the exercises assigned respectively to the members. These were, the exposition of a passage of scripture by one, and a statement of the doctrines contained in it by another; after which the presbytery gave their opinion of the performances. Besides these, the General Assembly directed that once a month, every presbytery should discuss some point in the following manner. One member, in his turn, proposed the ques-

tion, and discussed the subject; objections were then made by other ministers, to which he replied.

Melville effected much good by obtaining ministers for the vacant parishes. When he came to St. Andrews, there were only five settled ministers in the presbytery, but after a few years there were sixteen.

Melville was ever watchful for the safety of his country and the church; and ever ready to engage in any labour which had this object in view. Apprehending danger from the trafficking papists who were dispersed through the land, he attended several ministers' meetings at Edinburgh, where rules of precaution, proposed by him, were unanimously adopted; and it soon appeared that his apprehensions were not imaginary, for a conspiracy, embracing several leading noblemen, was discovered, the object of which was to invite a Spanish army to land on the west of Scotland, and thence to march into England. The king pursued the absurd and weak policy of defending these popish lords. When the convention of the states met at Linlithgow to try these men, Melville attended as a commissioner of the General Assembly; on which occasion he plainly declared to the king how much he was to blame for

treating as he had done, the memory of the leading instruments of the Reformation, and for cherishing as his chosen friends the determined enemies of this blessed work. He publicly challenged those persons who had advised his majesty to this course to come forward now before the Convention of Estates, and avow themselves; and he pledged himself to prove them traitors to the king and country; or if he failed, he would agree to go to the gibbet himself. The king and courtiers smiled, and said he was more zealous than wise. When the General Assembly met in 1594, they again manifested their confidence in Melville by placing him in the moderator's chair. Lord Hume appearing before this Assembly to obtain absolution from the sentence of excommunication which had been passed upon him, it devolved upon Melville as moderator to pronounce the sentence; but, having no confidence in the sincerity of this nobleman's submission, the Assembly excused him from performing the act, and appointed David Lindsay, as his substitute, in this transaction.

The popish lords, whom the king had shielded from deserved punishment, were now in open rebellion; and yet they found advocates in the parliament, which met in

June. When their case was taken up by the Lords of the Articles, Melville appeared before them in behalf of the church, and urged them to take strong measures against them.

After the defeat of the Earl of Argyle by the popish lords, the king at the head of some troops marched towards the north. Andrew Melville, and his nephew James, attended his majesty; and the former probably saved the expedition from a disgraceful issue; for when the counsellors of the king were inclined to dissuade him from proceeding to any measures of severity, Melville so reasoned on the subject as to produce a sensible effect on the officers of the army who were present, which led the king to dissent from the opinion given by a majority of his council, and to proceed to throw down a castle belonging to the Earl of Huntly. This led the people to believe that the king was in earnest in the opposition he made to these lords, which few believed before; and the result was, that they soon afterwards left the kingdom.

Melville celebrated the birth of an heir to the crown in an elegant Latin poem. This was prince Henry, whose premature decease Melville lived to see, contrary to the anticipations in the poem just mentioned. The

only event in which Melville was concerned, which occurred in the year 1595, was the trial of his friend and pastor David Black, who had a dispute with Balfour of Burley, who retained a house in possession which had been assigned as a manse to the minister of St. Andrews. Burley, fearing he would lose his cause, accused Black of reviling the late queen in his sermons. Melville was accused of abetting him in his seditious harangues. Both were summoned before the king. Black was put upon his trial, before a court composed of certain members of the Privy Council, and some ministers convened from the neighbouring parishes. Black objected to the court, as being neither civil nor ecclesiastical, but his objections were overruled. Melville, suspecting that irregular proceedings were going on, obtained admission; and having been permitted to speak, he told his majesty what he had often, he said, rung in his ears, that though he was king of Scotland, he was not king of the church in Scotland; and that there was no court assembled there which had the right to try the cause before them. "But," said he, "if king James VI. has a judicature here, it should be to judge, not the faithful servants, of Jesus Christ, the King of the church, but

—turning to Burley—this traitor, who has committed divers acts of high treason against his majesty's laws!" Burley fell on his knees, and craved justice. "Justice!" exclaimed Melville, "would to God you had it, you would not then be here to bring a judgment from Christ upon the king, and thus falsely and unjustly vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." James attempted to silence him by assuming an air and tone of authority, but the feelings of Melville were too high to regard frowns or threats. The king then affected to be jocular, and thus the trial was terminated; and by the prudent suggestions of James Melville, suggested to the earl of Mar, an accommodation on reasonable terms was brought about. Black being admitted to a private interview, satisfied the king that he had never spoken otherwise than respectfully of his mother. Melville also, was admitted to an audience, and after a free but amicable conversation, was also graciously dismissed.

In the Assembly of 1596, a very memorable scene occurred. An overture had been received proposing a reformation in all classes, from the court downwards, but had more particular respect to ministers, whose faults were faithfully set forth. At the sug-

gestion of Melville, the members of the Assembly agreed to meet by themselves, to confess their sins and make solemn promises of amendment. The pious John Davidson, who had draughted the overture before the Assembly, was appointed to preside. He preached to his brethren in such a convincing manner, and offered up supplications and confessions with so much fervent feeling, that the whole Assembly were melted into tears, and rising from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, promising "to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." This scene lasted three hours, and was more deeply solemn than any ever witnessed by the oldest persons present.

As, of course, only a small part of the whole ministers were present, it was ordained that a similar action should take place in each of the synods; and eventually it was extended to presbyteries and congregations. No where was this solemn celebration more deeply affecting than in Dunfermline, in the synod of Fife. After they had plighted their faith, James Melville, who presided at the exercises, called upon some of the most judicious members to address the Assembly

The first who spoke was David Ferguson, the oldest minister in the church, who had seen the commencement of the Reformation in Scotland, and now gave an account of this memorable revolution, and of the difficulties which the first ministers had to encounter. Then, John Davidson, who was present, at the request of the General Assembly, addressed the meeting ; and, finally, Andrew Melville was called upon to make the concluding address. He solemnly warned his brethren against defection, and covenant breaking, and put them in mind of the sinful compliances of ministers in 1584, and onward.

These delightful and refreshing seasons were like the calm which precedes a storm. The popish lords returned, and a Spanish invasion was still threatened. The nation was greatly alarmed ; it was feared that they would obtain a pardon, and again rise to influence in the king's counsels.

In August, a meeting of the Privy Council, and other noblemen, was called at Falkland, which certain ministers, believed to be of the more moderate sort, were invited to attend. Melville felt it to be his duty to attend as a commissioner of the General Assembly, although not invited. As soon as the king

heard of his arrival he sent him a message to depart ; but he excused himself, by pleading the commission which he had received. When he made his appearance along with his brethren, the king asked him what call he had to be there. “ Sir,” replied Melville, “ I have a call from Christ and his church, who have a special interest in this convention ; and I charge you in their name, not to favour their enemies ;” and much more to the same purpose. But he was interrupted by his majesty, who ordered him to depart, which he did, thanking God that he had enjoyed the opportunity of exonerating his conscience.

Melville afterwards attended the meeting at Cupar, which sent a deputation to the king to remonstrate against giving countenance to the popish lords, who had secretly returned. James Melville was placed at the head of this deputation on account of his courteous manners, and favour with the king, but his uncle Andrew was also of the deputation. When James Melville began his speech, the king interrupted him abruptly ; and when he began mildly to reply, Andrew Melville, impelled by the warmth of his feelings, stepped forward, and taking the king by the sleeve, said, “ Sir, we will always

humbly reverence thee in public; but since we have occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since ye are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and along with you the country and church of God are like to go to wreck for not giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, sir, as I have divers times before told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus the King of the church, whose subject king James VI. is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power from him to do this, both severally and jointly, the which no Christian king should control, but fortify and assist; otherwise they are not faithful members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience; but again I say, you are not the head of the church. You cannot give us that eternal life which even in this world we seek for; and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ, and attend to the interests of

that church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies ; his officers and ministers assembled freely for the ruling and welfare of his church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seeking your destruction. * * * And now, when there is more extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of the duty, will you, drawn to your destruction by a devilish and most pernicious counsel, begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and your most faithful subjects, when you should rather commend and counsel them, as the godly kings and emperors did. The wisdom of your counsel which I call devilish, is, that you must be served by all sorts of men, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant ; and because the Protestant ministers in Scotland are over strong, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them. But, sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly. His curse cannot but light upon it. In seeking both, you will lose both. Whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends ; and he would compel

the rest to serve you." During the delivery of this bold speech, his majesty's passion subsided. He again declared that he had no knowledge of the return of the popish lords, and promised that he would show them no favour until they had satisfied the church. But these, like his other promises to the church, were mere empty words.

On another occasion, Melville gave proof of his indomitable courage, when the king after packing an Assembly, and tampering in private with the ministers, having almost overthrown the liberties of the church, to carry on his designs, came to St. Andrews, principally with the view of expelling the ministers, and especially Melville, from the place. His majesty attended public worship in the morning, and when Mr. Wallace was about to proceed to the application of his discourse, commanded him to desist. Melville, who was present, arose and rebuked the king, and at the same time censured the commissioners of the church for their cowardly silence.

Visitors were now appointed by the king to examine into the state of the university, who laid in many frivolous charges against Melville, which he met with prompt and satisfactory answers; but, nevertheless, he was

deprived of his rectorship of the university. But that which James aimed at, in regard to Melville, was to invent some method by which he might be excluded from the church courts; and to accomplish this, he pursued a roundabout, tortuous policy, suited to the timidity of his disposition. He had a law enacted that no professor of theology, who was not a pastor, should sit in any of the judicatories of the church. This act was merely that of the visiters, and in adopting it they transcended the powers given to them, by act of parliament, and it was an infringement of the rights of church courts, and also of the university. Melville resolved that he would not relinquish this right, if the university should at any time delegate him to the Assembly. Accordingly he appeared at the next General Assembly. When his name was called, his majesty challenged it, and said, that he was excluded from the privilege of sitting in church courts. Melville defended his right. He said that the king might interfere with his office as a professor in the university, but not as a minister of Christ, in virtue of which office he now appeared as a representative of his presbytery. Davidson spoke on the same side, and put the king in mind that he appeared in that As-

sembly as a Christian, and not in the capacity of king. But his majesty declared that no business should be done until Melville withdrew; and to prevent him from influencing the ministers in private, he was commanded to leave Dundee, on pain of rebellion.

The king and his council were now cunningly laying a train for the introduction of episcopacy again. He had a conference called at Falkland, to consider whether ministers ought not to form a third state in parliament. Melville was there and opposed the proposal with great strength of argument. The king, however, determined to prosecute his plan; and expectation was turned to the Assembly which met at Montrose in 1600, as one on which greatly depended the permanence of Presbyterian church government. Melville was again delegated, and determined to attend, and once more assert his rights, whatever might be the consequence. As soon as the king heard of his arrival, he sent for him, and demanded what he meant by being so troublesome? Melville replied that he acted under a commission from the church, and under the authority of One greater than the kings of the earth, whom he dare not disobey. On quitting the

royal apartment, he put his hand to his throat, and said; "is it this you would have. Take and cut off this head: you shall have it before I will betray the cause of Christ." He was not permitted, however, to take his seat in the Assembly; but the king did not now judge it expedient to order him to leave the town. He remained, therefore, and assisted his brethren with his advice, and by suggesting arguments to be used in the Assembly.

In the year 1601, Melville was again delegated by his presbytery to the Assembly, and seems to have been permitted to take his seat, but how this was brought about does not appear.

This year was memorable for the death of queen Elizabeth, and the accession of James to the throne of England. Melville, though so unjustly and harshly treated by James, again employed his muse in celebrating this event.

Andrew Melville was held in high estimation by learned men abroad, and corresponded with some of the most distinguished scholars on the continent. Isaac Casaubon wrote to him a highly complimentary letter, which is preserved, and a translation furnished by Dr. McCrie.

Mornay du Plessis also wrote to him, and requested his opinion respecting the doctrine of Piscator, about the active obedience of Christ, which had been harshly condemned by the national synod of France. Melville, in his answer, advises to moderate measures, and expresses the opinion that both parties in this controversy, held the substance of the doctrine of the Reformation on the subject of a sinner's justification before God, and urged Du Plessis to use his great influence to put an end to this controversy.

During the controversy which now arose about the meetings of the General Assembly, Melville and his nephew were active and zealous in favour of the rights of the church, insomuch that the king, when he heard of their opposition to his schemes, sent an order to have them both incarcerated, but it was not carried into effect.

The Assembly which met at Aberdeen, was prorogued by a preremptory order from the Privy Council, and the leading members of that body were arrested for contravening the king's orders. When their trial came on Melville attended to encourage and assist his brethren.

He was also deputed by the presbytery of St. Andrews, to attend the meeting of the

parliament, at Perth, in 1606, together with delegates from many other presbyteries, to see that the church suffered no injury. Understanding that bishops were to be restored, they sent in a remonstrance, which the Lords of Articles refused to receive. The parliament proceeded to place episcopacy on the same footing on which it stood a hundred years before. The commissioners of the presbyteries now prepared and sent in a strong protest, signed by them all; Melville's name standing first on the list of subscribers.

This appearance, at Perth, and the part he took in this protest against the restoration of episcopacy was the last act in which Melville was engaged in his native country; for now he received a letter preremptorily requiring him to repair to London to consult with his majesty, about the affairs of the church. Seven others received a similar summons, and though this journey was very inconvenient to most of them, no excuse was admitted. Melville, in company with his nephew, Scott, reached London on the 25th of August. As soon as his arrival was known many persons friendly to his cause waited on him.

The king was absent at the time, but soon returned, and sent for them to Hampton

Court, where they were permitted to kiss his hand. After some familiar conversation, he explained to them the reason of his sending for them ; that he wanted them explicitly to declare their opinion on two points : the one was, the true character of the Assembly which met at Aberdeen, and the other was, the best method of obtaining such meetings of the Assembly as would promote good order and tranquillity. James Melville replied that they would like to have time to consult, and to return a deliberate answer : they were therefore dismissed with directions to come next day. When they arrived, instead of finding the king alone, they found him surrounded with his court and principal nobility. Mr. James Melville had been selected by the brethren to be their spokesman, but the king insisted that every one should express his own opinions ; and then turning to Andrew Melville, asked him what he thought in regard to the questions proposed. He stepped forward, and without embarrassment delivered a speech of an hour in length, in which he assigned reasons why he ought not to be called upon to deliver an opinion respecting the case of the brethren, who were under prosecution for holding the Assembly of Aberdeen ; but he made a number

of remarks intended to show that there was not so much irregularity in their proceedings as had been charged upon them. He also alleged that their cause had already been adjudged by the king's council, whether righteously or not would appear at the great day, but he did not wish to express an opinion now which might seem to reflect on their decision.

The other ministers, in their turn, delivered their sentiments, in perfect accordance with that of Melville. The king seemed to become impatient at hearing the opinions of the brethren, and appeared disposed to close the conference. James Melville now handed in a paper containing a petition from the condemned brethren. A legal argument now took place between Mr. Scot, one of the brethren, and the Lord Advocate, respecting the trial of the ministers in Scotland for treason, in which Mr. Scot was thought to have had the best of the argument. Andrew Melville, feeling his ardent spirit roused by the attempt made to defend such a scene of iniquity as the trial of those worthy men on such a pretence, upon his knees entreated the king to permit him to speak again; and now he gave full license to his indignant feelings. He no longer maintained a reserve

respecting the course pursued in regard to his condemned brethren, but boldly vindicated every thing which they had done. He recounted the wrongs which they had suffered on their trial, of which he was an eye and ear witness; and then turning to the Lord Advocate, he brought a heavy accusation against him for favouring trafficking priests, and screening from punishment some of his own relations, who were traitors to their king and country. The king seemed to be in haste now to get away; but as he was leaving the place, said, But what plan do you propose in relation to my second inquiry? They all replied at once, "*A free General Assembly.*"

The audience were strongly impressed with a favourable opinion of the principles and character of these men, and opinions favourable to them circulated widely through the city. It was seen that instead of being factious and turbulent men, they were honestly contending for their rights, against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power. They had not reached their lodgings when Secretary Hay overtook them, and delivered to them a written charge not to return to Scotland, nor to approach the court without a special license.

On the 28th of September they were brought before the Scottish council. James Melville was first introduced, and was addressed by the Lord Advocate with certain unmeaning questions relating to his principles and conduct. He refused to answer them, and said, "I am a free subject of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of its own, as free as any in the world; to them I will stand. There hath been no summons executed against me. The noblemen here sitting and I, are not in our own country. The charge '*super inquirendis*' has been long since declared iniquitous and unjust. I am bound by no law or reason to accuse myself." Andrew Melville was called in last. He told the members of the council "that they knew not what they were doing, and that they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lands and lives for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which their sons were now seeking to betray and overthrow." There were now put into their hands in writing, several questions, to which they were required to return answers. As, "whether they had not transgressed by praying for their condemned brethren? Whether they allowed that the

king, in virtue of his royal prerogative, had power to convene, prorogue, and dismiss all ecclesiastical assemblies within his dominions? Whether he had not a right to call before his council all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, for whatsoever faults; and whether all subjects are not bound to obey such a summons?" Each of the ministers returned, in writing, an answer, in guarded language, to these queries; and also a joint paper, containing their opinion of the best method of settling the ecclesiastical feuds by which their country was agitated.

They now expected to obtain permission to return to their homes: but this was far from the intention of the court. Their detention was arbitrarily, and indefinitely prolonged. Bancroft and Salisbury endeavoured to work upon such of the brethren as they thought most pliable. When this failed, they placed spies about them to watch for occasion to entrap them.

The king had selected some of the most eloquent of the English dignitaries to preach in the Royal Chapel, on the leading points of difference between the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches. The Scottish ministers received orders to attend these sermons, and were regularly conducted like penitents

to a seat prepared for them, in which they might devoutly listen to the instructions of their titled teachers. Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, began with a sermon on the antiquity and superiority of bishops. His discourse was characterized by the brethren, as "a confutation of his text." Dr. Buckridge preached the second sermon, the object of which was to prove the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. Dr. Andrews, bishop of Chichester, was the third, who took for his subject, "the silver trumpets," which the priests were accustomed to blow before a solemn convocation of the people. From which he undertook, to the astonishment of the ministers, to prove that the calling of ecclesiastical assemblies was in the power of the civil rulers. Dr. King, Dean of Christ's Church, closed this pulpit-exhibition, by an attack upon the office of lay elders. The text was Cant. viii. 11, 12.

On the 28th of September, they were particularly directed not to be absent from the Chapel, and the two Melvilles were mentioned by name. When they came, they found the king and the foreign ambassadors were convened, and there was much music and great display. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two

candlesticks with unlighted candles. Melville, on returning to his lodgings, composed the following verses on the scene just witnessed.

“*Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo ?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua ?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit religiosa lupam ?*”

Why stand there on the Royal Altar high,
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins dry ?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship close,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross ?
Doth she, with Chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express ?

Some of the spies about the house conveyed a copy of these verses to the king, who affected to be highly incensed at them. It was immediately resolved to proceed against their author. On the 30th of November, Melville was summoned to Whitehall, and brought before the Privy Council of England. His majesty did not attend in person, but one or two Scottish noblemen were present.

Melville acknowledged that he had made an epigram, of which the one now produced

was an inaccurate copy. He had composed it under feelings of indignation and grief, that such superstitious vanity should be exhibited in a reformed church, under a reformed king, who had been brought up under the pure light of the gospel, and before foreigners, who could not but be confirmed in their idolatry, by what they saw at Hampton Court. He had, however, given out no copy, and he could not conceive how they had been conveyed to his majesty. He said he was not conscious of any crime in what he had done. Archbishop Bancroft endeavoured to show that it was a heinous crime, and might even bring the offender within the laws of treason. Melville, who had no favourable opinion of Bancroft, was indignant, and said; "Andrew Melville never was a traitor. But, my lords, there was one Richard Bancroft who, during the life of the late queen, wrote a treatise against his majesty's title to the crown of England. And here, (pulling the *corpus delicti* out of his pocket) is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson."

Bancroft was thrown into the utmost confusion by this bold and unexpected attack. Melville did not stop here, but went

on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies: and stepping up to the table where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn sleeves of the primate, and calling them Romish rags, he said, "If you are the author of the book entitled 'English Scottizing for Geneva Discipline,' then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood; and it grieves me, that such a man should have his majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was some time before any one of the Council had courage to reply; at length bishop Barlow interposed, but Melville treated him in the same unceremonious manner. He attacked his "Narrative of the Hampton Court Conference," and then made strictures on the sermon which he had been forced to hear him preach. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my lord, said Melville, and am sorry that your lordship, by sitting here, and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may

yet be used against yourself, or your posterity.”

He was then removed, and his brethren were called in. The Lord Chancellor, fearing that all Scottish ministers were as fiery as Andrew Melville, addressed James Melville with studied gentleness; and he and the others gave the same account of the verses as had been given by their author. After some consultation, Andrew Melville was again called in, and admonished to add discretion and modesty to his learning and age, and was then informed that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and must be committed to the custody of the Dean of St. Paul's, until the pleasure of the king as to his further punishment, should be known. A warrant was immediately issued to the Dean, Dr. Overall, to take Melville to his house, and to suffer no one to have access to him, but to confer with him himself, from time to time, on the points of difference between the Scottish and English churches.

Melville remained under the surveillance of the Dean of St. Paul's, until the 9th of March, 1607, when he was removed by order of the privy council to the house of the bishop of Winchester. But the mes-

senger leaving him to take his own time to go to his new residence, he visited his brethren; and the court being occupied with the affairs of the parliament, he had the opportunity of remaining with them for several weeks. They had also received an order to reside with certain bishops, for which there was no pretext, as in the case of Melville. They, therefore, were highly incensed at this infringement on their liberty, and wrote first to Sir Anthony Ashley, and then addressed a spirited remonstrance to the privy council. They protested against the late order in council as a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of their native country, and of the principles of justice, which forbid any man to be deprived of his freedom as long as he is unaccused and uncondemned. They said it could be considered in no other light than a punishment; and, for their part, they would rather submit to banishment, or imprisonment in a common jail. They stated that they were pastors of the church of Scotland, long renowned among the churches of the Reformation—that they had houses and incomes of their own, with which they were contented.” Much more, in the same indignant and forcible style, they alleged in

their petition to the council. Having been referred by this body to the archbishop of Canterbury, they sent two of their number to Lambeth. The archbishop, on this occasion, played the part of the courtier to perfection. He received these brethren with the utmost affability, conversed with them familiarly; and apologized for the order in council, by saying, it was not the king's pleasure that they should return to their own country immediately; and that the bishops had consented to it only to please his majesty. He talked in a strain of affected moderation, of the union of the churches of the two kingdoms; and when they pleaded conscientious scruples, he urged them to drink sack, which he pressed upon them in the most obliging manner, and then dismissed them.

Andrew Melville was again called before the council, and the king meanly hid himself in an adjoining closet, where he could hear all that passed. Melville was not in a humour to soften any thing, and did not spare the king, or any of the council, who contended with him.

“The Earl of Salisbury (says the French ambassador, to whom we owe the account of this interview) took up the subject, and

began to reprove him for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge the primacy, and for the verses which he had made in derision of the royal chapel. Melville was so severe in his reply, both in what related to the King, and to the Earl personally, that his lordship was completely put to silence. To his assistance came the Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Earl of Northampton, then the Lord Treasurer; all of whom he rated in such a manner, sparing none of the vices, public or private, with which they are respectively taxed, (and none of them are angels) that they would have been glad that he had been in Scotland. In the end, not being able to induce him to swear to the primacy, and not knowing any other way to revenge themselves on him, they agreed to send him a prisoner to the Tower. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed: "To this comes the boasted pride of England! A month ago you put to death a priest, and to-morrow you will do the same to a minister." Then addressing the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were in the council, he said, "I am a Scotchman, my lords, a true Scotchman; and if you are such, take heed that they do not end with you as they have

begun with me." The king was more irritated at this last saying than at all which had passed."

Here his brethren were debarred all access to him. Never, surely, was a man prosecuted on a more frivolous pretext. He was no subject of England, but had been called thither by a letter from the king; and being, contrary to his inclination, forced to attend service in the royal chapel, where there was an evident ambition to ape the pomp and ceremonies of the church of Rome, he had amused himself and his brethren by writing a harmless epigram, of which no copy had been given out, but one was surreptitiously procured by one of the spies of the court; and for this, was this learned and venerable man sent to the tower. It is easy to censure him for the warmth of his temper, and the freedom of speech in which he indulged towards his superiors; but it would be difficult to show that a man dragged to a foreign court, with no crime laid to his charge, and there vexed and persecuted without cause, and brought before a court which had no lawful jurisdiction over him, had not a right indignantly to complain of the wrongs which he endured, and to speak his mind plainly

and boldly even to kings, archbishops, and nobles.

At the same time, an order was issued that James Melville should be confined at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to which place he was commanded to repair within six days; the others were confined to different towns in Scotland; and those who were permitted to reside in their own parishes were strictly prohibited from attending any church courts. As they had been subjected to great expenses without remuneration, two non-conformist ministers, in London, made a collection of a large sum of money, among their friends, which was presented to the Scottish ministers; but their high and delicate sense of honour induced them to decline receiving this generous offer, while they cordially thanked their kind benefactors for their good will. James Melville found means to see and converse with his uncle at a window of his apartment, and did all he could to render his situation comfortable. Indeed, he prolonged his stay in London longer than was safe for himself, merely to have the opportunity of contributing to the comfort of his venerable relation; and while he remained he visited him, as mentioned above, every day; and as the vessel on which he embarked dropped down the

river, he never took his streaming eyes off the tower as long as it was in sight.

The king by letter declared the office of principal in the new college to be vacant, in consequence of the imprisonment of Melville, for a high trespass, in the tower; and Robert Howie was chosen his successor. His imprisonment was not only unjust, but extremely rigorous. He was denied the privilege of having a servant to attend on him, and what he felt more than any thing else, paper, pen, and ink were strictly prohibited. But tyrants cannot chain nor subdue the spirit of such a man as Andrew Melville; and he found means of expressing the deep sense which he entertained of the gross injustice of his sufferings.

When his prison chamber was examined, the walls were found covered with verses, which he had engraved in fair and beautiful characters with the tongue of his shoe buckle. In this prison he was kept for about ten months, after which he was removed to a more airy and commodious place of confinement. His nephew felt great anxiety about his health, and could hear nothing from him, until at length he got a letter written with his own hand in Greek, assuring him that his health had been unimpaired, and that his

circumstances were now more comfortable. Still, however, he was confined in the tower; but his friends were no longer debarred from seeing him. In the year 1607, the French protestants of Rochelle requested that Melville might be permitted to come to them, as they wished to make him professor of theology in their college: but king James refused to permit him to go.

During this year, also, he was consulted respecting the theological controversies with which the churches of Holland were agitated. Sibrandus Lubbertus wrote him a long letter, giving him a particular account of the opinions and doings of the Remonstrants; and Arminius himself wrote to him, complaining of the misrepresentations of his enemies, and giving the most favourable aspect to his system. Melville, however, could not be brought to entertain as favourable an opinion of him, as he had before expressed of Piscator, to Mornay du Plessis; and afterwards actually took up his pen against him.

In 1609, Melville wrote some handsome verses, and had them presented to James; but they produced no effect. Archbishop Spotswood, came to see him, and advised him to address a submissive letter to the Council, which he did, without however

compromising any truth or principle: but this also was ineffectual. During the whole time of his imprisonment his courage never failed, nor did his spirits suffer any depression.

About this time a sermon of Dr. Downham, in defence of the church of England, was sent down to Scotland: Andrew Melville, having obtained a copy, hastily penned an answer or review of the sermon, which he forwarded to James Melville, at Newcastle, who taking a copy for himself sent on the manuscript to his friends in Scotland.

Melville, almost despairing of being permitted to return to his own country, began to think seriously of getting leave to transport himself to America, and had actually entered into some negotiation with a view to such an emigration. To what part of America he thought of going, is not known; but the probability is, that his thoughts were turned to Virginia. What prevented him from carrying into effect this project, is uncertain. It is not probable that the court would have made any objection to a removal to so distant a part of the world. It is most likely that he changed his mind. During his confinement, his lonely hours were beguiled by the company of two of the junior members of his family, successively, whom he in-

structed; the one was the son of his nephew, James Melville—the other, the son of a deceased brother, who was a youth of an unsettled and romantic turn, but having gained a large share of his uncle's affections, he drew from him more money than consisted with the narrowness of his finances. But the chief amusement of Andrew Melville was writing Latin poetry, in which exercise he spent much of his time. He met with a serious pecuniary loss, by having his purse stolen, with all the money which James Melville had sent him to bear his expenses. On this occasion he says that he was confident that "*the Lord would provide,*" as he ever had done during his whole life. The purse of James Melville was always at his uncle's command; and as soon as he heard of this disaster, he transmitted to him such a sum as he had at command. He was also, about this time, called to mourn the loss of several of his dear and learned friends. But the most interesting circumstance in this period of his life, was a correspondence with James Melville, his nephew, respecting his proposed marriage with a young lady of nineteen, in Newcastle. James Melville had been now a widower several years, was fifty-three years of age, and had a son married. His

friends in Scotland were grieved at the idea of his changing his condition at all, but especially that so old a man should think of connecting himself with a woman so much younger than himself; and knowing Andrew Melville's influences over his nephew, they wrote to him to interpose his friendly offices in the case. This gave rise to a correspondence between the friends, which is among the pleasantest specimens of playful and friendly correspondence, mingled with the serious and sometimes severe, which can easily be found any where. The raillery and expostulations of the uncle, however, had no effect on the matrimonial purpose of his nephew. The marriage took place, and the result was happy; for this lady, though young, was sensible, discreet, and affectionate.

After long preparation of their measures, of which the imprisonment of the Melvilles formed a part, the court succeeded in getting episcopacy established in Scotland, by the vote of a packed Assembly, in the year 1610. The earl of Dunbar and Spotswood were the agents by whom this revolution was effected. Step by step they proceeded, until in this Assembly every thing was granted which the king desired. Gladstones, the

archbishop of St. Andrews, confessed that if Andrew Melville had been in the country, and at liberty, they could not have effected their purpose. When the intelligence of these proceedings was communicated to Melville, he remained for a long time profoundly silent; and then charged the overthrow of the Scottish church to Dunbar.

While resident in the tower he was visited by Cameron, his countryman, who had come over from France, and greatly favoured the views of the court. A warm dispute arose on the subject between him and Melville, which was only terminated by the ringing of the tower bell for all visitors to depart. Melville warned him against self-confidence, and pride; for Cameron was at this time a young man, and very loquacious and dogmatical.

Melville had also now the opportunity of a personal acquaintance with Isaac Casaubon, with whom he had formerly corresponded; but he found him much changed. By his residence at the court of France, his attachment to the reformed religion had been greatly shaken, and it was fully expected that he would reconcile himself to the mother church when his patron, Henry IV., was assassinated. He now retired to Eng-

land, where he was welcomed by James and the bishops.

Melville received from Sir William Wade, the governor of the tower, every indulgence compatible with his office.

When the duke of Hertford was sent to the tower for marrying the fair Arabella, Melville composed a distich, and sent it to him, which was founded on an allusion to the lady's name, Arabella, which signifies a *fair altar*, as well as to the cause of his own incarceration, which was his severe verses written on an altar. These allusions which are by no means preserved in the translation make the couplet pointed and witty.

“ Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris—Arabella tibi causa est; Araque sacra mihi.”

Which has been thus translated :

“ From the same cause my woe proceeds and thine,
A *lovely Altar* yours, a sacred mine.”

The earl of Bouillon made application to have Melville released, that he might be appointed a professor at Sedan, of which seminary the duke was the patron. The queen regent, however, when she heard of this in-

vation, was much displeased, and directed her minister, at the court of St. James, to protest against a man so turbulent as to need to be confined, coming into her dominions: and James gave such a character of Melville as increased the difficulty. But when the duke of Bouillon had the opportunity of apologizing to the queen, and making his explanations, she withdrew her opposition. He now received information from the duke, February, 1611, that he had obtained his release, with an invitation to Sedan. Melville was thrown into great surprise and embarrassment by this invitation. He wrote to his nephew for his advice, who strongly advised him to go, and took in the close of his letter, a most affecting farewell of his beloved uncle, who had been more than a father to him; anticipating that he should see his face no more. But Andrew Melville resolved to make one more effort to remain in his native country. He made application to Sir James Sempill, to whose kind interference he owed his enlargement in the tower, and to Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray, who had all been his pupils, to see whether he could be received as a teacher into the household of prince Henry, whose character was in almost all respects, the very reverse of his

father's. But nothing could have induced James to permit a man, whom he both feared and hated, to be near the person of his son. Another difficulty, of a pecuniary nature, also beset him. No allowance had been made for his expenses while residing in the tower, and every service in such a place is expected to be remunerated according to the rank of the prisoner. The fact now was, that he was destitute of the means of going to France with that appearance which became his profession and connexions; and his nephew, James Melville, had been subjected, of late, to some extraordinary expenses, so that he had it not in his power to send him the relief which he needed. In these circumstances, some of his friends, in Scotland, proposed making a collection for his aid, which went very much against his high Scotch feelings of independence; but after consulting with his nephew, he reasoned himself into a compliance. One more attempt was made to obtain liberty for him to return to Scotland, by the earl of Cassilis, but such conditions were required, as he instantly rejected.

His health had remained good until now, but long confinement had gradually undermined his strong constitution. Being seized

with a fever, he was removed from the tower, but was forbidden to come near the court, the queen, or the prince. When he was sufficiently recovered he set sail for France, after having been most unjustly confined as a prisoner, in the tower, about four years.

The Protestants of France had, at this time, six universities, Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, Die, and Sedan, besides fifteen colleges, in which languages, philosophy, and belles lettres were taught. The number of Scotchmen, who were professors and teachers in these seminaries was great, amounting to a third part of the whole ; and almost all these had been educated under Melville, at St. Andrews.

The territory of Sedan and Raucourt had long formed a principality, subject to the dukes of Bouillon, who were petty sovereigns, but subject to the king of France. The university of Sedan had been erected in 1578, by Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon, who proved himself a generous patron. They had a professorship of theology, of Hebrew and oriental literature, of Greek, of law, of philosophy, and humanity. Walter Donaldson, of Aberdeen, was professor of natural and moral philosophy, all the time that Melville was at this university. John

Smith, another Scotchman, was also professor of philosophy. James Capellus was professor of Hebrew, who, though not so acute a critic as his brother Lewis, was a man of extensive learning, and lived on terms of great intimacy with Melville. The professor of theology was Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who had recommended himself to the French protestants, by his zeal in defence of the Reformation. This department was now divided between him and Melville. Each delivered three lectures in the week, and each presided alternately at the theological disputations.

In the beginning of the year, Melville received a most affectionate letter from his beloved nephew. In this letter he gave his uncle a most afflicting account of the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. The bishops had completely triumphed, he informed him, over the General Assembly and the church. He informed him also, of the decease of two of his old and intimate friends, at St. Andrews, the one was Mr. Wilkie, who died in peace, and left all his property to the college: the other was John Jonston, Melville's former colleague.

The first thing that Melville did, after arriving at Sedan, was to look out a place for

his nephew ; but he was obliged to inform him, that there was no vacant place for him in the university, nor in any other eligible situation. The friends of Melville were afraid that he would not find France as comfortable as he expected ; and so, indeed, it turned out ; for, although he had every reason to be satisfied with the attention and munificence of the duke of Bouillon, yet other circumstances were not altogether such as he could wish.

His colleague, Tilenus, was a man of learning and abilities, but proud and morose. He was a keen stickler for the peculiar opinions of Piscator, which the French disliked, and he could not conceal his antipathy to those young men who did not adopt these opinions. Whereas Melville never entered into these disputes, and treated all the students with equal politeness. Many of the students, dissatisfied with the treatment of Tilenus, went to Saumur, and the number in the university was reduced to few. These circumstances induced Melville to listen to a proposal to become tutor to a nobleman's sons, in Grenoble, but upon visiting this place, and considering the situation, he was not pleased, and returned again to Sedan. Almost every post brought

him some painful intelligence respecting the state of the church, or the death of his friends. The premature demise of prince Henry affected him much, as this young man seemed almost the only hope of the nation.

But, in 1614, he received a letter from his friend, Fullerton, which conveyed to him the painful intelligence of the death of the dearest friend he had upon earth, or ever had, that was his nephew, James Melville. He died in perfect peace and resignation, and professing his unaltered attachment to the principles, which he had always advocated, and for which he had suffered. He made affectionate mention of his uncle Andrew, commended him for his extensive learning, and more for his courageous and unshaken adherence to the principles of truth, and Christian liberty, and order. Though his bodily pains were acute, yet his resignation was constant. Being asked whether he did not wish to live, he said, "no; not for twenty worlds." He died with the prayer of Stephen on his lips, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." His decease took place in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth of his banish-

ment. From the view incidentally given of his character in this memoir, it appears with great evidence, that he was a man of uncommon excellence. Without the genius, or learning of his uncle, he possessed some traits which better fitted him to be useful in the church and the world. Besides possessing strong good sense, he had an uncommon suavity and equanimity of temper; was never betrayed into acts of rashness or imprudence; and was, in manners, an accomplished gentleman. In church courts, his firmness and moderation gave him great influence, and in difficult matters no man's advice was more valued.

Andrew Melville's grief, on account of the loss of this dear friend, was deep and tender, but silent. In a letter to Dury, then at Leyden, he calls him his "dear brother, and dearly beloved son."

While at Sedan, Melville treated with affectionate attention all his countrymen who resorted to that place. He kept up also a correspondence with learned men on the continent, the principal of whom were, Du Plessis, Heinsius, and Gomarus.

He had now a very delicate and difficult part to act in the university. He found

many of the young men infected with Arminianism, which system he pointedly opposed in his lectures; but his colleague, Tilenus, after writing against these innovations in theology, had secretly become an Arminian, and while he avoided giving publicity to his change of sentiments, he endeavoured to instil his new opinions into the minds of his pupils. This course Melville felt it to be his duty to counteract; the consequence was, that Tilenus left the university, and became an avowed and bitter enemy to Calvinism, and endeavoured also to ingratiate himself with king James, by writing against the Presbyterians of Scotland. This book received a nervous and able answer, published anonymously, and commonly ascribed to the pen of Melville, but which was in reality the production of Sir James Sempill. Melville did, however, compose a little work on the controversies which agitated his country, entitled, "Aphorisms on things indifferent."

Respecting the circumstances of the last few years of his life, nothing has been handed down to memory. In 1620 his health began to fail. He was troubled with the gout and gravel; but his death

did not occur until the year 1622, when he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

“Melville,” says Dr. McCrie, “possessed great intrepidity, invincible fortitude, and unextinguishable ardour of mind. His spirit was independent, high, fiery, and incapable of being tamed by threats or violence; but he was, at the same time, open, candid, generous, affectionate, faithful. The whole tenor of his life shows that his mind was deeply impressed with a sense of religion, and that he felt passionately attached to civil liberty. * * Possessing, in a high degree, the *perfervidum ingenium* of his countrymen, sudden and impetuous in his feelings, as well as prompt and vivacious in his conceptions, he poured out a torrent of vigorous, vehement, regardless, resistless indignation, mingled with defiance and scorn, on those who incurred his displeasure.” “If his religious and patriotic zeal was sometimes intemperate, it was always disinterested. If, by giving himself up to its influence, he was carried occasionally beyond the bounds of virtuous moderation and prudence, it is also true that he was borne above every sordid and mercenary aim, and escaped

from the atmosphere of selfishness, in which so many have had their zeal cooled, and their progress arrested.

“Notwithstanding the heat and vehemence displayed in his public conduct, he was an agreeable companion in private. He was never morose, but had a heart susceptible of all the tender sympathies of humanity.

“His intellectual endowments were confessedly superior. Possessing a vigorous genius, and a cultivated taste, he excelled all his countrymen of that age in the acquirements of a various and profound erudition.

“He was a stranger to those arts by which men of talents and address often contrive to manage deliberative bodies. He was, therefore, no how suited to be the head of a party; but still he was regarded by the nation the master spirit, who animated the whole body.

“His zeal and fearlessness led him, sometimes, in the heat of action, to leave the ranks of his brethren, and to seize a position which they deemed improper or hazardous; but still their eye was fixed on him, and they were encouraged by his example to

maintain the conflict on lower and less dangerous ground. No description has been left of his personal appearance, except that he was of low stature. His constitution was firm, and his health good; and he was never troubled with that morbid sensibility which so frequently is the attendant on a studious and sedentary life.

“He was a poet of no mean degree, but the subjects on which he wrote prevented his reputation from rising to its proper elevation. His character, however, does not depend upon his writings, but upon his actions, and the influence which he exerted on the literature and liberties of his country.

“He was a vigilant watchman on the walls of Zion, who quickly discerned approaching dangers, and faithfully warned his brethren and countrymen of the enemies which he discovered.”

The Rev. Dr. McCrie, in his life of Melville, from which the above brief account has been abridged, concludes his interesting biography by this testimony:

“Next to her reformer, who, under God, emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know

no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as ANDREW MELVILLE.”

THE END.

Melville, Andrew 3054.

Author McCrie, Thomas.

Title Life of Melville.

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