

## APPENDIX A (p. 19).

### THE PÆDAGOGIUM, OR ST MARY'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS.<sup>1</sup>

ST MARY'S COLLEGE, if in one sense the youngest, is in another sense the oldest, college within the University. It occupies the earliest site of the University, and gathers up into itself not only the old *Pædagogium*, but also a still older college. In January 1418 . . . a certain *Robertus de Monte Rosarum* mortified a site on the south side of South Street, with the buildings thereon, as a college for the study of theology and arts. This was the strip of ground on which the eastern portion of the Library, as well as the new south wing, now stands, but on which, in the oldest bird's-eye view of the city, a sort of collegiate building is represented as standing. That was undoubtedly the College, or Hall, or "Inns" of St John, to which repeated reference is made in the oldest manuscript records of the University. It had probably a lecture-room, rooms for the students to lodge in, and a chapel also, dedicated to St John the Evangelist, in which daily service was maintained, but, so far as we now know, it was very poorly endowed.

In 1430 Bishop Wardlaw, the illustrious founder of the University, mortified as a site for a *Pædagogium* or common

<sup>1</sup> [This is taken from a paper on "St Mary's College," contributed by Dr Mitchell to the "Student's Handbook to the University of St Andrews," 1895, pp. 12-15.]

school for the faculty of arts the strip of land and buildings thereon immediately to the west of St John's College—the frontage now covered by the western portion of the Library, the porch of St Mary's College, and the Principal's house. After the erection and endowment of St Salvator's College by Bishop Kennedy, and of St Leonard's College by Prior Hepburn, the attendance on the *Pædagogium*, which was but slenderly endowed, seems to have fallen off, and the number of its regents to have been curtailed. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, the favourite pupil of Erasmus, and one of the most accomplished of our long line of chancellors, was the first who formed the purpose of enlarging and endowing Bishop Wardlaw's foundation, but his life was prematurely brought to a close on the fatal field of Flodden. His successor, Andrew Forman, appears to have taken no interest in the work on which Stewart had set his heart. But James Betoun, who came next in succession, acted a nobler part. He brought with him from Glasgow John Major—the one great schoolman of whom Scotland in the sixteenth century could boast, who had upheld the reputation of his country in the University of Paris as an able and successful teacher of the philosophy and theology of the day. Major and Patrick Hamilton—the one the representative of the old, the other of the new learning—were incorporated into the University of St Andrews on the same day (9th June 1523); and, for at least two years, the former presided over the *Pædagogium*, and probably lectured both on philosophy and theology. In 1525-26 he returned to Paris, partly that he might publish there his commentaries on the Gospels, and partly that he might act again as a teacher in that wider sphere; but a few years later, on a vacancy occurring in the principality of St Salvator's College, he returned to St Andrews, and continued in that more lucrative charge till his death.

It was mainly in his last years, however, that James Betoun set himself in right earnest to complete the work which Archbishop Stewart had begun. At his solicitation Pope Paul III., on 12th February 1537, issued a bull annexing the

teinds of the church of Tannadice, in Forfarshire, and of the wealthier church of Tynninghame, in East Lothian, to the old foundation, and erecting it into a privileged college under the title of the Blessed Mary of the Assumption. In this college, medicine, law, and theology, as well as arts, were henceforth to be taught, and the privilege was granted to it of conferring degrees in all lawful faculties, and of conferring them on those who had gained their knowledge elsewhere as well as on those who had studied within the college—in fact, making it almost a university within the University, and conceding to it more extensive powers than were conceded to many universities. His first work was to replace the decaying buildings of the *Pædagogium* by others more massive and commodious. That work was far from finished at the time of his death, and having been intermitted by his successor [the cardinal], was only completed by Archbishop Hamilton, who, with papal sanction, reconstituted the college and added to its endowments.

Early, however, in 1538, the first staff of teachers entered on their work as a college organised and equipped "*ut militans Dei ecclesia indies abundet viris litterarum scientiâ præditis,*" and few institutions through a long and eventful history have more illustriously fulfilled this object, though in another sense than its founders meant, and handed on the torch of sacred learning from generation to generation. Bannerman, who succeeded Major, had the honour of reorganising the old institution and starting it on its new career. Archibald Hay, who came next, was the child of the Renaissance, and more in earnest about religion than many of that school; and, had his life been spared, and the cardinal given heed to his counsels, the old Church might have been able to make a better fight for privilege or for life in the struggle which ensued. John Douglas, his successor, bridged the passage from the old to the new without any violent break, probably taking part with Wynram in the composition of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, as he did afterwards in the preparation of the Reformed Confession of

Faith and the First Book of Discipline. He was a man of the ancient academic type, content to live in single blessedness, to treat his pupils, who also lived in college, with the familiarity and affection of a father. He had the honour of training the youthful Andrew Melville, and perhaps it was with some presentiment of his future eminence that, as he held the precocious youth between his knees at the college fire, he fondly said, "My sillie fatherless and motherless chyld, it is ill to wit what God may mak of thee yit."

God watched over that weakly youth, and prospered his studies at Paris, Poitiers, and Geneva, so that with a mind stored with all the learning of his time, he returned to his native land to complete the reformation of its universities, and to delight successive generations of students by his stores of learning and wit, and by his accessibility and generosity. It was to meet his ideas of what a theological school should be that the college was set apart "allenary" for the study of theology, and furnished with professors of the Old and the New Testament, who were to "expone" the various books of Scripture as well as to read them in the original, comparing the Hebrew of the Old Testament with the Septuagint and the Chaldee paraphrases, and the Greek of the New Testament with the old Syriac translation, while the principal was to teach the *loci communes* or the systematic theology of the age. The first assistants in the "wark of theology" were Mr John Robertson, who acted as *professor Novi Testamenti*, and his own nephew, James Melville, who taught Hebrew and the Old Testament, and to whom we owe that graphic diary which gives us several interesting glimpses of college life in those early days. To John Robertson succeeded Mr John Johnston, author of Latin poems in praise of our reformers and martyrs, and of Latin verses descriptive of the line of our Scottish kings.

Melville was by no means an illiberal theologian, and he and Johnston wrote to the Protestant churches of France urging moderation on them in controversies which were then being discussed with great bitterness. Both lived with and

for their pupils, and secured in an unusual degree their reverence and affection. Both ultimately lost the favour of the king; and Melville, after being cruelly used in London, had to spend his declining years in the French Protestant University of Sedan.

## APPENDIX B (p. 30).

## CITATIO PATRICII HAMILTON

## E FORMULARI VETERE ANDREANO.

*Citatio super suspecto de heresi ad faciendum purgationem alias ad videndum [ipsum] hereticum declarari.*

JACOBUS etc., Decano Christianitatis nostre de L[audonia] Universisque et singulis aliis Dominis rectoribus, vicariis perpetuis, capellanis curatis et non curatis per provinciam nostram S[ti Andree] ubilibet constitutis, Illique vel illis ad quem vel ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem cum benedictione divina: Quia per fidelem inquisitionem aliter de mandato nostro legitime receptam compertum extitit quendam Magistrum P[atricium] H[amilton] de heresi multiplici suspectum, quem citandum et desuper accusandum antea decrevimus, sed medio tempore relictâ patriâ ad alia et externa se transtulit loca, nuper autem vagante fama ad aures nostras clamorosa insinuatione pervenit Ipsum nuperime in patriam reversum et quod primo statim adventu non debite missus nec prerogativis aut privilegiis debitis munitus, sed propriâ auctoritate et temerariâ presumptione, predicationis officium de heresi ei designata acceptare ausus est, et suas hereticas pravitates et perversas Martini Lutheri heretici alias ab ecclesia damnati et suorum fautorum ac sequacium opiniones promulgare, docens seminansve et pertinaciter affirmans, ac populum Christianum de eisdem

instruere non erubescit, indeque simplices et illiteratos hujus regni Christi fideles qui in se et progenitoribus per tanta temporis curricula, spatio viz. mille et trecentorum annorum et ultra in ecclesiâ Dei constantissime militaverunt, a verâ nostrâ orthodoxâ fide et catholica ecclesia seducere, et quantum in eo est pervertere nititur et proponit, dicendo predicando et temerario ausu inter alia palam et publice affirmando :—

Legibus, canonibus, patrum sanctionibus et decretis, humanis quoque constitutionibus non esse obtemperandum ; Claves et censuras ecclesie contempnendas, nec sacramentis ejusdem fidendum, Tempia non esse frequentanda, nec ymagines adorandas, pro defunctorum animabus non esse exorandum ; nec decimas Deo et ecclesie solvendas ; pro bonis operibus nullum fore salutis premium nec pro malis cruciatum ; Nostros progenitores in ecclesia Dei et ejusdem sacramentis fidentes in malâ et iniquâ fide esse mortuos et in inferno sepultos :—

Aliaque dictu et recitatu saltem inter Christianos et fideles horrenda et nephanda predicat docet et affirmat in Dei viventis claviumque ecclesie ac nostre fidei orthodoxe contemptum, regni et reipublice ejusdem damnum scandalum et, digna Dei ultione, si premissis favere incipiat, sperandam ruinam, animabusque perpetrantium gravissimum periculum nisi remedio succurratur oportuno : In quibus omnibus et singulis idem Magister P. communi voce et famâ ex publicâ et notoria ejusdem predicatione orta de heresi suspectus reputatur, habetur et divulgatur. Consilio igitur desuper recepto ipsum citandum et de premissis experiendum decrevimus : Quare vobis et vestrum cuilibet nos precipimus et mandamus, quatenus citetis legitime dictum Magistrum P. H. primo, secundo, tertio et peremptorie etc. quod compareat personaliter coram [nobis] nostrisque consulibus Dñis Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, sacrarum literarum Professoribus, et Religiosis, aliisque nobis pro tempore assistentibus, in ecclesiâ nostrâ Metropolitanâ S[ti Andree] regni Scotie primatiali, die *N* mensis

*N* proxime futuris, horâ decimâ antemeridiana vel eò circa, ad respondendum nobis ex officio de et super suis pertinaciter dictis, affirmatis, predicatis, divulgatis, tentis et disputatis contra nostram orthodoxam fidem et sanctam ecclesiam catholicam; et propterea ad videndum et audiendum ipsum hereticum declarari, et penâ condignâ a canonibus propterea latâ et imperatâ puniendum fore et puniri debere; superque adherentiâ et favoribus prestitis peregrinis opinionibus et pravitatibus dicti Martini Lutheri, heretici ab ecclesiâ damnati, et suorum sequacium; ac aliis interrogandis similiter reddendis, et tanquam heretice pravitatis fautorem et male de fide sentientem accusandum fore et accusari ac condemnari debere. Testimonia quoque et probationes, si necesse fuerit, desuper recipi, jurari, et admitti; ac in premissis omnibus et singulis summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figurâ judicii prout juris fuerit procedendum fore et procedi debere; Vel ad allegandum causam rationabilem quare premissa fieri non deberent; Cum intimatione debita, ut moris est, intimamus eidem quod sive dictis die et loco comparere curaverit sive non comparuerit Nos nihilominus in premissis omnibus et singulis procedere volumus et intendimus justitiâ mediante; Imprimis absentiam seu contumaciâ in aliquo non obstante; et ne periculum sit in mora, et ut interim hujus hereses in hoc regno hucusque ab omni tali labe et hereticâ peste per tanta temporis spatia sano, et post Christi Salvatoris susceptam fidem inviolabiliter preservato, non oriantur nec per Christi fideles audiantur, vobis omnibus et singulis supradictis, modo et forma premissis precipimus et mandamus, quatenus auctoritate nostra inhibentes omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus cujuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis aut conditionis existant, ne dicto Magistro P. sic ut premittitur, de heresi suspecto, favorem, assistentiam, societatem, colloquium seu gratam audientiam praebeant; nec in suis temerariis et insolentibus predicationibus disputationibus seu conventiculis publice vel occulte quovis quesito colore vel ingenio conyeniant seu presentiam exhi-

beant ; sed sibi et suis saltem de premissis fautoribus resistere studeant, resistentiamque faciant et procurent ; ab illo quoque edendo, bibendo aut communicando in premissis abstineant, donec de heresi et infamia desuper ortâ purgetur, et eundem vitent sub penâ excommunicationis majoris ; Quam contrarium facientes incurrere volumus et decernimus ipso facto. Et quos vos, etc. Datum, etc.

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## APPENDIX C (p. 46).

### CARDINAL BETOUN'S INCONTINENCE.

"WHILE . . . he was possessed," Mr M'Bain tells us, "of eminent qualities, he led, in many respects, anything but a moral life. His favourite mistress was Marion Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James, afterwards Lord, Ogilvie of Airlie, to whom [as Abbot of Arbroath] he granted a liferent lease of the lands of Burnton of Ethie, and other lands near the place, for a small sum of money *and other causes*. This was on the 22nd of May 1528. On the 20th of July 1530, he granted her a liferent lease of the Kirkton of St Vigeans, with the muir-fauld and the toft of St Vigeans, and a piece of common land lying to the south of the church. On 17th February 1533-34, she obtained a nineteen years' lease of the eighth part of the lands of Auchmithie [lying to the north-east of Ethie], with the brew-house there, and the lands belonging to it, and on 10th March 1534[-35] there is the record of a feu to her of a piece of land in the 'Sandpots,' for the construction of a toral or ustrina lying 'beyond and near the red wall of the monastery commonly so called'" (Eminent Arbroathians, 1897, pp. 37, 38). For these facts Mr M'Bain has the authority of the 'Registrum de Aberbrothoc,' Bannatyne Club, ii. 482, 500, 519, 521.

On p. 482 are the words: "Pro certa summa pecunie et aliis causis assedat pro toto tempore vite Mariote Ogylwy subtenentibus coadjutoribus et assignatis," &c. Mr M'Bain adds: "It is not known by whom Ethie House was built, but it was [one of the mansions belonging to the abbey and] a favourite residence of David Beaton and Marion Ogilvie, his mistress. . . . After Beaton's death a natural daughter of his by Marion Ogilvie laid claim to the furniture in Ethie House, if not to the house itself. . . . But Ethie was not the only place in the neighbourhood occupied by David Beaton and Marion Ogilvie. In 1542 he acquired the barony of Melgund, and erected the castle in which he and his mistress and their children resided. The Beaton and the Ogilvie arms are still to be seen in one of the rooms. The initials 'D.B.' are over one window, and 'M.O.' over the other; while on the corbal of the stair leading to this room are the Ogilvie arms, and the initials 'M.O.' . . . David Beaton settled the property of Melgund on his mistress in liferent, and on his eldest son David in fee" (*Eminent Arbroathians*, pp. 38, 39).

[According to Dr Joseph Robertson, "Cardinal Beaton had five bastards" (*Concilia Scotiæ*, ii. 302). There is record evidence, however, to show that he had at least seven. On the 4th of November 1539, three of his sons were legitimated in the following terms: "Rex dedit literas legitimationis Jacobo Betoun, Alexandro Betoun et Johanni Betoun, bastardis, filiis naturalibus Davidis archiepiscopi S. Andree, &c." (*Register of Great Seal*, iii. No. 2037). He had also a son David (*Ibid.*, No. 1931), and three daughters, Elizabeth (*Ibid.*, Nos. 1274, 2330), Margaret, and Agnes (*Ibid.*, iv. Nos. 1353, 2740; '*Liber Officialis Sancti Andree*,' *Abbotsford Club*, p. 158).]

## APPENDIX D (p. 124).

CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF THE  
WHITE LADIES AT FRANKFORT WAS GRANTED TO THE  
ENGLISH EXILES.

“NUN war bey Ankunft der Engelländer eine Kirche in Frankfurt, die einigen französischen Protestanten zum Gebrauch eingeräumt war, welche nun auch zum Behuf der Engelländer in Vorschlag gebracht, und am 14 Julii ihnen wirklich angewiesen wurde. Doch machte der Rath gewisse Ordnungen, und suchte die Sache also einzurichten; das allerlei Disputen, die etwa entstehen mögten, der Weg verlaget wurde. Die vornehmsten waren diese: (a) dass die Engelländer und Franzosen einerley Lehre und Ceremonien führen sollten; Daher sollten jene (b) der Franzosen Glaubensbekänntniss, das diese N.B. dem Rath überreicht hatten, unterschreiben. (c) Liessen sich die Engelländer gefallen, dass das Volk bey dem gemeinen Gebet das Amen nicht mehr laut sagen sollte, wie sonst in der Kirche von Engelland üblich ist. (d) Dass die Prediger das weisse Chorhemde, nebst vielen andern in Engelland eingeführten Ceremonien abschaffen sollten, als welche den Einwohnern, die solcher Dinge ungewohnt wären, einstossig seyn könnten. Und was der gleichen Umstände mehr waren, welche die Engelländer, um desto eher zum Stande zu kommen, freiwillig eingiengen.”—J. Hildebrand Withof, ‘Vertheidigung der. . . Nachricht wie es mit V. Pollane erstem Reformirten Prediger zu Frankfurt-am-Mayn . . . zugegangen,’ 1753, folio.

APPENDIX E (p. 260).

THE THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL OPINIONS  
OF ALESIOUS.

(From the '*Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias.*')

"WITH all his scribbling, he [*i.e.*, Cochlaeus] has never yet, so far as I know, disclosed what are his own opinions about Christian doctrine; and therefore his empty and scurrilous treatises miss their mark, and are justly held in derision by learned men. . . . But I, renowned monarch, that you may know that my alliance is with the Church of Christ and not with any other factions, do not refuse before you and other good men to give a simple and clear account of my faith as I formerly wrote to you, for I believe the prophétical and apostolical Scriptures, and embrace the consensus of the holy fathers whom the Church approves. I also reverence the ecclesiastical authority, being one who, especially in doubtful matters, will obey and follow its decisions. Does Cochlaeus ask anything further? I myself will add, I approve of nothing seditious. With my whole heart and soul I abhor the ravings of the Anabaptists. No new doctrine, unsupported by the testimony of the ancient Church, is acceptable to me. Further still, as I do not undertake the defence of Luther, so, on the other hand, I do not approve of all the dreams of the monks which have been received, not only contrary to the decision of the Scripture, but also to the authority of the ancient church. Moreover, I cannot approve of the cruelty which is everywhere being practised against those who, following the judgment of Scripture and of the fathers, reject or censure any manifest abuse or error that in the course of time may have crept into the Church. Such is my faith, O Cochlaeus, use it if you are pleased with it; if not, show me a better.

If the unjust punishments inflicted on the truly pious afford you pleasure, you are not only a miserable, but a contemptible wretch. I neither can nor will ever knowingly burden or pollute my conscience by approving of these parricides. I saw in my own country the punishment of one, born in a most honourable station, and innocent of any serious crime, Patrick [Hamilton]. I saw burned at Cologne two men of pious and orthodox sentiments, and most averse to the fanatical opinions of the Anabaptists. Nor can I express in words how deeply I was grieved by these mournful spectacles. And I did not grieve only over the fate of those who were punished, in whom because, as the poet says, 'grace shone through their very anguish,' their singular bravery and constancy brought some alleviation to my grief; but much more did I grieve over the fate of the Church, which is disordered in many ways, and likely yet to be more so, by the practice of such cruelty. Finally, there is no doubt that the State will, in God's appointed time, have to suffer heaviest punishment for its guilt in permitting such parricides; yet I do not impugn the laws as to the punishment of heretics, if only there is due cognition of each case, and care is taken that those who are really innocent of perverting the true Christian faith may not be punished."

Then follows a paragraph of great importance in itself, and of almost as much from the light it casts on its author's state of mind, and, perhaps, also on Melancthon's, at that particular time:—

"I myself also desire moderation in certain things on the part of the Lutherans, and reasonableness. To this they may be recalled if the matters in dispute are duly examined into. It is the duty of the bishops to do their utmost that learned men of either side should lovingly confer together on Christian doctrine, that some one certain form of doctrine, founded only upon the Word of God and the teaching of the primitive fathers, should be framed; and if this were done, the Church might easily be brought to coalesce again

into one body. Nor do I doubt that good men on both sides are so disposed that they would not only willingly proffer their opinions, but also yield their individual convictions if they should hear more weighty reasons from the other side. For it is tyrannical, and specially unbecoming in a theologian, to do that which the son reproves in the tyrant, his father, in the tragedy. He wishes, the son says, to speak but to hear nothing in reply. At present the good men who are most desirous to provide some remedy for public evils keep silence, and secretly bewail the fate of the Church, not only alarmed by fear of those in power, but crushed by a sort of despair in this so great madness of slanderers, who have become so domineering that they would suffer no one but themselves to gain a hearing."

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[APPENDIX F (p. 267).

THE DREAM OR VISION OF ALESIVS CONCERNING  
THE DECAPITATION OF ANNE BOLEYN.

I TAKE to witness Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead, that I am about to speak the truth. On the day upon which the Queen was beheaded, at sunrise between two and three o'clock, there was revealed to me (whether I was asleep or awake I know not) the Queen's neck after her head had been cut off, and this so plainly that I could count the nerves, the veins, and the arteries.

Terrified by this dream, or vision, I immediately arose, and, crossing the river Thames, I came to Lambeth (this is the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace), and I entered the garden in which he was walking.

When the archbishop saw me, he inquired why I had come so early, for the clock had not yet struck four. I

answered that I had been horrified in my sleep, and I told him the whole occurrence. He continued in silent wonder for a while, and at length broke out into these words, "Do not you know what is to happen to-day?" and when I answered that I had remained at home since the date of the Queen's imprisonment, and knew nothing of what was going on, the archbishop then raised his eyes to heaven and said, "She who has been the Queen of England upon earth will to-day become a queen in heaven." So great was his grief that he could say nothing more, and then he burst into tears.

Terrified at this announcement, I return[ed] to London sorrowing. Although my lodging was not far distant from the place of execution, yet I could not become an eye-witness to the butchery of such an illustrious lady, and of the exalted personages who were beheaded along with her.—(Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, i. 528).]

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[APPENDIX G (p. 269).

THE DEPARTURE OF ALESIVS FROM ENGLAND.

AS soon as the king [*i.e.*, Henry VIII.] began to hate her [*i.e.*, Anne Boleyn], laws hostile to the purer doctrine of the Gospel appeared. When I could not bear these with a good conscience, nor could my profession allow me to dissemble them (for I was filling the office of the ordinary reader in the celebrated University of Cambridge by the king's orders), I came to the Court, and asked for my dismissal by means of Crumwell. But he retained me for about three years with empty hopes, until it was decreed and confirmed by law that married priests should be separated from their wives and punished at the king's pleasure. But before this law was published, the Bishop of Canterbury

sent Lord Pachet [*i.e.* Paget] from Lambeth to me at London. . . . He directed me to call upon the archbishop early in the morning. When I called upon him, "Happy man that you are," said he, "you can escape! I wish that I might do the same; truly my see would be no hindrance to me. You must make haste to escape before the island is blocked up, unless you are willing to sign the decree, as I have, compelled by fear. I repent of what I have done. And if I had known that my only punishment would have been deposition from the archbishopric (as I hear that my Lord Latimer is deposed), of a truth I would not have subscribed. I am grieved, however, that you have been deprived of your salary for three years by Crumwell;<sup>1</sup> that you have no funds for your travelling expenses, and that I have no ready money. Nor dare I mention this to my friends, lest the king should become aware that warning had been given by me for you to escape, and that I have provided you with the means of travelling. I give you, however, this ring as a token of my friendship. It once belonged to Thomas Wolsey, and it was presented to me by the king when he gave me the archbishopric."

When I heard what the bishop had to say, I immediately caused my property to be sold, and I concealed myself in the house of a German sailor until the ship was ready, in which I embarked, dressed as a soldier, along with other German troops, that I might not be detected. When I had escaped a company of searchers, I wrote to Crumwell (although he had not behaved well towards me) and warned him of the danger in which he stood at that time, and about certain other matters. For this I can vouch the testimony of John Ales, Gregory, and the Secretary, and Pachet him-

<sup>1</sup> [In Crumwell's accounts there are payments of £5 to Alesius on each of the following dates: 4th January 1536-37, 28th March, 28th May, and 24th October 1537; of 10 merks, on 19th February 1537-38; and of £5, on 13th October 1538, to Ric. Morison, which he gave "by my lord's command" to Alesius (Letters and State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. xiv. part ii. 328-338).]

self. But Christopher Mount said that Crumwell did not dare to speak to me when I was going away and soliciting my dismissal, nor could he venture to give me anything, lest he should be accused to the king, but that he would send the sum that he owed me into Germany.<sup>1</sup>

The next intelligence, however, which I heard of him was that he had undergone capital punishment by order of the king; to whom he had written, when in prison, saying that he was punished by the just judgment of God, because he had loved the king more than God; and that out of deference to his sovereign he had caused many innocent persons to be put to death, not sparing your [*i.e.*, Elizabeth's] most holy mother, nor had he obeyed her directions in promoting the doctrine of the Gospel.—(Foreign Calendar, Elizabeth, i. 532-534.)]

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## APPENDIX H (p. 281).

### ALESIIUS' INVITATION OF MELANCHTHON TO HIS DAUGHTER'S WEDDING.

NOCKAU, 11 August 1557.

ALEXANDER ALESIIUS AU MELANCHTHON.

S.D. Quod fœlix faustumque sit. Dilectissima filia mea Anna, cui nomen in baptismo indidit bonæ memoriæ primogenita vestra, desponsata est honesto iuveni Martino Luxsolario (nam solem etiam pro insigni habet), doctoris Martini filio, petente id sua matre per cognatos et affines, et suadentibus communibus amicis nostris. Dictus est autem dies

<sup>1</sup> [Alesius arrived at Wittenberg on the 9th of July 1539, and from thence informed Crumwell that he was encouraged to hope that he would receive a post in the University there (Letters and State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. xiv. part i. 583, 584). Melanchthon wrote to the Elector's chancellor, on the 1st of December 1539, recommending him for the University of Frankfort (Corpus Reformatorem, iii. 842-844).]

nuptiarum ultimus Augusti, circa quod tempus vos ad colloquium profecturum (*sic*) spero. Peto igitur reverenter et amanter, ut una cum honestissima coniuge vestra, genero, filia ac nepte nuptias vestra praesentia ornare velit. Existimo autem magistrum Paulum, amanuensem vestrum, una venturum, sed tamen ut eum cum uxore invitatis meis verbis ad nuptias oro. Scitis autem summum sacerdotem et pontificem nostrum filium Dei, qui primos parentes in paradyso copulavit, et non minore magnificentia quam sapientia et potencia suam ordinationem contra sophistica et tyrannidem diaboli et multiplicem ingratitude nostram defendit, ut totam actionem, ita etiam invitacionem hospitem et communia officia sua presentia et primo miraculo comprobasse[t] ac monstrasse[t], quantum dilectetur (*sic*) istis congressibus. Nos autem parentes et amici, sponsi et sponsae, una cum eis, pro hoc officio et molestia protectionis gratitudinem pollicemur per omnem occasionem.

Ex pago Nockau postridie Laurentii 1557.

ALEXANDER ALESIVS.

*Adresse:* Clarissimo et ornatissimo viro d. Philippo Melanchthoni, suo praëptori carissimo.

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## APPENDIX I (p. 283).

### THE WORKS OF ALESIVS.

THE following is a list of the published writings of Alesius, so far as I have been able to trace them:—

1. Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia, 1533. [For a full copy of the title see p. 259 n. No place, date, or printer's name is given on the title-page. This small 8vo consists of only 14 leaves. It begins: 'Inclyto Regis Scotorum D. Iacobo Quinto Duci Albaniae,

Principi Hiberniæ & Orchadum Domino suo clementissimo Alexander Alesius S. D." At the end there is the date, "Anno. M.D.XXXIII." In Cooper's 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' (i. 239), 1542 and 1543 are given as the dates of other two editions.]

2. Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias, 1533. [The full title is: "Alexandri Alesii Scotti Responsio ad Cochlei Calumnias." No place, date, or printer's name is given.]

3. Oratio de Gratitudine et Restituendis Scholis. Lipsiæ (?), 1541. [In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses,' the 'Oratio de Gratitudine' and the 'De Restituendis Scholis' are entered as separate works published in Leipsic in 1541. They may, however, have been also issued as one. In the 'Corpus Reformatorum,' xi. 251-257, is printed the "Oratio de Gratitudine M. Alexandri Alesii Scoti, Decani, in promotione Magistrorum anno M.D.XXXIV." The full title of the other is: "De Restitvendis Scholis Oratio habita ab Alexdro (*sic*) Alesio, in celebri Academia Frācofordiana ad Oderam. An. M.D.XL. Mense Iunio. Francofordiæ apud Ioannem Hanaw." The dedication ends: "Francofordiæ ad Oderam calēdis Iunij. An. M.D.XL." There are only 19 leaves in this small tract.]

4. De Auctore et Utilitate Psalmorum. 1542.

5. De Auctoritate Verbi Dei contra Episcopum Lundensem. 1542. [See p. 264 n.]

6. Of the Auctorite of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of London. [For a full copy of the title, see p. 268 n. This small 8vo black-letter tract of 46 leaves bears no place, date, or printer's name. In the British Museum Catal., *Leipsic* is given as the probable place of printing, and 1537 as the supposed date. Perhaps the date has been inferred from the opening sentence of the tract: "Abowt V yere agone I wrote to the noble king of Scottys the father of my contry complanning of a certen proclamacyon wherin the bisshops had forbidden the Holy Scripture to be redd in the mother tong." It is rather curious that in the Latin version this sentence runs thus; "Ante *biennium* scripsi

inicyto regi Scotorum patri meæ patriæ, et questus sum de edicto quodam, quo episcopi prohibebant lectionem sacrorum librorum lingua patria.”]

7. Cohortatio ad concordiam pietatis ac doctrinæ Christianæ defensionem. Lipsiæ, 1544.

8. [De Argumento Epistolæ ad Romanos Disputatio prima, publice proposita in celebri Academia Lipsensi, et in ordinaria disputatione defensa, præsidente Alexandro Alesio, sacrae theologiæ doctore. Lipsiæ in officina Valentini Papæ. anno M.D.XLVII. This small 8vo tract of 8 leaves is printed in italics.]

9. Ordo Distributionis Sacramenti Altaris in Regno Angliæ. 1548. [This is a translation of ‘The Order of the Communion,’ which has been re-printed for the Parker Society in ‘The Two Liturgies of Edward VI.’ In the British Museum Catal., it is mentioned that the translator’s address to the reader is signed: ‘A. A. S. D. Th.’—*i.e.*, “Alexander Alesius, Scotus, Doctor Theologiæ.” See also Coverdale’s Remains, Parker Society, p. 525 n.]

10. Epitome Catechismi D. P. Melanchthonis cui addita est expositio symboli et Orationis Dominicæ. 1550.

11. Commentarius in Epistolam Primam Si Pauli ad Timotheum. Lipsiæ, 1550.

12. Commentarius in Epistolam Secundam Si Pauli ad Timotheum. Lipsiæ, 1551. [The exact title of this is: “In Alteram ad Timotheum Expositio. Auctore Alexandro Alesio. D. Lipsiæ, excudebat Georgivs Hantzsch anno M.D.LI.”]

13. Ordinatio Ecclesiæ in Regno Angliæ. 1551. [This is a translation of the ‘First Liturgy of Edward VI.’ As a translation it is somewhat adversely criticised in the ‘Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth,’ Parker Society, pp. xxiv-xxvii. The full title is: “Ordinatio Ecclesiæ, sev Ministerii Ecclesiastici, in Florentissimo Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio, & in Latinam linguam bona fide conuersa, & ad consolationem ecclesiarum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus, edita, ab Alexandro

Alesio Scoto sacrae theologiae doctore. Lipsiae in officina VVolfgangi Gvnteri. Anno M.D.LI." The copy of this 4to in the Edinburgh University Library belonged to Drummond of Hawthornden. In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses,' 1619 and 1690 are given as the dates of two 8vo editions.]

14. Commentarius in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Titum. Lipsiae, 1552. [The full title of this is: "Epistolae ad Titum Expositio, in qua pleraque tractantur per quaestiones, ut à pueris facilius percipi, & retineri possint. Nulla est autem sententia in tota Epistola praetermissa, quae non sit explicata: Et de Syntaxi, & Figura sermonis, ac genuina significatione dictionū passim disputatur. Praelecta Lipsiae, ab Alexandro Alesio. D. Lipsiae, in officina typographica Georgii Hantzsch. M.D.LII."]

15. Refutatio errorum Andreae Osiandri de Justificatione. Wittembergæ, 1552. [The full title is: "Alexandri Alesii Doctoris Theologiae diligens refutatio errorum, quos sparsit nuper Andreas Osiander in libro, cui titulum fecit: De Vnico Mediatore Christo. Edita VVitebergæ ex officina Ioannis Lufftij anno 1552." In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' it is stated that an edition was also printed at Leipsic in 1553.]

16. Commentarius in Evangelium Joannis. Lipsiae, 1552. Basiliæ, 1553. [The full title is: "Commentarius in Evangelium Joannis, praelectus in celebri Academia Lipsensi, ab Alexandro Alesio D. Theologo, anno Domini 1552. Cum locuplete rerum & uerborum memorabilium indice. Basileae, per Ioannem Oporinum." The colophon is: "Basileae, ex officina Ioannis Oporini, anno salutis humanae M.D.LIII. Mense Martio." This volume contains over 600 pages.]

17. Disputatio in XIII. cap. Rom. Disputt. et Orr. aliquot Francoforti habitæ 1540 et 1541. [The full title is: "In Capvt XIII. Epistolae Pavli ad Romanos, Disputatio Alexandri Alesii Theologiae D. Lipsiae, M.D.XLVI." This tract of 6 leaves, with the exception of the title-page and the heading, is printed in italics.]

18. Omnes Disputationes Alexandri Alesii in Epistolam Si Pauli ad Romanos. Lipsiæ, 1553. [The full title is: "Omnes Dispytationes D. Alexandri Alesii de tota Epistola ad Romanos diversis temporibvs propositæ ab ipso in celebri Academia Lipsensi, et a mvltis doctis viris expetitæ, iam tandem collectæ per Georgivm Hantsch, et editæ in gratiam studiosorvm. Cvm præfatione Philippi Melancthonis. M.D.LIII." In the British Museum Catal. Wittenberg is entered as the supposed place of publication. In the sale catal. of the Makellar Library there is the item: "Alesius (Alex. Scotus) De Paulina Argumentatione, capiti secundo ad Romanos, Ideo inexcusabilis es, o Homo quis-quis es qui Judicus (*sic*), Disputatio Sexta, . . . s. l. anno 1549." See also *supra*, Nos. 8 and 17.]

19. Primus Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Lipsiæ, 1550, 1554.

20. Disputationes Tres De Mediatore et Justificatione hominis. Lipsiæ, 1554.

21. Responsio ad Tapperum de Missâ et Cœna Domini. Lipsiæ. [In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses,' 1565 is given as the date of publication.]

22. Contra horrendas Serveti Blasphemias Disputationes Tres. Lipsiæ, 1554. [These disputations were probably issued separately and were supplemented by a fourth. In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' there is the entry: "Contra Michaellem Servetum ejusque blasphemias disp. iii. Leipsic, 8vo. 1554"; and also this other: "Contra horrendas Serveti blasphemias disputatio quarta. Leipsic, 8vo. 1555."]

23. Disputatio de Perpetuo Consensu Ecclesiæ. Lipsiæ, 1553 (?), 1556.

24. Ad libellum Ludovici Nogarolæ comitis De Traditionibus Apostolicis et earum necessitate Responsio Alexandri Alesii D. Lip. 1556. [For the rarity of this tract see *supra*, p. 255 n. In his Introduction to Gau, Dr Mitchell gives as the alternate title: "Apostolicæ institutiones a Ludovico Nogarola Com. in parvum libellum collectæ et ab Alexandro Alesio in Disputationem propositæ in celebri Academia Lipsiensi. Lipsiæ, Excudebat Georgius Hantzsch, 1556." 8vo.]

25. *Responsio ad Duos et triginta Articulos Theologorum Lovaniensium.* Lipsiæ, 1559. [In the sale catalogue of the Makellar Library 1545 is given as the year of publication. In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses' 1549 is given.]

26. *Assertio Doctrinæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ de Sancta Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini Gentilis.* 1564 (?). [British Museum Catalogue gives Geneva, 1567.]

27. *Edinburgi Regiæ Scotorum Urbis Descriptio.* Bannatyne Club Miscellany, vol. i. [This description of Edinburgh was sent by Alesius to Sebastian Munster for his "Cosmography," printed at Basle in 1550, and republished in 1572. There are translations of it in Mackenzie's *Lives and Characters of Scots Writers*, ii. 400, 401; and in Chambers' *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh*; and in Hume Brown's *Scotland before 1700*.]

28. [Congratulatory letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated at Leipsic, 1st September 1559. The original holograph of twenty pages and a slip is still preserved. A translation of most of it is given in the *Calendar of Foreign State Papers, Reign of Elizabeth*, i. 524-534.]

[There are copies of Nos. 5, 12, 14, 15, 16 (1553), and 18 in St Andrews University Library; of No. 2 in the Church of Scotland Library, Edinburgh; of No. 16 (1553) in the Signet Library; of No. 8 in the Advocates'; of Nos. 2, 3 (*De Restituendis Scholis*), 5, 13, 16 (1553), and 17 in the Edinburgh University Library; and of Nos. 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16 (1553), 18, 19 (1554), 23 (1556), and 26 in the British Museum. Nos. 27 and 28 are in all important public libraries. At Laing's sale, No. 1 brought £6, 5s.; No. 2, £17, 17s.; No. 5, £6; No. 6, £4; No. 13, £10; No. 15, £5, 17s. 6d.; No. 16, £5, 10s.; and No. 18 (with which was bound up "*Sarcerius de Scholasticæ Theologiæ Vanitate*"), £6. In the 'Athenae Cantabrigienses,' the following six items, which are not in the above list, are mentioned: "*Disputatio de Justitia Dei et Justitia hominis coram Deo.* Leipsic, 1553." "*De utriusque naturæ officiis in Christo.*" "*De distincta Christi hypostasi.*" "Preface to Gardiner

upon obedience. Translated from English to Latin." "De Balaei Vocatione. Translated from English." "Ordinationes Anglorum Ecclesiae per Bucerum. Translated from English to Latin." In connection with the last, see 'Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth,' Parker Society, p. xxv, n. 3.]

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[ADDENDA.

PAGE 20. *Patrick Hamilton's admission to the Faculty of Arts in St Andrews University.*—The entry in the 'Acta Facultatis Artium' runs thus: "Congregatione artium facultatis, in Nouis Scolis eiusdem tenta tercio die mensis Octobris, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quarto, Magister Johannes Ba[ ]four regentium senior Collegij Sancti Saluatoris in quodlibetarium est electus; et Magister Patricius Hamiltone, abbas de Ferne, Rossensis diocesis, in facultatem est receptus."

Page 117. *Two sacraments only.*—In the Preface to the Book of Common Order it is said that "for the ministration of the two sacraments, our Booke giveth sufficient prooffe" (Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 395; Laing's Knox, iv. 164). In the Confession used in the English congregation at Geneva only two are referred to (Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 9; Laing's Knox, iv. 172); in "the Maner to Examine Children" their number is said to be two (Laing's Knox, vi. 344); and in Calvin's Catechism, printed with the Book of Common Order, it is emphatically declared that there are two only (Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 233).

Page 121. *The language of Rev. xiv. 11.*—In the text of the Confession the passage runs thus: "For sik as now delyte in vanity, cruelty, filthynes, superstition or idolatry, sal be adjudged to the fire unquencheable: in quhilk they sall be tormented for ever, asweill in their awin bodyes, as in their

saules, quhilk now they give to serve the devill in all abhominatioun" (Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 96, 97). As printed in Laing's Knox (ii. 120) the word "inextinguishable," and in the Acts of Parliament (ii. 534; iii. 22) the word "unstancheabill," is used instead of "unquencheable." In Dunlop, however, there is in addition, at the bottom of the page, in smaller type: "Rev. 14. 10. The same shall drynke the wyne of the wrath of God, which is poured in the cuppe of hys wrath. And he shall be punyshed in fyre and brymstone before the holy angells, and before the Lambe. And the smooke of theyr torment ascendeth up evermore, and they have no rest daye nor nyght, whyche worshyppe the beast and hys ymage."

Page 153. *Readers or exhorters.*—The name *exhorter* does not occur in the First Book of Discipline; but that "sort of readers" therein mentioned as having "some gift of exhortation" (Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 537; Laing's Knox, ii. 200) soon came to be known as exhorters, and are so named in various Acts of Assembly; see, for example, the Act of 1564 quoted on p. 128. They are distinguished from readers in the 'Register of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers,' printed for the Maitland Club; but, as David Laing has pointed out, the title of exhorter as indicating an advanced class seems to have been soon and silently dropped. "On comparing the list of the persons so styled in 1567 with that of 1574, we find some of them had become ministers, but the greater number are entered simply as readers" (Wodrow Miscellany, p. 323).

Page 233. *Conference between the two parties.*—Besides the three conferences mentioned in the footnote, there was another held in the early summer of 1578. The results, as recorded in the Booke of the Universall Kirk (ii. 414, 415) and in Calderwood's History (iii. 412, 413), embrace nothing about the kirk-session, beyond the perpetuity of the persons of the elders.

Page 259. *Alesius at Wittenberg.*—Through the influence of Luther and Melanchthon, the Elector of Saxony had con-

ferred on Alesius the prebend of Aldenburgh. Being in great straits for money, and having been disappointed of help otherwise, he was constrained to write from Wittenberg, on the 12th of December 1533, to Spalatinus, requesting him to obtain payment of the moiety of the prebend (*Corpus Reformatorum*, ii. 690, 691).

Page 261. *The disputations Cochlaeus*.—On the suggestion of Melancthon, an attack in verse was made on Cochlaeus for his injustice to Alesius; but the timorous author so dreaded Cochlaeus that, instead of writing in his own name, he personated Alesius (*Corpus Reformatorum*, iv. 1025, 1026).

Page 265. *Erasmus and Cochlaeus*.—Summaries of the letters which James V. wrote, on the 1st of July 1534, to Erasmus, to Cochlaeus, and to the King of the Romans, are in the Letters and State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. vii. p. 358.

Page 267. *Alesius as a physician*.—"I determined with my self to serve the tyme and to change the preaching of the crosse with the science of physic wherin I had a litle sight before, and thus I went unto a very well-lerned phisycian called Doctor Nicolas, which hath practised phisyk in London thes many yeares with high prayse, whose company I dyd use certen yeares, wherby I did both see and lern many things, even the principal poyntes concerning that science. In so moch that at length certen of my frindes did move me to take in hand to practise, which thing I did I trust not unluckly" (Of the Auctorite of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of London).

Page 268. *Latimer and Cranmer*.—For the opinion of Alesius on Latimer and Cranmer, see Dr Mitchell's Westminster Assembly, 1883, p. 14 n., and p. 23 n.

Page 268 n. *Ales or Alesius*.—Christopher Anderson may be excused for supposing that Ales was the real name of Alesius; but less can be said for those editors of State Papers and compilers of important Library Catalogues who have helped to perpetuate the error long after it was pointed out by Principal Lorimer in his Patrick Hamilton.

Page 269. *John M'Alpine and John Fyffe*.—From a correction which Dr Mitchell has made in his own copy of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis,' 1897, p. cv, it seems that he had come to the conclusion that it was M'Alpine and *Macdowal*, not *Fyffe*, who were protected by Bishop Shaxton. Cf. Lorimer's Patrick Hamilton, pp. 186, 187.]

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CORRIGENDA.

P. 119, line 4 from bottom. *After* contained *insert* in.

P. 240, line 14. *For* oedibus *read* aedibus.